



HAW ARDEN CASTLE

Memorial Edition

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

AND

HIS CONTEMPORARIES

SEVENTY YEARS

OF

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS

BY

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'DECISIVE EVENTS IN HISTORY' ETC

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GLADSTONE

AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

CHAPTER X

LOSS AND GAIN—THE EDGES OF GREAT REFORMS

Signs of Prosperity—Public Works—Amusements—Albert Smith—Burning of Covent Garden Theatre—Crime—Social and Intellectual Progress—Church-rates—Invention and Discovery—Livingstone—The Gorilla—Darwin—The Palmerston Government—Signs of the Times—Russell's Reform Bill—Losses—Lord Aberdeen—Bunsen—Leigh Hunt—Macaulay—Death of Prince Albert—Gladstone's Tribute to his Memory—The American War—President Lincoln—Jeff Davis—The Slavery Question—Gladstone's Views—The Trent—Cotton Famine—Lancashire Co-operation—The *Alabama*—Exhibition of 1862—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Princess Alexandra—Budget of 1863—Denmark—Law Reform—Education—Permissive Bill—Garibaldi in London—Session of 1865—Lord Westbury—The Irish Church—Defeat of Gladstone at Oxford—Death of Cobden—Death of Lord Palmerston

THOUGH the war in Italy had caused many apprehensions, and at one time a panic had seemed imminent on the Stock Exchange, the condition of the country in 1860 was such as to call forth general satisfaction. The year 1859 had ended with evidences of increased prosperity, and with reason for good hope for the future. Exports and imports, employment and profits, and the produce of the public revenue had steadily increased notwithstanding political uneasiness, the shipping interest seemed likely to recover from the depression which followed the exceptional demand for vessels during the Crimean campaign, and the progress which had been made during the ten years since 1850 was such as to justify the general belief that England would be able to maintain her position among the nations of the world.

The commercial prosperity of a nation may not be absolutely calculable by the figures of statistical returns, but those figures afford sufficient proof of it when they are complete, and when by comparison they show a permanent and decided advance. The accounts of the Board of Trade sufficed to show that after the removal of restrictions on our commerce the business of the country expanded to

a surprising extent, and that the expansion continued. In the ten years from 1848 to 1858 inclusive, the total value of exports of British produce had increased from less than 53 millions in the former year to above 116½ millions in the latter year, or from £1, 18s to £4, 2s 5d. per head of the population. In the same period the total value of imports had increased in even greater proportion. There were no accurate returns of them in the Board of Trade accounts, so far as their real value is concerned, earlier than 1854, but in that year the total value of imports was 152½ millions, while in 1858 it had increased to 164½ millions. It is worth noticing, however, that the imports did not show such an enormous proportion of food—provisions, meat, corn, flour, &c.—as we may have to note in subsequent years. For instance, the importations of these articles in 1854 reached the total value of 27½ millions, in 1858 of only a little over 24 millions, but in 1863 it had risen to above 40½ millions. The produce of our own country had long ceased to suffice to feed the population, and increased means of steam transit, the lowering of freights, the enormous development of the food supplies of America, the increased productions of our

colonies, and the free opening of our ports to all comers had wrought this change in the condition of English consumers.

For want of the correct totals of real values in the accounts of the Board of Trade, the returns for 1840 cannot be given; but they have been computed as nearly as possible, and the total imports (of which there is an account) show a value of just over 62 millions, while the exports are calculated at a little less than 61½ millions. In twenty years, that is to say in 1860, they had risen respectively to 210½ millions and 164½ millions. In 1840 the import and export trade together represented £5, and in 1860 they represented £13 per head of the population.

Although we were increasingly dependent for our food supply upon importations from abroad, agricultural operations had continued to improve, and mechanical implements were already superseding the old methods of farming. The yield of wheat per acre was increasing; but the area of the country could not be increased, and land became of greater rental value, though the average of prices of grain were diminished as compared with the earlier years of the century. Complete systems of draining and deep ploughing, increased the productiveness of the soil. Since the introduction of guano in 1841 various kinds of manure had been adopted for different crops, and many of those experiments which we have already noted in relation to Mr. Mechi's operations at Tiptree had proved successful. A great improvement had been manifested in Dorsetshire farms, where the cultivators had previously exhausted their efforts in breaking up heath wastes and sheep-downs, but had not adopted the steam-plough to cultivate them. They had begun to feed their sheep and cattle on oil-cake and corn, and the consequence was not only that the land improved on the cattle and sheep runs, but that the flocks increased in quantity and vastly improved in quality, while the herds of horned stock advanced in an equal or even a greater degree. In 1851 the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society and the Devon Agricultural Society amalgamated, and a series of annual meetings and exhibitions at

different parts of the country was inaugurated. The first of these meetings took place at Taunton in 1852, when the entries of stock for the show numbered 238 and the implements 400; in 1860, at Dorchester the number of cattle shown was 599 and of implements 1453, including 29 machines in motion. Reaping and haymaking machines, steam ploughs, harrows, and other machines were seen in very general use, and the system of breeding and feeding cattle underwent a remarkable change, which produced extraordinary results not in England only, where the animals were bred and exhibited for their fine points and meat-yielding quality, but also in Canada and America, where our shorthorn bulls and heifers, our Cotswold sheep and Berkshire pigs were used to start a new stock, to be returned hither in due time in the shape of American beef and mutton. At the same time special legislation had to be introduced in consequence first of the murrain, which was believed to have been brought by foreign cattle in 1841, and afterwards because of the rinderpest of 1856, which, originating among the vast herds of the Russian steppes, travelled westward over Europe, and could only be checked from spreading in England by the stringent provisions of an act of parliament — the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act.

A few more figures may not be out of place to indicate the enormous extension of food supply by the returns of importations of cattle, meat, and grain to this country.

In 1842, when the prohibition of the importation of cattle and sheep was removed, there were imported 4264 oxen, bulls, cows, and calves, and 644 sheep, 6181 cwts. of bacon and hams, 30,022 cwts. of beef. In 1845 the cattle imported had increased to 16,833, the sheep and lambs to 15,357. In 1846, the year of the repeal of the corn-laws, there were imported 45,043 cattle and 94,624 sheep, &c., and the imports of bacon and hams reached 14,263 cwts., and of beef 177,172 cwts. In 1847 the figures were 75,717 cattle, 142,720 sheep, 107,732 cwts. of bacon and hams, and 117,695 cwts. of beef. The quantities afterwards fluctuated according to demand and the home production, but with a general tendency to

great increase, so that in 1860 there were 104,569 cattle and 320,219 sheep imported, 326,106 cwts of hams and bacon, and 262,194 cwts of beef, other commodities, such as pork, eggs, butter, cheese, and laid increasing in proportion, to about 168,000,000 eggs, 841,300 cwts of butter, 173,000 cwts of pork, and 198,000 cwts of laid

With regard to grain, the importations in 1845 were 3,777,410 cwts of wheat, 945,864 cwts of wheat meal and flour, 1,623,784 cwts of oats, 1,315,550 cwts of barley, 3,024,883 cwts of maize, and 542,160 cwts of rice. In 1847 the amounts were 11,511,305 cwts of wheat, 6,329,058 cwts of wheat flour and meal, 4,690,697 cwts of oats, 2,759,582 cwts of barley, 15,464,196 cwts of maize, and 1,901,464 cwts of rice, and the general increase, with fluctuations marking the years of larger or smaller home produce, brought the totals to larger and larger amounts, till in 1860 they stood at 23,484,151 cwts of wheat, 5,086,220 cwts of wheat flour and meal, 6,300,115 cwts of oats, 7,545,932 cwts of barley, 7,936,123 cwts of maize, and 1,535,575 cwts of rice, the maize rising in the next year to 13,000,000 cwts., but remaining for several years below the estimate of 1847, when maize, rice, and wheat meal were, as we shall remember, needed for the relief of the Irish famine. The exportation of food supplies from this country during the period from 1849 to 1860 were about 2 per cent of the quantity of the imports of wheat and wheat flour, 48 per cent of the imports of rice, 13 per cent of bacon hams and pork and beef. Of cattle and sheep only a fraction were re-exported.

Among the numerous signs of increased prosperity may be mentioned the large number of railways and public works which were either completed or undertaken. The Thames Embankment was, as we have seen, in progress. The vast scheme for the drainage of London had been agreed upon and was in the course of initiation, and an enormous addition had been made to our railways. Robert Stephenson had completed his life's work on the 12th of October, 1859, at fifty-six years of age, and had accomplished enormous results.

Not only had he been concerned in the construction of about one-third of the railways in Great Britain and numbers of lines on the Continent, but he had left enduring monuments of his genius in the High Level Bridge at Newcastle, the Britannia and Conway bridges over the Menai Straits, the Victoria Bridge at Berwick, the great bridge over the St Lawrence and other works. His method of tubular bridging enabled him to achieve marvellous results, and in all the works that he undertook he was guided by a shrewd common sense which looked not only to their scientific but to their commercial success. Everything with which he was concerned must be made to pay, and in this respect he was a remarkable contrast to his contemporary Isambard Kingdom Brunel, whose splendid enterprises were mostly pecuniary failures, and against whom Stephenson had upheld the narrow against the broad gauge for lines of railway, mainly on the question of cost. The elder Brunel, who made the Thames Tunnel, had died in 1849, and his son's death took place on the 15th of August, 1859, only two months before that of his competitor Robert Stephenson. In the ten years from 1849 to 1859 the number of railways had greatly augmented. The narrow gauge had been adopted because of the losses incurred by the line which had been worked by the rival plan. On the same principle of securing commercial success Stephenson had been strongly opposed to the scheme for cutting a canal across the Isthmus of Suez, which had been proposed in 1857, and was being vehemently discussed in 1859 when the French government were pushing on with considerable zeal what the *Times* called "the suspicious project of the impracticable Suez Canal." Stephenson did not declare the project to be impracticable, but he was of opinion that the continued silting up of the sand would necessitate such expenses that the undertaking would never be profitable.

The principal lines of railway were mostly completed before the death of the great engineer, but much remained to be done, and in the following year the preparations for the Metropolitan Underground Railway showed

that the country was alive for fresh enterprises. At the same time the aspects of our streets were undoubtedly improved and the sanitary arrangements there received more attention,—the roadways were better swept, and there was more protection against fire, not only by a reorganization of the fire brigade and the appointment of more stations, but by an increased supply of water. It is worth noting, too, that in the spring of 1859 the first of a series of ornamental drinking fountains (to some, but too few, of which horse-troughs were added) was erected in London in the wall of St. Sepulchre's Churchyard at the corner of Snow Hill. This fountain, as well as others in the Royal Exchange, in Regent Circus, and elsewhere, was the gift of Mr. Gurney of Lombard Street, and was very ornamental in design. It was time for some such provision to be made, and it should have received greater attention than has since been given to it, for some of the old springs and wells disappeared with the deeper drainage of the metropolis, and those that remained and were drawn from the few surviving pumps were mostly in the vicinity of churchyards or other places, where they had become polluted, so that the sanitary authorities found it necessary to chain up the pump-handles. But the drainage of London still went into the Thames, though, as we have mentioned, the new system of an out-fall further out towards sea, from which the sewage of nearly the whole metropolitan area would be discharged, was being carried out by the Metropolitan Board of Works. Though the Thames Embankment was being constructed, the river itself was little better than an open drain, and during the sultry weather the stench which it emitted penetrated to the Houses of Parliament and gave legislators a practical example of the evils under which people dwelling on the banks of the stream had long been suffering.

In recording the progress of public works we cannot properly pass over the completion of the new Houses of Parliament, which was really only effected just before the session of 1859, though the House of Peers had been opened

in 1847 and the Commons had first met for business in their new chamber in 1852. The coloured glass windows were added in 1859, the old St. Stephen's Crypt, or St. Mary's Chapel in the vaults, was renewed, the wall frescoes, the colours of which did not stand, were not all finished, but the Speaker's House was being furnished and "Big Ben" was swung along with the other bells in the Clock tower. Sir Charles Barry, the architect of the stupendous pile at Westminster, only lived long enough to see the completion of the building. He died on the 12th of May, 1860. It may be mentioned that very considerable changes were at the same time made in various parts of London, where buildings of a rather mixed architectural character, and some of them of no character at all, but mostly of great size and often of effective appearance, were superseding meaner structures. This necessitated improvements in our thoroughfares, the widening of main streets and therefore the demolition of some crowded neighbourhoods to open up new means of transit, with the result that the city and other trading portions of the metropolis became still less places of residence, and the suburbs of London continued to be extended by the indefinite multiplication of houses, too often badly built, imperfectly drained, and "run up" without due consideration of the proper provisions for health and comfort.

One of the most aggravating conditions of metropolitan dwellings was, and has long continued to be, the want of an ample and pure supply of water. The companies which had the monopoly of carrying water from the Thames, the Lea, and the New River into the houses of Southern, Northern, and Eastern London not only took too little pains to deliver it in a proper condition, but though they were empowered to charge for it at a price reckoned on the rated rental of the houses, refused, or omitted, to do more than fill such cisterns or other receptacles as the landlords of the houses chose to supply to their tenants. It may well be imagined, therefore, that in the poorer neighbourhoods there was a great scarcity, and that the small quantity which the inhabitants could collect in tubs, pails, or

other utensils was scarcely fit for drinking after it had stood in filthy yards or in close confined rooms, subject to all kinds of emanations from drains and other sources of infection. As to daily ablutions, or even of a weekly bath, there was scarcely a poor neighbourhood where such a provision existed, and in London even the better class of houses were not, and many of them are not now, provided with any water supply for bathing purposes, nor with a bath to receive it even if tenants agree to pay the extra rate which the companies demand for providing the means of ordinary cleanliness.

Other towns and cities of the kingdom have long been far in advance of London in this respect. Among the great public enterprises of the year 1859 had been that of the Glasgow Water Works Commissioners, who obtained an abundant supply of fine water from Loch Katrine. To overcome the first great engineering difficulty they had been obliged to tunnel a mountain 600 feet below the summit for 2325 yards in length and 8 feet in diameter, and this was only the first of a series of seventy tunnels measuring altogether thirteen miles in length.

The bogs were traversed by nearly four miles of iron pipes and the rivers and valleys by above nine miles of aqueducts. Londoners might well have looked with longing eyes on a scheme which provided Glasgow with fifty million gallons of pure soft water daily, and the completion of the works, the total cost of which had been about £1,500,000, was signalized by the presence of the Queen, with Prince Albert and two of the princesses, her majesty having journeyed from Edinburgh to the outflow at Loch Katrine on her way southward, for the purpose of inaugurating the new enterprise by putting in motion the apparatus for admitting the waters of the lake into the first tunnel.

Increased political and commercial liberty, enormous additions to public works, the extension of the means of travelling, and numerous adaptations of discoveries and inventions, were accompanied by certain significant changes in the social if not in the moral

attitude of the population. It was a time of transition, or rather we were on the edge of further important changes in our political and social relations, and it was not to be wondered at that there were some extravagances which were occasionally difficult to reconcile with the belief in general moral and intellectual progress. But in looking back it is more easy to assign to them their true character as final ebullitions of certain popular sports which were becoming obsolete, or as peculiar results of the substitution of one kind of public amusement for another, or even as the outcome of those transmutations which follow a sudden endeavour to introduce the customs and recreations of other countries, where even amusements are directly controlled and regulated by government officials.

The records of crime during this period were not remarkable for increased brutality, but it may be mentioned as having some relation to an account of the social aspects of the time, that there appeared an increasing reluctance to convict of crimes involving capital punishment, except on the most indisputable evidence, and with an evident desire to give any prisoner the benefit of the least doubt rather than inflict the extreme penalty of the law. The consequence of this was a considerable extension of the time during which every important trial lasted—the minute examination of the evidence of numerous witnesses, and the gradual adoption of the present cumbersome and apparently unnecessary proceeding of trying cases twice over—once before the police magistrate or the coroner, and again before the tribunal to which the accused was committed.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable evidences of what many people regarded as a declension of public morality, or at least a reaction in favour of what may be called gross and brutal exhibitions, was the almost universal interest expressed in a great prize-fight between the so-called pugilistic “champion of England” Tom Sayers, and an antagonist named Heenan, but known as the “Benicia Boy,” who came from America for the avowed purpose of wresting the “belt” from the man who had been proclaimed the most formidable

boxer in England. For some time it was found difficult to arrange a match, but the proposed conflict had caused so much excitement, and was known to be regarded with so much expectant attention among influential persons, that, either the police were baffled, or they made only a show of taking effectual means for preventing what was clearly an illegal assembly. On the 17th of April, 1860, a special train left London Bridge station, and, eluding a number of mounted police who were stationed for a considerable distance along the line, where it was expected the passengers would alight, turned off from the supposed route and stopped at Farnborough. Not far from Aldershot, in a field on the Hampshire side, a ring was formed, and the two men, who had there met for the first time, stood up amidst a great crowd of spectators, largely composed of noblemen, gentlemen of rank, members of parliament, members of the learned and artistic professions, and even of clergymen. It is only reasonable to conclude that some kind of sentiment not very easy to explain had grown out of the public excitement, and probably also out of the bellicose spirit promoted by the recent aggressive temper of the country, which eclipsed the actual nature of an exhibition more brutal and sickening than had ever been witnessed even in the modern prize-ring. There is no need to follow the revolting details. Heenan, the American, was a youthful giant six feet two inches in height, of enormous muscular proportions, with overwhelming strength, and in perfect training. Sayers was but five feet eight inches high, and though a powerful man, and rendered hard and enduring by constant exercise, not comparable to his antagonist except for activity, cool skill, and that sort of intrepidity which is of the bull-dog sort. For thirty-eight "rounds" these two men pounded each other with blows, by which they were frequently dashed to the ground. Heenan's face was battered out of human semblance, and when the fight was over he was completely blinded by the terrific and repeated hits of his adversary, one of whose arms had been completely disabled at an early period of the fight. Sayers was a less dreadful spec-

tacle, but he also received severe though only temporary injuries, and might have succumbed to Heenan, who, it was said, caught him at the ropes and nearly strangled him, but that some alleged unfairness in this proceeding caused the umpires to put an end to the fight, just as the police, who had at last mustered in sufficient force, broke their way into the ring. This termination to the horrible spectacle caused much dissatisfaction and a good deal of crimination between the rival backers, which was but imperfectly allayed by the presentation of a belt to each of the combatants. Sayers, however, who was regarded as a hero, made a kind of triumphal entry into London and afterwards into Liverpool, considerable sums being collected for him on the Stock Exchange and at other places. The event might not have found a record in these pages but for the fact that one of these places was the division lobby of the House of Commons, where "the great prize fight" became the subject of part of the proceedings. Mr. W. Ewart, member for Dumfriesshire, rose to ask whether steps would be taken to prevent such brutal exhibitions in future. Mr. Vincent Scully, an Irishman with a considerable dash of humour in his character, gravely protested against the "outrage of public morals," which he averred would not be tolerated in Ireland. Sir George Cornwall Lewis, as home secretary, made a half serious half humorous reply which meant little or nothing, and in which he remarked that "it had been said that pugilistic encounters afforded a model of fair fighting, and afforded an inducement to practise a mode of fighting better than the use of the bowie-knife or the stiletto, or that other mode of fighting not uncommon in Ireland, namely, with the shillelagh." This was, of course, one way of getting out of the difficulty, but Lord Palmerston had declared that he saw nothing more demoralizing in a boxing-match than in an ascent in a balloon. This declaration may have had some pungent truth in it, but the fact remained that prize-fighting was an offence against the law. Many of the members chuckled or laughed outright at the home secretary's evasion of the difficulty, and some of the sporting representatives of the nation

stationed themselves in the lobby and levied contributions for Tom Sayers which amounted altogether to about a hundred pounds. But from that time the prize-ring ceased to be acknowledged as a national institution. It was, perhaps, a good thing that the latest attempt to revive it had been accompanied with so much that was revolting, and when the false enthusiasm cooled, "the championship" of professional bruisers soon ceased to be of any imperial or of much public concern.

"I am not very proud," wrote Cobden to Mr. Haugreaves, "of the spectacle presented by our merchants, brokers, and M.P.'s in their ovations to the pugilist Sayers. This comes from the brutal instincts having been so sedulously cultivated by our wars in the Crimea, and especially in India and China. I have always dreaded that our national character would undergo deterioration (as did that of Greece and Rome) by our contact with Asia. With another war or two in India and China, the English people would have an appetite for bull-fights, if not for gladiators."

Lord Palmerston's remark that a boxing-match was no more demoralizing than a balloon ascent had more in it than may appear at first sight. There was a general tendency to increase exhibitions the chief attractions of which were the perils in which the performers were placed, and balloon ascents, including a male or a female acrobat swinging from a "trapeze" fastened to the car,—or mounted or suspended on a kind of platform surrounded by fireworks, were found exceedingly attractive. Women, or youths pretending to be women, performed gymnastic feats, the least failure in which, or in the apparatus, would be dangerous and might prove fatal. These exhibitions took place in music-halls and other places. The music-hall itself was becoming a permanent institution. The old fairs like that formerly held at Greenwich had been abolished. Bartlemy and Bowland Stepney fairs had been suppressed in the interests of public order and morality, but large buildings, licensed for music, for stage-dancing, and for performances of other descriptions, and licensed also for the sale of strong drink and tobacco to the audience, began to multiply. Instead of being only

occasional resorts like the fairs, these places were open nightly, to admit the debased and the degraded as well as the comparatively innocent. In some instances the music-halls became sinks of immorality, and in most cases they possessed dangerous facilities for contracting vicious habits and joining evil company. Since the Great Exhibition of 1851, and consequent or supposed familiarity with foreign customs and amusements, there had been constant endeavours to assimilate some of our public recreations to those which were represented to be the simple, gay, and sober amusements of the people who resorted to the concert-rooms and gardens of France, Italy, and Germany. The most conspicuous result seems to have been the multiplication of licenses, which included amusements neither simple nor sober even if they could be called gay, and the resuscitation of certain "gardens," where, if the "humours" of old Ranelagh and Vauxhall were present, the gross immoralities of both were probably sometimes surpassed. Of these public gardens, that called Cremorne, on the banks of the river near Chelsea, was most conspicuous and most largely patronized. It was known that personages of high rank frequently visited it and joined with *demi-seps* and the *demi-monde* in the *ba's masqués* and other amusements. For some time it was a resort of all the "fast" set in society, and even some of the more prudent went occasionally to see what it was like; but a peculiar fatality attended it. To maintain its attractions constant changes of performance and "sensational" exhibitions must be provided, and the proprietors could not make it pay. Among the excitements of Cremorne were the periodical insolvency of its *entrepreneurs*. Fortunately, perhaps, for our moral and social progress, the public *bal masqué* did not take any definite hold on the class of persons whom it was most likely to injure, and though such entertainments were frequently attempted, they eventually became, like the modern *bal de l'opéra* in Paris, very dreary affairs, in which the performers were mostly of a low and degraded class, appearing in meaningless costumes, and adding to their ignorance the extravagant imbecility produced by intoxication. The at-

tempt to introduce the Parisian fashion of holding these assemblies at our theatres failed, as it deserved to do, but not before it had been associated with a serious loss upon the public, for even as early as March, 1856, one of the most calamitous results of a night's entertainment of this description was the destruction of the Royal Italian Opera House at Covent Garden by fire, so suddenly that in two hours the stately fabric was in ruins. During the operatic recess Mr. Gye, the lessee of the theatre, had sublet it to a performer of sleight-of-hand feats, who called himself Professor Anderson, and was known as "The Wizard of the North." He brought his short season to a close by an entertainment described as a "grand carnival complimentary benefit and dramatic gala, to commence on Monday morning and terminate with a *bal masqué* on Tuesday night." On the last day of the show the amusements proceeded with animation, and if with freedom still with decorum, until, as the night advanced, the more respectable or cautious withdrew, and the disreputable yielded to the temptation of excitement and wine. After midnight the theatre is said to have presented a scene of undisguised indecency, drunkenness, and vice, such as the lowest places of resort have rarely witnessed. Between four and five o'clock the professor thought it time to close the orgies, and commanded the band to play the national anthem. The gas at the same time was turned down a little to warn the revellers to depart. At this moment the gasfitter discovered fire issuing from the cracks of the ceiling, and amid the wildest shrieking and confusion the drunken, panic-stricken masquers rushed to the street. It was now hardly five o'clock, and yet in the few minutes which had elapsed the doom of the theatre was sealed. The flames had burst through the roof, sending high up into the air columns of fire, which threw into bright reflection every tower and spire within the circuit of the metropolis, brilliantly illuminating the whole fabric of St. Paul's and throwing a flood of light across Waterloo Bridge, which set out in bold relief the dark outline of the Surrey Hills. This glare operated as a speedy messenger in

bringing up the fire-engines from every quarter of London at a tearing gallop to the scene of conflagration. There was no want of water, but neither engines nor water were of any avail in saving the property. The theatre blazed within its four hollow walls like a furnace, and at half-past five o'clock the roof fell in with a tremendous crash. The building was uninsured, no office having been willing to grant a policy after the fire of 1808. Mr. Gye had effected an insurance on his properties to the amount of £8000, and Mr. Anderson to the amount of £2000. Mr. Brandwood, the experienced superintendent of the London fire establishment, was of opinion that the fire had originated from spontaneous combustion among the masses of waste stuff accumulated in the workshops—an opinion strengthened by the evidence of Mr. Grove, the scene-painter, who stated that on a previous occasion he had called attention to a heap of such materials allowed to gather, and which, when removed by his authority, were found to be too hot for handling. The theatre was not rebuilt till May, 1858.

But though many extravagances arose out of the changes in public customs, there were many indications of a remarkable improvement in our popular amusements. The grand promenade concerts, over which M. Jullien presided, have already been mentioned, and they had been effectual not only in popularizing much of the best music, but in introducing some of the best performers in Europe to large audiences of the middle and even the decent lower classes in London. From all parts of England people came to "Jullien's concerts" at Covent Garden Theatre, and along with the performances of cantatas by the members of two harmonic societies at Exeter Hall, this "monstre orchestra" may be said to have developed a taste for the execution on a grand scale of good vocal and instrumental music. M. Jullien had but a short career. He died in an asylum for the insane in Paris, and his successors scarcely maintained the attractions which had made his concerts so famous, but performances by large orchestras and "monstre" concerts of various kinds were not dependent on any particular

conductor, and associated "choirs," including those of Sunday scholars and various societies, repeatedly appeared at the Crystal Palace and at Exeter Hall. At the former place the great "Handel centenary," which was celebrated by a performance of the great composer's works, was an important event. It lasted three days, the 20th, 21st, and 22d of June, 1859. The central transept was converted into a vast concert hall 360 feet long by 216 wide, containing an area of 77,000 feet, and there were also several tiers of galleries. The choir numbered 2765 persons, the band 393. On the first day above 17,000 persons were present, on the second 18,000, and on the third nearly 27,000. The receipts of the three days were above £33,000 and the expenses about £18,000. Thenceforward the Handel Festival became an annual celebration, and was looked forward to by large numbers of persons in London with as much interest as the annual musical festivals in some of our cathedral cities excite in the inhabitants of those districts, and the musical connoisseurs who attend the performances. It is scarcely possible to refer to the numerous and varied forms of public amusement which seem to have made this period the commencement of a new era in the art of "entertainment," without mentioning the charming descriptions and humorous sketches of character by Mr. Albert Smith at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly. Albert Smith, already well known as a witty journalist and novelist, whose contributions to *Punch* and other periodicals had often made the world laugh, was also distinguished for genial bonhomie, an attractive presence, and for that rare and valuable art of becoming in a moment on good terms with his audience, which is certain to command success for a lecturer. His entertainments were humorous, but graphic and striking descriptions of the journey to Switzerland and the Bernese Oberland, especially to Chamounix of the ascent of Mont Blanc, and,—as a separate lecture,—of the overland route to Hong Kong. The course of his "lectures" was diversified, not only by excellent panoramic views painted by Mr. Beverley, but by stories, sketches of character, and original songs, all

given with an easy rapidity which carried the audience with him from beginning to end. He was perfectly familiar with the scenes he described, and the characters he portrayed were familiar to the audience. Perhaps his was at one time the most popular entertainment in London for refined and educated people, and as he himself used archly to observe, numbers of persons would attend it and would secure seats for their families, who would on no account enter a theatre to witness a regular dramatic performance. The queen and the royal family were particularly delighted with Mr. Albert Smith's performance, and the Prince Consort notices it in his journal with the words "very amusing" appended to the entry which appears among much graver matters. The lectures which had delighted London, and had made the fortune of Chamounix, by sending thousands of English travellers thither, were continued and repeated with almost undiminished success, till, unhappily, the genial author and raconteur was almost worn out, and though a robust man, he fell into ill-health, and to the great grief of a wide circle of friends to whom he was much endeared, died at the age of forty-four, on the 22d of May, 1860. It may be mentioned that Mr. Albert Smith had married Miss May Keeley, the daughter of the famous comedian, and herself well known as an actress at the Adelphi Theatre. Numerous entertainments of a similar elegant and refined description attracted considerable audiences. Lectures on science at the Royal Institution, where Professor Faraday showed brilliant experiments, were supplemented by others at various institutions, and notably at the "Polytechnic" in Regent Street, a great resort for juveniles whose parents or guardians believed in combining instruction with amusement, and therefore were willing to devote a long evening to the diving-bell machinery in motion, the diorama, a lecture on chemistry, a great gas microscope reflecting objects on a screen by means of a magic lantern, and a series of songs in the nature of an "entertainment" to accompany the beautiful series of dissolving views. The "Polytechnic" had formerly had a rival in the "Adelaide Gallery," near the Lowther

Arcade, but this having been closed, was transformed by an Italian confectioner into a large café and restaurant. It may be regarded as another sign of the change which had become apparent in our public customs, that a complete alteration seemed to have taken place in our method of providing refreshment for the increased numbers of people who took their meals away from home. French and German restaurants were numerous in several parts of London, and the hot, stuffy tavern with its chops and steaks, or the sordid, greasy cook's shop, with its dingy boxes and coarse service, were to a great extent superseded by spacious and convenient dining-rooms and cafés, where agreeable articles of food and either tea, coffee, or the lighter continental wines could be procured. The conclusion of the commercial treaty with France by increasing the consumption of the light clarets and Burgundies gave a fresh impetus to the business of the restaurant in London, and it was noticeable that light bitter ales were also superseding the heavier beers as light wines had displaced port and sherry, while the consumption of tea, coffee, and chocolate vastly increased.

Among the most attractive resorts in London, the Surrey Zoological Gardens in Walthamstow had held a conspicuous place as the resort of middle-class families. The grounds were extensive and picturesque, there was a very good collection of wild animals, birds, and reptiles, and the grand feature of the place was a broad lake, on the further side of which rose a huge canvas structure like the scene at a theatre, which was painted to represent the latest locality that could be most effectively associated with a great pyrotechnic display. Mount Vesuvius, the Bombardment of Canton, and eventually the taking of Sebastopol, attracted crowds of eager spectators, who, after listening to a good concert by the band interspersed with more or less patriotic songs, witnessed the spectacle which usually began with a balloon ascent and ended with the tremendous discharge of a "set piece" of great brilliancy. The time came, however, when the grounds were to be absorbed into the suburban ring of buildings, and rows of villas took the place formerly devoted to the ele-

phant house, the lions' dens, and the monkey cages. The wild animals were removed, and on the space occupied by the orchestra and the grand-stand a large music hall was erected, composed chiefly of glass and iron. Among the conspicuous features of the time was the engagement of some of the small music halls and minor theatres for Sunday evening religious services, and the Surrey Hall, which would accommodate a very large congregation, was hired by the followers of a preacher who had gained great notoriety for his original manner of address, his marvellously effective delivery, and the religious fervour which gave remarkable force to his appeals, and attracted numbers of people, many of whom travelled a considerable distance to listen to his discourses.

The name of Mr. C. H. Spurgeon was for above a quarter of a century before his death, in 1892, associated with a religious "revival" which was enduring in its effects, perhaps because it was never associated with the fanatic extravagances which have too often disorganised and ultimately disorganized some of the stirring efforts to awaken the conscience and influence the lives of the working-classes. Mr. Spurgeon, who was a young student belonging to the Baptist connection, began his work while he was still a boy, and he soon developed rare powers as an open-air preacher in addressing large and casual assemblies. In a short time he was notorious, but he soon afterwards became famous. Possessing a magnificent voice, which could be heard even by a large assembly in a field or any other open space, and a remarkable power of illustrating his meaning by references, often full of dry peculiar humour, to the common experience of his audience, or the ordinary objects and occurrences of everyday life, he rapidly attained great popularity, and at the same time became the mark for much misplaced witticism and a good deal of suspicion. There had been no such sudden success in arresting the attention of the common people since the earlier days of Wesleyan Methodism, and Mr. Spurgeon, keeping to the regular method of ministration observed by the body to which he belonged, did not profess to be a revivalist,

and used no special means for provoking those strange and grotesque demonstrations of religious fervour which have frequently injured attempts to enlist the enthusiasm of uneducated people. In homely, forcible, and, as some would have it, "vulgar" language he addressed ever-increasing audiences, and as he went on, he appeared to abandon many of his cruder modes of expression, until he attracted people of all degrees in the social scale to hear him. But he never altered the homely vigour of his appeals, the plain Saxon style of his speech, or the quick ready humour which seasoned all that he had to say, and enabled his hearers to remember and to think over it. The charges brought against him were that he adopted the more objectionable phrases that had been attributed to Dr Rowland Hill or to Huntington—that he associated degrading illustrations with sacred doctrines in a manner that was profane and could not be edifying, but it is certain that many of these alleged sayings were invented by his critics, as they had perhaps been invented for his predecessors, and though he once or twice took an opportunity to deny some of them, he appeared to trouble himself very little about what people thought of him. He went on, as a man who believes he has a great deal of work to do and has but a short time to do it in. His earnestness was undeniable, and it soon became contagious. On one occasion when he was preaching at the Surrey Hall, while the press of people was very great some one raised an alarm of fire, and in the efforts to escape several persons were killed and more were seriously injured. But a large chapel, the "Tabernacle," near the Elephant and Castle at Newington Butts, was soon in course of construction. It was designed to hold 6500 persons, the foundation stone was laid by Sir S. Morton Peto, and at a public meeting held afterwards, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, 5000 persons who were present were admitted by tickets. It was then announced that a gentleman at Bristol had sent a cheque for £3000 towards the building fund, with a promise of £2000 more if twenty other gentlemen would provide an equal sum by subscribing £100 each, or

forty subscribing £50 each, within the following three months. The money was obtained, and funds for the building quickly came in. Mr Spurgeon then became the pastor of a great but yet a compact congregation, chiefly composed of the middle and lower middle class of the community, but containing several persons of large means. There was apparently no intention on his part to become the head of a revivalist movement, he had as much to do as he could hope to accomplish, and his sincerity was proved by the fact that while he refused repeated offers of considerable sums of money for his own use, he was constantly receiving very large contributions which he devoted to the establishment of an orphanage, almshouses, and other benevolent institutions, associated with his congregation, but the benefits of which were not confined to members of the particular sect to which he belonged.

There was at the time of which we are speaking, a notable assimilation of opinion between the evangelicals or "Low-Church" people—as they were sometimes called—and some of the leading Dissenting preachers, and their ideas of the value and efficacy of religious revivals had in some instances met as it were half-way. The religious periodicals, chiefly addressed to Nonconformists, were largely read and frequently approved by those who belonged to the communion of the Church of England. The work of Mr Spurgeon and even of the Plymouth Brethren was widely recognized by many families who were professedly of the "Low Church." On the other hand there might have been discerned the beginning of what afterwards became a decided division between high-church observances and those of the Ritualists. The distinction was not, and has not always since been, very clear to a large body of Dissenters, but it has often become obvious enough. At all events, in 1859 and for two or three years afterwards, though the difference was perhaps not readily marked, the endeavours to introduce "ritualistic practices" were not to be confounded with the holding of what had long been known as "High-Church" doctrines, such doctrines having been often unaccompanied by any very remarkable ceremonial

and almost entirely independent of external or symbolical modes of expression.

As long before as 1851, in a letter to Dr. Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen, which in the following year was printed by desire of the Scottish bishops, Mr. Gladstone, discussing "the functions of laymen in the church," had said:—

"I shall venture two remarks upon ritual changes generally, in which I am bold enough to anticipate extensive agreement. The first is, that as ceremonial is but the dress of devotion, it ought to follow upon rather than precede spiritual growth, of which it must become the consequence before it can become the cause; and, except as to the removal of palpable indecency and scandal, it should be left for its increase to such spontaneous demand as may arise out of our gradual return to that temper of elevated and concentrated devotion, which has unhappily become rare among us. The second is, that many of the points which have given rise to dissension are in themselves really but secondary, and have derived their importance from prepossessions conventionally rather than essentially connected with them. Now both of these remarks point to one and the same conclusion; namely, that diversities and changes of ritual, so far as they are open questions at all, are a matter to which the people ought to have something to say. If ceremonial be in general not so much a means of awakening as an instrument of edification for those already awakened, then the expediency of ritual restrictions must, it is evident, vary greatly with the religious temper of each congregation. If, again, its details are, as it were, prejudged by prepossessions for or against them, then manifestly there is a tender and irritable state of mind to deal with, which will become hopeless under anything like an exasperating treatment. The way to conquer men's prejudices is to appeal freely to their good sense, and allow some reasonable scope to their free-will and choice. Such appeal involves, or at the very least harmonizes with the idea of giving them a share of discretion in determining the points at issue. Nothing can be more painful or disgraceful than to see questions of divine service settled, as they were some years ago

settled in Exeter, by riot and uproar. . . . But we probably never should have witnessed them, had it not been for the anarchical state into which congregational organization has there been allowed to lapse. Besides the things in themselves, nay, besides the prejudices attaching to them, there was, I believe, at the root of all a sentiment in the people that they were over-ridden, which generated, as it were in self-defence, a strong and unmanageable reaction. Had there been in those cases a regularly constituted congregation, or, to borrow a phrase from our Presbyterian friends, a roll of communicants, and had these had the means of making known their sentiments, and of acting by their duly chosen officers, the clergy would have derived from them the most valuable aid at the outset, instead of being left to work out their way, as it were, blindfold; a general harmony would have been secured between the forms of divine service, and the tone of feeling in the congregation, to which, as we have seen, they ought to bear a close regard, and authority, too weak already, would have been spared some heavy blows."

These words, addressed though they were to the Scotch episcopacy, might have been profitably studied in England, and a due regard for them would perhaps have prevented the scandals which have followed the practice of the adoption of strange ritualistic observances by "priests" newly appointed to churches where the congregations were averse to practices against which they were allowed no immediately effectual protest. The result of "Ritualism" has often been that the clergy, while defying alike the bishop's commands and the provisions of the civil law, have virtually evicted the first congregation who had contributed to the establishment and maintained the structure of the building in which they met to worship, and have left them to wander where they chose, another, and perhaps non-resident, congregation filling their places. Doubtless the arrogant assumptions of many of the priests who introduced their own ritual, combined with the deep disappointment of the congregations whom they had disregarded, had the effect of hastening

the abolition of church-rates, since the excluded members of a church where the clergy were indifferent to their sentiments were ready to join the large body of Nonconformists in their opposition to the compulsory support of observances to which they had a strong antipathy. The same causes appear to be operating both for the disendowment and disestablishment of the English Church altogether, as the only means of settling the question between clergy who will neither obey their ecclesiastical superiors nor the civil law, and congregations who have been obliged either to leave the church where they are entitled to worship, or to submit to practices for which they entertain an unalterable repugnance.

There had, as we have seen, been repeated attempts to introduce measures into parliament for the abolition of church-rates, but they had not been successful. The manner of collecting the tax had ceased to be so conspicuous as it formerly was, and in many cases it was not enforced. A general impression existed that the entire remission of the rates would soon be accomplished. There was no agitation outside parliament sufficiently powerful to carry a bill against the majority who voted against Mr Walpole's bill in 1859, but Sir John Trelawney's bill of January, 1860, passed the second reading by a majority of 263 to 234 votes, and was read a third time, to be thrown out by the Lords on a second reading by a majority of 128 to 31. This roused an active agitation on both sides. The representatives of the Dissenting denominations convened a great meeting at Freemasons' Hall, for the purpose of securing the passing of the bill which Sir John was to bring in the next session. Several hundreds of well-known leaders of dissent were present, most of the chief towns and many rural parishes of the kingdom being represented. It was determined to raise £3000 for carrying on the agitation, and half that sum was obtained in a few minutes. It was decided that direct and persevering action should be adopted to influence parliament, and that no heed should be taken of any threat of resistance or offer of compromise. But the opponents of the bill were

busy too, and they were powerful. An effort must be made to reverse the recent divisions in favour of the abolition of church-rates. As the supporters of Sir John Trelawney's bill had held meetings and signed petitions, the same means were adopted by its opponents, and clergymen were everywhere exhorted to enlist their parishioners against the measure. Mr Disraeli took the lead in the opposition movement. At a meeting of the clergy and laity of the rural deanery of Amersham in Buckinghamshire, he declared that the question of church-rates necessarily involved the existence of a national church. "The clergy must make members of parliament understand, that though this was not a party question it was a political one, and a political question on which in their minds there ought not to be, and there could not be any mistake." He could assure them, from his own knowledge, that there were many members of parliament who on this question gave careless votes, and thought by so doing they were giving some vague liberal satisfaction without preparing any future inconvenience for themselves. "Let their clerical friends, Whig or Tory, Conservative or Liberal, make these gentlemen understand that, in their opinion, on the union of church and state depend, in a large measure, the happiness, the greatness, and the liberty of England."

There were, however, eminent persons who were in favour of a compromise, which would perhaps have satisfied the main body of the Dissenters. Mr Hubbard, who had become an authority on the subject of finance in the House of Commons, and was known to be deeply interested in church matters, had already endeavoured to bring in a bill, the main principle of which was that those who dissented from the Church of England by a simple declaration should be exempted from the payment of church-rates. The Bishop of Exeter, in reply to an appeal for a declaration of his opinion, issued a very conciliatory letter, in which he intimated that common prudence and the manifest interests of peace demanded the substitution of temporal for ecclesiastical courts on occasions of church-rate litigation. He considered that weight should be given

to the conscientious objections of those who, in refusing to pay church-rates, refused to support a system of doctrine and worship to which they were opposed. He did not go quite so far as to acknowledge that such objections were reasonable, but he thought that at all events they should be rendered inapplicable. Clergymen should, he thought, no longer contend for all that was desirable, nor even for all that might be reasonable. They must make concessions, and could do so with very little damage to their cause. In conclusion he suggested that church-rates should only be so far retained as to furnish, in some shape or other, funds for maintaining the structure of the churches, and the proper keeping of churchyards; but that all beyond that should be provided by voluntary contributions. The charges for the various accessories of worship should be defrayed by the actual worshippers and not by those who could not enjoy the use of the service.

When Sir John Trelawney returned to the charge, and brought in his bill in 1861 (the second reading came on the 27th of February), there was a multitude of petitions and strong opposition, but little display of genuine interest in the house. An amendment was proposed by Sir W. Heathcote, the colleague of Mr. Gladstone as representative of the University of Oxford. He was in favour of a policy of conciliation, and denied that concessions made in order to get rid of difficulties and animosities could be held to be a surrender of principle. He put it to the government whether a time had not arrived most favourable to a conciliatory arrangement of the question, and moved that the second reading of the bill be deferred for six months. Sir W. Heathcote was quite the right sort of man to make this proposal, though he was not distinguished as a speaker. He was a man of social position and of high character, representing the university where he was educated, and where, in 1821, he had taken a first-class in classics, in 1824 had graduated B.C.L., and in 1830 D.C.L. Further, he was an eminent magistrate, a devout churchman, a good landlord. As a genuine country gentleman, he lived on his estate at Hursley Park in Hampshire, formerly the

property of Richard Cromwell, who inherited it from his father-in-law, Mr. Mayer. Close to the Park a new and extremely beautiful Gothic church had been built, and the rector was Mr. Kibble, whose *Christian Year* was then, as it has been since, a volume beloved of pious souls. It was said that the church had been paid for out of the profits of the book; but whether this was so or not, it was the parish church, and Sir William Heathcote was a regular attendant, he and his family occupying a seat amidst the rest of the congregation. The worthy knight was therefore the proper man to propose conciliation, and he was soon followed by Mr. Gladstone, who said that he remained of the opinion that he had always held, and should refuse to vote for the second reading of the bill. To get at the merits of the Church-rate bill it must be divided into two questions, as respected two portions of the country. In populous parishes it might be in practice bad, and he would abandon the principle of the rate there; but in rural parishes, where the rate was paid with as much satisfaction as any other public charge, why was this ancient law to be abolished? Dissenters were in the main congregated in the populous parishes; and the offer was made to them to exempt themselves from the rate if they pleased, but they did not please. If church-rates were in fact the cause of providing religious worship for the great majority of the poor, were they to be abolished for the sake of a minority who declared they had a grievance from which they would not accept exemption? He was not willing to intrust to mere speculative support the venerable fabric of the parish churches. He suggested that an arrangement might be made to accept the power of the majority of a parish to reject or agree to church-rates as a right, at the same time allowing a parish also to tax itself by the will of the majority.

Mr. Bright was utterly opposed to this view. It had, he said, all the faults of all the plans of compromise of the question, and in fact it amounted to what was already the law, namely, that where you could not get church-rates you were to let them alone, and where a majority was in favour of them they were to prevail.

In the debate in the previous year on the bill that was thrown out by the Lords, Mr. Bright had said, "There are many who have aspired to legislate upon this subject, but have failed in these attempts at conciliation, and I think we must all feel conscious that we must either remain as we are or adopt the bill which is now before us. I confess that I am altogether against any kind of dodge by which this matter may be even temporarily settled. I think that if this church be a national establishment, you cannot by law insist that its support shall be drawn from only a portion of the population. I agree with you altogether in that. If I were a churchman I would never consent to it, and, not being a churchman, I wholly repudiate it. The dissensions to which I have referred have prevailed, prevail still, and cannot terminate as long as this impost exists. What is its natural and inevitable result? It must be to create and stimulate the pride of supremacy in the dominant church, and at the same time produce what I shall call the imitation of subjugation and injustice on the part of that great portion of the people who support their own ministers and places of worship, and who think that they ought not to be called upon to support those of any other sect or church. Now, is it necessary that this should continue? I often have occasion in this house to give hope to honourable gentlemen opposite. They are probably the most despaning political party that any country ever had within its borders. They despair of almost everything. They despair of agriculture. Agriculture triumphs. They despair of their church, yet wherever that church has been left to its own resources and to the zeal of its members, its triumph has been manifest to the country and to the world. Are you made of different material from the five millions of people who go to the Dissenting chapels of England and Wales? You have your churches—I speak of the old ones, and not of those recently erected by means of voluntary contributions—you have your churches, which you call national, and you have them for nothing. You have your ministers paid out of property anciently bequeathed or intrusted to the state for their

use. In that respect you stand in a far better position for undertaking what, if church-rates are abolished, you must undertake, than do the great body of your Dissenting brethren. Have you less zeal, have you less liberality than they have? Do not you continually boast in this house that you are the owners of the great bulk of the landed property of the country? Are you not the depositaries of political power, and do you not tell us that when a Dissenter becomes rich he always walks away from the chapel into your church? If this be so, am I appealing in vain to you, or reasoning in vain with you, when I try to encourage you to believe that if there were no church-rates the members of your church and your congregations would be greatly improved, and that, as has taken place in the parish in which I live, your churches would be better supported by your own voluntary and liberal contributions than they can ever be by the penny per pound issuing from the pockets of men who do not attend your church, and who are rendered ten times more hostile to it by the very effort to make them contribute to its support." Then referring to the successful efforts of the Wesleyan Methodists, Mr. Bright spoke of their doing marvels "in erecting chapels, paying ministers, establishing schools—raising the dead, if you like—for men who were dead to religion have been made Christians, and they have preached the gospel in every county, I might almost say in every parish, in the kingdom."

Mr. Bright also asked what would be the condition of the population, the religious establishments, the education throughout England and Wales, but for the liberality of the sects who were not members of the Church of England, and having referred to former experiences of the Irish tithe and to the condition of the Welsh Dissenters, he said "But go a little further north, to a land where men are not supposed to misunderstand their own interests, I refer to the country on the other side of the Tweed. You have an established church there. Many years ago you had two considerable secessions from its pale which became powerful sects. They have since united themselves, and their power has proportion-

ately increased. But lately, within the recollection of every member of this house—for it is but seventeen years ago—there was another great secession; and from what men fancied was the ruin of the Established Church of Scotland there arose a new church, offering, I will say, to the world, an example of zeal and munificence such as has not been witnessed in this country during the lifetime of the present generation. Not long ago, while in Scotland, . . . I found that the Free Church, which comprises probably not more than one-third of the population who pay any attention to religious matters, raised voluntarily, during the year when I made the inquiry, a larger sum than the whole annual emoluments of the Established Church of Scotland. It has built, I think, something like seven hundred churches throughout that part of the kingdom, and as many manse or dwellings for its ministers. It has also established schools in almost every parish. And I tell the house with the utmost sincerity that I believe I never questioned any man in Scotland as to the effect of the Disruption who did not admit that, painful as it was, and utterly as he and many others might have opposed it, still it has been full of blessings to the people of that country."

These having been the expressions of Mr. Bright's opinions in 1860, it was not to be wondered at that he should have supported Sir John Trelawney's renewed attempt in 1861. What the Dissenters felt in this question, he said, was that it was "a struggle for supremacy, and not a question of twopence in the pound—a supremacy on the part of a great establishment which was as much political as religious."

Mr. Disraeli said that if the bill were carried its first effect would be to deprive parishes of the power of self-legislation, a step which ought not to be favoured by the professors of popular principles. The law as it stood was founded on the principle of affording facility for religious worship to the people of this country; but it was declared to be a grievance to the Dissenters. Now a Dissenter was not an alien, but an Englishman with all his feelings and rights, and it was his duty to yield to that majority to which it was a part of our constitutional system to defer, as it was his right to

take advantage of that majority when he belonged to it.

Lord J. Russell said the question was not one of abstract right, but of the advantage of the church. He did not think that the exemption of Dissenters would be a settlement of this question. By assenting to that plan you parted with the principle of a national church; while the difficulty of carrying it into operation would be insuperable. He argued that it would be possible to keep up the fabric of the churches by voluntary contributions, and that if you took away £250,000 a year the churches would not fall into decay. Those who were attached to the Church would do well to allow this cause of difference between Churchmen and Dissenters to be removed. If that were done, no step against the Church would be taken for years; but if this bill were rejected the result would be a continued agitation, and that a Dissenting agitation—and he knew how powerful and well organized that was which would continue till church-rates were finally abolished.

The second reading of the bill was carried by 281 to 266, a majority which showed such a falling off from that of the previous one that the opponents of the measure redoubled their exertions, and on the third reading the numbers were equal and the speaker decided against the bill by his casting-vote, on the ground that such an equality demanded an opportunity for further discussion.

In the following year (1862), on the 14th of May, the question was again brought before the house, but was lost by 287 votes to 286, an amendment proposed by Mr. Estcourt being carried, to the effect that it would be unjust and inexpedient to abolish the ancient customary right exercised from time immemorial by the ratepayers of every parish in England, to raise by rate amongst themselves the sums required for the repair of their church, until some other provision should have been made by parliament for the discharge of those obligations to which, by custom or statute, the churchwardens on the part of the parish were liable.

While on the subject of the church and

church-rates we may refer for a moment to an occurrence which afforded a significant illustration of the question of ritualistic practices, and also of the importance of the views expressed in Mr. Gladstone's letter to the Scottish bishops. During the autumn of the year 1859 the church of Saint George in the East, London, had become notorious, for the remarkable observances of an elaborate ritual which were carried on there under the direction of the rector, the Rev. Bryan King, who had gone so far as to refuse to allow time for the afternoon lecture by the Rev. Hugh Allen, an evangelical clergyman well known for his labours in the poor neighbourhood of White-chapel. The innovations on the usual mode of conducting the service, and the introduction of vestments and ceremonies which the common people pronounced to be "popish," gave great offence to a large part of the congregation, and were resented by a still larger number who did not belong to that or any other congregation, but who took this opportunity to manifest their opinions by creating a riot in the church every Sunday. The Bishop of London unsuccessfully endeavoured to arbitrate in the case. The scenes which were enacted were a public scandal: the services were interrupted by the hooting and yelling of the mob, which fought to gain possession of the seats: the police, even when they endeavoured to interfere, were powerless to prevent the profanity and violence of the struggling crowd within the building, and the tumult was increased by the barking and howling of dogs introduced for the purpose of being set on the officiating priests and choristers. The bishop at length, assuming an authority which he did not legally possess, ordered the church to be closed for a time, but on its being reopened the rioting was at once resumed, even though the vestments and ceremonies which were the alleged cause of them were discarded, and it continued until the rector was exchanged to another parish.

Any mention of the relation of religion to social progress at this time should remind us that the name of a man who had once held a distinguished position in the English Church

was again heard of from quite a different quarter.

Henry Edward Manning, formerly Archdeacon of Chichester, had now been nominated as the Roman Catholic provost of Westminster. Those who had known most of his opinions were probably not surprised at his secession from the Church of England, those who were acquainted with the power of his personal influence and his intellectual attainments, may reasonably have expected that he would be appointed to fulfil an important office in the Church of Rome.

The youngest of four sons of Mr. William Manning, a London merchant, who was for many years M.P. for Lymington and governor of the Bank of England, Henry Edward Manning had been educated at Harrow and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he obtained the highest classical honours. Soon afterwards he was elected to a fellowship of Merton College, which he vacated on his marriage with a daughter of the Rev. John Sargent, rector of Lavington and Graffham in Sussex. To this living Mr. Manning succeeded on the death of his father-in-law, and there he published treatises on *The Unity of the Church* and *The Rule of Faith*, both in accordance with the views which he had long professed. For he had been one of the most active among the leaders of the "Anglo-Catholic" or Tractarian movement which originated at Oxford in 1833, and had so greatly attracted the regard of all those with whom he came in contact that, in some respects, he occupied as influential a position as that of Newman or Pusey. In 1840 he was appointed Archdeacon of Chichester, to the surprise of those who knew that the bishop from whose hands he received the nomination held opinions entirely at variance with his own. If the appointment was intended to keep him within the pale of the Anglican Church, it failed. Unlike some of those who have since brought dissension and reproach into their communions, he had "the courage of his convictions," as Newman also had. The Gorham controversy of 1850 is understood to have been the immediate occasion of his secession. His last public act as a minister of the English Church was his

appearance at a large meeting held to protest against the decision of the privy-council in that case. He afterwards, in conjunction with Archdeacon Wilberforce of Yorkshire and Dr Mill of Cambridge, drew up and published a formal protest, and at about the same time relinquished his preferments.

Mr Manning had long been a widower without children, and on his secession he spent the winter of 1850-1851 in retirement, after which he was admitted to the Roman Catholic communion by the Rev Mr. Brownbill at Farm Street Chapel near Berkeley Square. Soon afterwards he was made a member of the priesthood, entered upon a course of studies in the Collegio Pio at Rome, and on leaving, received the cap of Doctor of Divinity from Pope Pius.

He became noted as a preacher in Rome, but on his return to England undertook no public charge beyond occupying a confessional in the church of the Jesuits in Farm Street and frequent occasional preaching, until he was appointed to the direction of a new mission served by the members of the congregation of St Charles, in the poorest part of Westminster, and subsequently to the mission of the church of St. Helen, afterwards "St. Mary of the Angels," Bayswater. He again visited Rome in the winter of 1856, and on his return in the following year, was nominated by the pope to the provostship of Westminster, of which he became Roman Catholic Cardinal Archbishop after the death of Dr. Wiseman, in February, 1865. The consecration took place in the Roman Catholic Chapel, Moorfields. There was little external resemblance between the somewhat reserved, thin, and ascetic-looking Cardinal Manning and his portly, rubicund predecessor, about whom something has been said in a previous page. The peculiar social influence which Dr. Manning had displayed at Oxford, however, was still there, and though able to maintain his hold on the people to the spiritual control of whom he was officially appointed, he was also able to meet the promoters of social progress and public beneficence on common ground, and to be one of the foremost advocates of that true Christian unity which consists in

working together for the purpose of advancing temperance, morality, and charitable effort.

Perhaps in relation to some of the extravagances of the period now under review, we should not pass altogether unnoticed the introduction of what was called "Spiritualism," but which has since been more correctly designated "Spiritism," an importation from America, which had in it very little that was really new, and probably not much that could be altogether dissociated from what was delusion on the one hand and imposture on the other. The claim of certain persons who called themselves "mediums" to obt in for a company assembled in a dark room, and sitting with their hands on a table, communications from departed spirits, had a certain resemblance to the ancient Greek or Roman divination of the tripod; and a large number of persons were to be found ready not only to become the dupes of designing "mediums" of "spiritualistic" manifestations, but to join in dark séances and adopt the extraordinary pretensions by which they fell into a condition of spasmodic or even of chronic delusion.

This is not the place to discuss the possibility of remarkable physical impressions resulting from little known, nervous, or mental conditions, or the peculiar influence of animal magnetism about which we have yet so much to learn: but it may be stated that self-styled spiritualistic "phenomena" were placed outside scientific investigation by the professors of the "new manifestation" themselves, while repeated impostures, the evident weakness of the victims, and the irreverent absurdity of the demonstrations were sufficiently apparent to men accustomed to deal with evidence, to prevent the claims of the spiritists being generally accepted. At the same time there were so many persons of distinction and of social importance who took up the craze that the mental balance of the country seemed to be disturbed, and religion itself was likely to suffer because of the degrading superstitions and the obvious deceptions which were associated with the thoughts of immortality. Many of the advocates of Spiritism claimed for it, that it supported a belief in a

future state, without reflecting that numbers of its most trusted exponents had been detected in scandalous impostures, and that the manifestations attributed to the spirits, even of the great and good, were so trivial, and often so repulsive, that had they been true they could scarcely be regarded otherwise than as evidences of an immortal imbecility.

The arch-medium of the period was one Home, who gave himself out to be a scion of the Douglas family, and perhaps the attitude of the more sensible portion of the community may be illustrated by the reply of Professor Faraday to Sir Emerson Tennant when he was invited to take part in one of Home's *séances*. Faraday had already turned his keen attention to the claims of the spiritists, and now said —

"I do not wish to give offence to anyone, or to meddle with this subject again. I lost much time about it formerly in the hope of developing some new force of power, but found nothing worthy of attention. I can only look at it now as a natural philosopher and because of the respect due to myself I will not enter upon any further attention or investigation, unless those who profess to have a hold upon the effects agree to aid to the uttermost. To this purpose they must consent (and desire) to be as critical upon the matter, and full of test investigation in regard to the subject, as any natural philosopher is in respect of the germs of his discoveries. How could electricity, that universal spirit of matter, ever have been developed in its relation to chemical action, to magnetic action, to its application in the explosion of mines, the weaving of silk, the extension of printing, the electro-telegraph, the illumination of light-houses, &c., except by rigid investigation grounded on the strictest critical reasoning, and the most exact and open experiment? And if these so called occult manifestations are not utterly worthless, they must and will pass through a like ordeal." It must be remembered that Faraday was no sceptic in religion. He was a devout member of a very small and simple sect of Christians who professed to found their belief on the doctrines of the New Testament; it is not surprising, therefore, that he could not accept the unexplained but none

the less insignificant vagaries exhibited by the mediums as communications from the noble spirits of the just in the world beyond the grave. Some exposures which were subsequently made in a trial where Mr Home or Hume was the defendant, as well as the detection of several impositions, served to discredit the spiritist professors, but for a long time the craze maintained a sinister influence and was the cause of much domestic calamity and social mischief.

The quotation which we have made from Faraday's letter indicates the enormous rapidity with which the application of electricity to industrial operations had spread. We have already glanced at some of the prominent inventions and improvements which marked the advances of scientific discovery but any comprehensive record, however brief, of the progress made in almost every department of engineering and manufacturing skill would extend these pages beyond their proper limits. The invention of Mr. Henry Bessemer in 1855-6, for producing a special kind of steel by passing cold air through liquid iron, had been of great importance in our engineering works, and the adoption of iron-plated ships had necessitated the production in our arsenals and shipyards, of engines and tools of enormous power, by which the metal could be treated as though it were wood—and planed, drilled, and pressed into shape with marvellous rapidity and precision. In the domestic ranks of life, improvements in the sewing-machine, which had first been introduced in America by Howe, soon resulted in a complete revolution of the business of the cheap tailor and the seamstress. Washing-machines, and various ingenious appliances of domestic conveniences, many of them of American invention, came into use, and no such rapid development had taken place in the larger operations of mechanical industry since the invention of the steam-hammer by Nasmyth, and its introduction in 1842.

In other countries the progress of great enterprises was also remarkable, and it may be remembered that, in 1861, the tunnel through Mont Cenis, which had previously been car-

ried for some distance by manual labour, was continued by means of powerful drilling-machines. In England the activity of invention and application appeared to be universal and to affect every department of social life. Mr Bessemer (who was subsequently knighted) had, besides his great invention, given much attention to the construction of river steamers. Marine engineering advanced greatly, and in the department of river and ocean-going vessels the improvements were of the utmost importance. Indeed the great increase of our shipping, and consequently the position which we held as carriers for the world, was associated in its advantages with the augmentation of our imports and exports already noticed.

The total tonnage entered and cleared at ports in the foreign trade in 1850 was 14,000,000 tons, and in 1860 this had increased to 24,000,000 tons. The English tonnage engaged in vessels with cargoes in 1850 was 9,000,000 tons, in 1860 it had increased to 14,000,000 tons. The development of the steam marine was one of the great causes of this remarkable growth of commercial enterprise, but this again greatly depended upon the development of international commerce and the enterprise of exploration and discovery, which opened up new channels for trade and promoted the national interests. There were several exploring expeditions set on foot during this time, and still more endeavours were made to open up new commercial relations.

The expedition of the *Fox* steamer, fitted out by Lady Franklin in 1857 and commanded by Captain M'Clintock, had brought home tidings of the lost Franklin expedition, of the abandonment of the *Erebus* and *Terror* in the ice, the departure of the 105 survivors under the command of Captain Crozier towards the Great Fish River, and the death of Sir John Franklin on the 11th of June, 1847. Many relics of the lost crews had been recovered. On the 28th of May, 1860, the gold medal of the Geographical Society was presented to Lady Franklin and to the commander, —then Sir Leopold M'Clintock,—and Lady Franklin claimed for her husband the crown-

ing discovery of the north-west passage, which cost himself and his companions their lives. At anyrate the north-west passage had been made in 1851 by Captain MacLure in the *Investigator*.

In Australia explorations of the interior had not had any very important result since the tracing of the rivers Murray, Darling, and Murrumbidgee by Major Mitchell in 1836, but the discoveries were, at all events, sufficient to prove that there was no open tract where water could be procured, or the needs of a large exploring party adequately provided for.

The trade with Japan was opened up by English enterprise, and the Japanese government, after some difficulties, subsequently became exceedingly friendly; but it was in Africa that the most important discoveries took place. In 1857 Captain Burton and Captain Speke, starting from Zanzibar, had reached a great lake connected with the Nile, which was named the Victoria Nyanza, and much later, in 1864, another large lake was discovered by Samuel, afterwards Sir Samuel, Baker, who named it the Albert Nyanza; but long before this the achievements of Livingstone had become known in England. This famous missionary, who, as a youth, had followed the veteran Moffat to the land of the Bechuana in 1840, had just completed fresh enterprises at Tette on the east coast of Africa, to be followed by an expedition to the Zambesi, provided for by the government. With this, accompanied by Dr. Kirk and several scientific observers, he set out in March, 1868, after a stay of two years in England, from which he had been previously absent for seventeen years during his long missionary wanderings in "the Dark Continent."

David Livingstone was one of those rare beings—a practical enthusiast. Having quite early in life made up his mind to a career, he began at once to take the means which lay nearest to him for preparing for the work, and whatever he did or learned, he had the end he had proposed to himself distinctly in view. His father was employed in the linen factories of Blantyre, near Glasgow, where David himself wrought first as a piecer-lay

and afterwards as a spinner; but like many another Scotch lad he worked hard at his calling during the summer and in winter attended the college classes. Young Livingstone was as assiduous at Anderson's College, Glasgow, as he was industrious at the Blantyre mills. By the time he was sixteen years old he had a good knowledge of Horace and Virgil, and had read with avidity such books as Dr Dick's *Philosophy of Religion* and *Philosophy of a Future State*, besides dipping pretty intelligently into scientific works, and indeed any other books he could get hold of except novels, with which he had no concern. He had probably even then some idea of being a missionary, for soon afterwards he distinctly desired to prepare himself for becoming a pioneer of Christianity in China, with the hope that by teaching the true religion to the inhabitants of the far East he might lead to the material benefit of some portions of that great empire. As one step towards the fulfilment of his wish he commenced studying medicine, in which he ultimately attained some proficiency and passed the necessary examinations. At the same time, taking Patrick's *Plants of Lanarkshire* as a manual, he made some progress in botany, and explored both the botany and the geology of the district. At the age of nineteen he was attending the medical and the Greek winter classes in Glasgow, and the divinity lectures of Dr. Wardlaw in the summer, but he was still at work at the factory, where he placed his book on the "spinning-jenny" so that he could catch sentence after sentence while he went on with his labour, and keep up constant study undisturbed by the roar of machinery. In 1838 he offered his services to the London Missionary Society, on account, he said, of the unsectarian character of that institution, which "sends out neither Episcopacy nor Presbyterianism, but the gospel of God to the heathen." This early expression was perhaps as illustrative of the broad, simple character of Livingstone's religion as the remarkable reference which he long afterwards made to the deserted and ruined convents at Loanda, when he spoke of them as "decayed missionary establishments," and they had justified the title, for he mentions it was

"not an uncommon sight to see a black sitting in the evening, with his fire stick in one hand and a pen in the other, writing in a beautiful hand a petition to a commandant." Having been accepted as a candidate for missionary work he was summoned to London to undergo the usual examinations before the directors of the society, and was then sent with other probationers to a training establishment at Chipping Ongar, in Essex, where he pursued his studies in languages, for which he showed remarkable aptitude. It was a simple life that he led during his probation before being ordained to the work that lay before him, and "the pale, thin, modest, retiring young man, with a peculiar Scotch accent," as one of his companions described him to be—was ready not only to learn but to labour, for we find him grinding the corn to make the brown-bread for the household, chopping the wood for the fires, and either alone or in company with one of his fellow probationers taking long walks of sixteen or eighteen miles. When once his natural reserve yielded to friendly advances he was found to be peculiarly frank, kindly, and helpful, and the variety of his early studies gave him many opportunities of showing practical fitness for the work of the pioneer, while his healthy religious freedom was equally in favour of his ability to carry the gospel to those who had never heard its message of liberty and peace. It was no longer to China that he directed his attention. "The opium war" and other occurrences had for a time interfered with missionary work in that country, and he had been already looking toward Africa, when, in 1840, just as he had passed into manhood, he was appointed to a South African station. For eight or nine years he laboured zealously at Kolobeng in the interior beyond the Orange River, while Robert Moffat was pursuing his arduous duty in the same region at Kuruman, then the most distant outpost of Christianity till Livingstone pushed onward two hundred miles further north. It was no wonder that these two men became cordially united in the work which they had so earnestly undertaken, and their friendship was consolidated by the marriage of the young missionary with Moffat's daughter,

who, with three native teachers, formed his sole staff from 1845 to 1849, when he united the work of the explorer to that of the teacher. One of his earlier journeys was to Lake Ngami, in 1849, and a year or two later he reached the Zambesi. His next great journey was from the southern interior to Loanda on the west coast, a feat which procured him, in 1855, the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society, but this performance was quite eclipsed by his return journey across the whole continent to the mouth of the Zambesi, including a series of discoveries, among which perhaps that of the great Victoria Falls was the chief. He had now of course become acquainted with the languages, habits, and religious notions of many tribes till then unknown. We have no space to follow the details of his discoveries—nor is it necessary, since he published a full account of his travels in books which have been widely circulated and are still read with deep interest. Before his return to England in 1856 it was calculated that Livingstone must have passed over no less than 11,000 miles of land, for the most part untrodden by any European, and up to that time believed to be inaccessible. He returned, as his friend and admirer, Sir Roderick Murchison, said, “as the pioneer of sound knowledge who, by his astronomical observations, had determined the sites of various places, hills, rivers, and lakes, hitherto nearly unknown, while he had seized upon every opportunity of describing the physical features, climatology, and even geological structure of the countries which he had explored, and pointed out many new sources of commerce as yet unknown to the scope and enterprise of the British merchant.” Lord Ellesmere too spoke of the scientific precision with which the unarmed and unassisted English missionary had left his mark upon so many important stations in regions hitherto blank upon our maps. In a letter to the *Times* Livingstone strongly recommended the encouragement of the growth of cotton in the interior of Africa, as one of the means of opening up commercial intercourse between this country and the tribes of Central and Southern Africa, and of gradually but certainly and finally suppressing the slave-

trade and advancing human progress and civilization.

But Livingstone was preparing for further researches. Supported by encouragement and practical aid both from our own and from the Portuguese government, with personal expressions of sincere interest from the queen and Prince Albert, and after the public recognition of his services at a banquet at the London Tavern, and the subscription of a Livingstone testimonial fund by the leading merchants, bankers, and citizens of London, he set out with the other members of his expedition to the eastern coast of Africa, where the Zambesi falls into the ocean. Here two small steamers were placed at their disposal and they ascended the river to the interior. The results of the explorations were the discovery of the minor lakes, Nyassa and Shirewa, and after traversing a great extent of country 300 miles to the north-west of Nyassa, the finding of the mouths of the Zambesi, and exploring the immense surrounding territory. The premature attempt of the mission afterwards sent out, chiefly by Oxford and Cambridge, to establish a station on the banks of the river, failed; first, by the death of Bishop Mackenzie, who fell a victim to the climate, and afterwards by the hopelessness of the endeavour and the necessity for its abandonment by Mackenzie's successor Bishop Tozer—but the discoveries were made, and the country is no longer a terra incognita. The reader who would learn the particulars of Livingstone's researches on this expedition may find them in the explorer's own “narrative” of the discovery of a large tract of fertile soil, rich in cotton, tobacco, and timber, though subject to periodical drought; and of the establishment of an excellent port, the capacities of which had been overlooked by previous travellers. Some of his conclusions have been disputed by other writers, but the enormous value of his discoveries could not be denied. In this expedition, which had been prepared by members of the Geographical Society, and in which he was assisted by the advice of Captain Washington, hydrographer to the admiralty, Commander Beddington, R.N., Dr. Kirk of Edinburgh, Mr. Baines the African

and Australian traveller, and by his ever-faithful friend and companion, his devoted wife, he was enabled, to use the expression of Sir R. Murchison, "to reach the high watersheds that lie between his own Nyassa and the Tanganyika of Burton and Speke, and to establish the fact that those lakes did not communicate with each other, and that, if so, then there was, to say the least, a high probability that the Tanganyika, if it did not empty itself to the west, through the region of Congo, must find an exit for its waters northwards by way of the Nile"

Many of the particulars of this slight sketch of Livingstone's explorations appeared in the *Times* of January 28th, 1874, in a sad obituary notice. But to the shadowed page recording his death we may again have to turn. It is sufficient here to state that, in 1865, he left England for the third and last of his journeys to Central Africa, where, under the auspices of the Geographical Society, he was to seek a solution of the old mystery—the real sources of the Nile. It will not be out of place to recall two or three simple incidents among the honours and congratulations that welcomed the missionary explorer during his stay in England in 1857–58.

The city of Glasgow made him free of its time-honoured guild; the burghers of Hamilton, his birthplace, were proud to present to him the freedom of their busy town, and the manager and people of the Blantyre works, where he wrought as a piecer-boy, were only too happy to meet and entertain him. Congratulatory addresses poured in upon him from all quarters, and he received invitations out of number to attend public meetings, to be got up especially to honour him; but none of these attentions were so affecting and significant as the spontaneous offering of the boys of the Stockport Ragged School, and the manner in which it was received and responded to. Here are the letters which explain the simple occurrence.

Wycliffe Villa,
Stockport, January, 1857.

My dear Sir,—I think it will give you pleasure to receive the inclosed thirty postage stamps. Mr. Jackson, the master of our

Stockport Ragged Industrial, told his pupils of your journeys and adventures, and the motives by which you were actuated. One of the lads said, "Let's give him some money!" and with one consent they resolved to do so, and immediately commenced a subscription. Some gave all their money, and others, who had no penny, sold their marbles to obtain it. If you could see the lads, and knew who and what they are, you would be as much astonished as myself, and you would admit the offering is not only spontaneous, but as munificent as the one presented you at the Mansion House—Rejoicing in your honours as homage done to the cause of the Saviour, I am, dear sir, yours very respectfully,

Rev Dr Livingstone

JOHN THORNTON.

Mission House, Bloomfield Street,
London, 23d January, 1857

My dear Sir,—I beg you will assure the boys, who so generously expressed their approbation of my labours in Africa, that nothing has delighted me more since my return to England than their honest, spontaneous deed. I give them all my warmest thanks, from a heart overflowing with emotion, and wishing that God may abundantly bless them with His favour and love. I have very little time to write to any one, as I am engaged in the preparation of a narrative of my late explorations, and must keep my word with one hundred and ten poor native Africans, who accompanied me from the centre of the country to the east coast, and now await the fulfilment of my promise at Tette. I ought to be back to them in April, but I fear, after all I can do, I must be about two months later than my appointed time in April. Were it not for this, I should try and visit the boys and speak with them; but as this can scarcely be, I would just commend them all to the care of our blessed Lord Jesus, and ask them to try Him as their friend and guide through life. They may make Him their confidant, for He listens to every prayer wafted to Him from the lowliest bosom. "In Him we live, and move, and have our being," and He is as tender and compassionate to every one of them, and knows all their cases and cares, as if they

were the only persons in the world. And then, if they are like Him, they will all show love to every one about them, and to everything beautiful, and good, and true.

"He prayeth best who loveth best,
All things, both great and small,
For the dear Lord to whom we pray,
He made and loveth all"

Thanking you and them again for your most friendly feelings, and hoping that they may not again deprive themselves of any comfort, I am, dear sir, yours most truly,

DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

Mr John Thornton, Stockport

While on the subject of Africa we may glance at a singular controversy which was revived in 1859, the associations of which are more important than the discussion itself. As early as 1847 several rumours had reached England of the discovery in Central Africa of an enormous ape, the conformation of which was said to approach so nearly to that of man that it might be regarded as the link between the human being and the brute creation. This creature, it was said, frequently walked upright, was of such enormous strength that it was scarcely afraid of the lion; could climb trees, from which it would reach down its long arm, clutch a passing native by the throat, and strangle him in its powerful grasp. It had been known to arm itself with an enormous bludgeon, and to lie upon a branch waiting to stun other animals as they passed beneath, or even furtively to attack the elephant. Its muscular force was prodigious, its fierceness terrible, and though it showed little intelligence, and was called by the negroes "the stupid old man," it was supposed to possess a kind of malicious and self-protecting craft. Only some part of the skeletons and the crania of the animals were first sent here, but in 1859 a young specimen was captured and forwarded to Europe. Professor Owen lectured upon the formation of the "gorilla," as it was called, and pointed out the differences between its structure and that of the lowest order of negro. The newspapers were full of it, and serious orthodox people felt some alarm lest the confirmation, or supposed confirmation,

of these reports should do injury to religious belief, while others were rather disgusted at being suspected of having had so repulsive an ancestor.

At the end of the year 1859, however, the "missing link" had become a byword because of the agitation caused by Dr Darwin's theory of "the origin of species" by natural selection, which very few people had given themselves the trouble to examine or to understand, but about which there was an almost universal outcry of praise, ridicule, fear, or condemnation. A very large number of those who are sometimes spoken of as "the religious world" were at once in violent hostility to the theory, which, without hesitation, was declared to be opposed to revealed truth, and to be destructive of the very foundations of faith. It did not seem to occur to these reasoners that their own faith could have little foundation if it could be upset by a mere scientific speculation, and the more thoughtful minds were not indisposed to wait for further explanations of what the eminent naturalist meant, before pronouncing that either revelation or belief was endangered by his theorizing. There were, on the other hand, people who repelled the notion of the development of species, because it was, they thought, opposed to the true dignity of man as an intelligent, emotional, and reflecting being, with a spiritual nature. Men like Kingsley, and of course a great many of less calibre, were at first vehemently against it. While they treated such speculations with serious rebuke and sarcasm, the wits and humorists, whether they accepted the theory or not, found in it an endless theme for jests and comic illustrations. The rash critics who, like Kingsley, knew enough of natural history to give the subject some subsequent examinations, afterwards mitigated and many of them tacitly revoked their former conclusions. On strict examination the theory—and it was only put forward as a theory—became much less dangerous to sacred beliefs and the truths of revelation than had been supposed. Those who had already necessarily accepted the scientific conclusions from geological discoveries had to reflect that an absolutely literal interpretation of our version of the first book of the

Scriptures need not be insisted on as a test of orthodoxy, and numbers of men of science known to be devout and pious Christians were ready to give their admiration, if not their immediate adhesion, to the extensive generalization which had resulted in speculations so wide and yet so inclusive as those of Darwin. The theory of natural selection, that is, of the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for existence, represented that during a long course of descent, species of plants and animals are modified by the selective preservation of slightly varied forms, adapted somewhat better than their fellows to the circumstances in which they are placed. The modification of species was not an absolutely new doctrine, and even Darwin, who carried it out to what he believed to be legitimate conclusions, did not confidently assert how far it would extend. He did not assert, he merely indicated by expressing his own convictions. He had put forth a suggestion, and though his own observations had led him to regard it as a conclusive discovery, he left it to be verified by others as he thought he had verified it to himself. "I cannot doubt," he said, "that the theory of descent, with modification, embraces all the members of the same class. I believe that animals have descended from at most only four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or lesser number." But speculatively he went farther. "Analogy would lead me one step farther," he said, "namely, to the belief that all animals and plants have descended from some one prototype, but this inference is chiefly grounded on analogy, and it is immaterial whether or not it be accepted. The case is different with the members of each great class, as the Vertebrata, the Articulata, &c., for here we have distinct evidence that all have descended from a single parent."

This of course is not the place to discuss the probable truth or error of such conclusions, we have only to concern ourselves for the moment with their historical relations, and to note that the opinions of the greater number of Darwin's opponents were soon afterwards modified or retracted. In less than ten years Professor Huxley (who was one of the earliest and most ardent advocates of the same theory)

could say in a lecture at the Royal Institution, that so rapidly had these conclusions been accepted and established that he began to think they would shortly require for their welfare a little healthful opposition. This of course was a somewhat humorous way of putting it, but it is a very striking fact that a statement which, when first definitely put forth in November, 1859, was received with a storm of ridicule, indignation, and even execration, soon came to be regarded with quiet attention, and though it continued to be opposed on scientific as well as on religious grounds, gained considerably by the reaction which succeeded its first reception. Educated and even half educated people who had been among those who raised the outcry against the proponent of the theory and had loaded him with epithets, began to be a little ashamed of having so treated a man who was known to be a devout believer in religion, and who concluded his treatise by saying "From the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one, and that whilst this planet has gone cycling on, according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved."

Charles Darwin may be said to have been a born scientific investigator. His father was Dr. R. W. Darwin, F.R.S., his grandfather the famous Dr. Erasmus Darwin, author of the *Botanic Garden* and *Zoonomia*. From Shrewsbury grammar-school he went to Edinburgh University for two years, and thence to Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1831, when he was twenty-two years old. In the same year, having heard that Captain Fitzroy, who was about to sail on a voyage of circumnavigation in her majesty's ship *Beagle*, had offered to share his cabin with any competent naturalist, Darwin applied for the appointment. His "Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural History of the

Various Countries visited during the Voyage of H.M.S. *Beagle* round the world" is the delightful record of this journey, and shows how ardently the young naturalist had pursued his studies in zoology and geology, and how widely they had reached in various areas of inquiry, though botany was the favourite pursuit. This voyage vastly increased the scientific knowledge of the young inquirer, but it permanently injured his health, and sowed the seeds of weakness of the chest and heart, the disease of which he died. But Darwin, though he was frequently an invalid, performed an amazing amount of work requiring great patience and arduous attention, and he lived to be seventy-three, having read two papers before the Linnæan Society only a year before his death, at about the time of the publication of a remarkable work on earthworms, respecting which his investigations had shown the enormous importance of the part they play in the world, by gradually covering the surface of the earth with a layer of mould.

Darwin received the gold medal of the Royal Society in 1853, and the Wollaston Palladian medal of the Geological Society in 1859. In 1875 the University of Leyden conferred upon him the honorary degree of M.D., and in 1877 the University of Cambridge made him a Doctor of Laws. He married in 1839 the granddaughter of Josiah Wedgwood, F.R.S., the well-known manufacturer of artistic earthenware. We have noted that his work on the *Origin of Species* had, even at the period which we are now considering, begun to find acceptance with many, and was no longer mentioned with such detestation as it had met with on its first appearance. Of that book he afterwards said: "It seemed to me sufficient to indicate that by this work 'light would be thrown on the origin of man and his history,'" for this implied that man "must be included with other organic beings in any general conclusion respecting his manner of appearance on this earth." These words occur in a more recent and even more startling book, the *Descent of Man*, in which Darwin dealt at length, and boldly, with that subject on which he had hitherto deemed it well

to be reticent, and presented man as descending from a hairy quadruped, furnished with a tail and pointed ears, and probably a climber of trees, and traced back the chain of descent until he found as the progenitor of all the vertebrate animals, some aquatic creature with brain, heart, and other organs imperfectly developed. This book gave another shock to those (a great majority of course) who had not accepted the conclusions of the former one; but it is to be noted that it was received with very different demonstrations as a theoretical contribution to science, by a man, who had already implied that he would not stop short in tracing the development of the higher organizations from the extremest point of animal life, and who saw in this theory a nobler conception of Divine creative power than in that usually received and adopted.

Whatever opinions may be held on the subject, it cannot be doubted that the minute investigations and avowed conclusions of Dr. Darwin and of Mr. Huxley—who may rather be regarded as his independent colleague and supporter than as his follower—have done much to change the scope and method of scientific inquiry and experiment, in relation to the remoter forms of animal and vegetable life and organization.

We must now return to glance at what was going on in parliament, and that reminds us that we have not quite done with the financial statement of 1860, and with all that was involved by the adoption of the terms of the commercial treaty with France. We have already seen that some agitation had been made at various periods for the abolition of the taxes on paper. On the 2d of February, 1859, a demonstration against the retention of excise or any other duties on paper had been made at Exeter Hall. Mr. Milner Gibson presided, and was supported by a number of influential gentlemen. Mr. William Chambers of Edinburgh made a telling speech, and was followed by Dr. Watts, who represented that the paper-duty was a tax on literature, an obstruction to education, an impediment to commerce, and a hindrance to production; that it interfered with the process of manufacture.

repressed industry, and injured the public revenue. The meeting called upon Mr. Gibson still further to press the House of Commons on the subject of the abolition of the duties, so that in the ensuing session arrangements might be made to dispense with the tax. A petition to the House of Commons was then unanimously adopted.

The abolition of these taxes came not unnaturally into the scheme of the commercial treaty, and the provisions of the budget of 1860 included the remission not only of the excise duty on paper, but of the import duty on paper coming from abroad.

That duty had been three-halfpence a pound, and some of the principal paper-makers in the country represented that it was no more than sufficient to enable them to hold their own against foreign competition. The reply to this was that the abolition of the excise duty not only required, but, by the terms of the commercial treaty, demanded, the remission of the import duty on paper coming from France. One of the clauses of that treaty provided that we should have the right of placing an import duty on French goods of sufficient amount to counterbalance any excise duty which might be laid on the same class of goods in England, and it was argued that this should be honourably interpreted to mean that the abolition of the excise duty on an article required the free admission of the same kind of article from France. This was regarded as rather a strained interpretation of the provision of the treaty, but the paper-makers had another argument in the fact that while it was proposed to remit the import duty on French paper, the French would maintain such a large export duty on their rags (the raw material of paper), that they could not be obtained in the English market except at a price which placed our manufacturers under a considerable disadvantage. Hitherto there had been a prohibition of the export of rags from France, and though an export duty was to be adopted instead of absolute prohibition, the abandonment of the duty on foreign paper coming to this country while the supply of foreign rags to English paper-makers was saddled with a duty which greatly enhanced their cost, was a dis-

tinct injustice. The controversy on this question was long and sometimes violent, and it was admitted at the time that there was inequality of interests from which English paper-makers would suffer, but on the other hand it was argued that the general benefits to be derived from the treaty could not be rejected, much less could the avowed principles of free-trade be disavowed for the sake of maintaining the balance of advantage for one particular industry. Looking at the question from the point of view of the consumer it was asked why the benefits of our free-trade policy should be restricted because of the remaining "protective" legislation of the French government, and why an import duty should be maintained on French paper for the purpose of making paper in England dearer than it otherwise would be. The opponents of the Paper Duties Bill, which formed, as it were, a separate part of the general financial measure, were active and were able to secure the support of influential friends, so that although the second reading was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 53, that majority was reduced to 9 on the third reading. This result encouraged an effort to oppose the bill in the House of Lords, and the effort was for a time successful. Lord Monteagle (formerly Mr. Spring Rice and Whig chancellor of the exchequer) gave notice of a motion to reject the bill, and Lord Derby and Lord Chelmsford agreed to support him.

A crisis was imminent, because, if the Lords claimed the power to reject this portion of the financial scheme of the chancellor of the exchequer, they thereby demanded the authority to interfere with, or reimpose, the taxation of the country in opposition to the Commons. There were those, and among them the aged Lord Lyndhurst, who argued that, though the Peers had not exerted authority to alter a money bill, they had a right to refuse their assent to a repeal of taxation, and that this was an instance in which the exercise of that right would be justified. Lord Cranworth, the lord chancellor, on the other hand, urged that the proposed course, if not strictly speaking an unconstitutional proceeding, was so thinly separated from it that the distinction

would be imperceptible to ordinary minds. But the House of Lords had been apparently well canvassed. As was afterwards the case in the Church Rate Bill, the majority in favour of the repeal of the paper duty had dwindled in the House of Commons. A considerable number of the members of the Upper House went down to have their fling at the chancellor of the exchequer and the free-traders. When the Paper Duties Bill was brought up it was rejected on the second reading by a majority of eighty-nine, and the Lords had assumed a right, which it was afterwards averred they had been distinctly prohibited from claiming by repeated decisions entered upon parliamentary records, to the effect that the whole provision for supply and for the taxation, or the remission of the taxation of the country, rested with the Commons alone. To say the least of it, this action of the Lords was a very serious challenge to the Lower House, and a direct claim of power to annul its financial plans. It was expected that a collision between the two houses must follow, and there was some surprise, if not actual disappointment, when it was found that Lord Palmerston was quite unlikely to accept the decision against the paper duties as a reason for a ministerial crisis. Probably he cared almost as little about the remission of the duties, or the free importation of foreign paper, as the majority of the opponents of the measure; but he cared a great deal about not being exposed to the necessity for resignation or for the dissolution of parliament, or even for raising a whirlwind of defiance of the Lords. He was growing old, he was in power, and was likely to remain so for some time longer. He had no desire to initiate or to champion further political reforms, and the free-trade movement had gone rather beyond the tether which he had regarded as the extent of its operations. His policy was to quiet both houses, if possible to induce the Lords to recede by making the way to back out easy for them, and to avoid the break up of the government, which might follow the persistent rejection of the scheme of the chancellor of the exchequer, on whose financial achievements he afterwards had to rely in order to support

the claims of the ministry against an attack upon its general policy. Instead of assailing the House of Lords, the prime minister gave notice that he should move for a select committee to examine the journals of the House of Lords for precedents for the course which had been adopted in that house with regard to the bill for the repeal of the paper duties, and disclaimed any intention on the part of the government of taking steps which might bring the two houses into collision. The committee was appointed. It was little more than a formality; but it served to delay agitation, and delay to popular agitation usually means its prevention. As a matter of fact, however, though there was a good deal of apparent excitement, which was kept up by the popular cheap newspapers and by those who felt in its full force the antagonism of the Lords, the public took the matter almost as coolly as Lord Palmerston did. Not because they were altogether indifferent to the question in its relation to free-trade, nor because they did not understand the danger of the precedent which the House of Lords sought to establish; but for the reason that they refused to believe in the probability of the House of Commons ultimately giving way. On this occasion, as on many others, Palmerston had pretty accurately noted the temper of the country. He thought he saw a possible way out of the difficulty by giving time for the antagonists of the Paper Duties Bill to reflect. The committee took two months to consider what they should say. What the majority agreed to say was in effect, that they could hardly decide that the privileges of the House of Commons made it actually unconstitutional for the House of Lords to reject a bill imposing a particular tax. Mr. Bright, who was on the committee, was in the minority, and drew up a statement contending, and giving weighty reasons for the contention, that the power to refuse the repeal of a tax, when that repeal had been voted by the House of Commons, was equivalent to depriving the latter of its absolute control over the taxation of the country. There can be little doubt that this view was sound, or the principle of taxation and representation going together would have to be

abandoned. However, when the discussion came on (on the 5th of July), numbers of petitions were presented, praying the house to maintain its right of dealing with all measures for taxation.

It may be assumed that there were special reasons for Lord Palmerston's reluctance to injure the susceptibility of the Lords, or to provoke the opposition by violently resenting the rejection of the Paper Duties Bill. It is possible that he may have recognized among the leaders of the Conservative party an inclination to give his government a general support on certain conditions. That this inclination existed soon afterwards we learn from a passage in *The Life of the Prince Consort*, which mentions that on the return of the court to Windsor on the 12th of January, 1861, among the visitors was Lord Palmerston, with whom arrangements were then made for the dowry and annuity to be asked for from parliament upon the marriage of the Princess Alice, who was betrothed to Prince Louis of Hesse.

"One of the visitors who followed Lord Palmerston was Mr. Disraeli, from whom the prince gathered the general views of the Conservative opposition as to their policy in the approaching session. Their strength was considerable, composed, as they were, of a compact body of three hundred members, but they had no wish for the return of their leaders to office, and, indeed, were anxious to strengthen the hands of the government in a bold national policy. A movement for a reduction of the expenses of our armaments, which had been initiated by Mr. Cobden and his friends, and had taken the shape of a letter to Lord Palmerston, signed by about sixty members of parliament, calling for such a reduction, had shown the existence of a considerable division in the ranks of the usual ministerial supporters. Many of the latter had, however, declined to sanction this appeal, believing, to use the expression of one of their number, General de Lacy Evans, 'that it was neither safe nor expedient to disarm the country.' But the working majority of the government was not so large as to make the defection, on questions of finance, of so large a section of

their party otherwise than embarrassing. The Conservative party, Mr. Disraeli said, were in no way inclined to take advantage of this state of things. On the contrary, they were prepared to support the government, all they required from them in return being that they should state explicitly the principles of their policy, and not enter into a line of what he termed 'democratic finance.' These remarks were made without reserve, and in communicating their tenor to Lord Palmerston (24th January) the prince added — 'Mr. Disraeli said no minister since Mr. Pitt had been so powerful as you might be. The Conservative party was ready not only to give general support to a steady and patriotic policy, but even to help the minister out of scrapes if he got into any.'"

The increased armaments had, in fact, been suggested by Prince Albert himself after he had noticed the Cherbourg defences and the augmentation of the French navy, but Lord Palmerston showed himself willing to take up the scheme of providing for the "national defences" with remarkable celerity. Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, was opposed to the expenditure, for such a purpose, of the revenues which had been secured by the operation of "democratic finance" so far as it had gone, and he was committed not only to a free-trade budget, but to upholding that portion of it which was included in the Paper Duties Bill against the interference of the House of Lords, which he designated "the most gigantic and dangerous invasion of the rights of the Commons which has occurred in modern times."

But to return to the meeting of parliament on the 5th of July, 1860. Lord Palmerston's pacific attitude towards the House of Lords was then made manifest. The house was crowded, the gravity of the situation had produced considerable excitement. Notices had been given of strongly expressed resolutions on the question of privilege. They gave way to Lord Palmerston's intimation that he had resolutions to bring before the house. Those resolutions were. —

1 "That the right of granting aids and supplies to the Crown is in the Commons

alone, as an essential part of their constitution; and the limitation of all such grants, as to matter, manner, measure, and time, is only in them

2 "That although the Lords have exercised the power of rejecting bills of several descriptions relating to taxation by negativing the whole, yet the exercise of that power by them has not been frequent, and is justly regarded by this house with peculiar jealousy as affecting the rights of the Commons to grant the supplies, and to provide the ways and means for the service of the year

3 "That to guard for the future against an undue exercise of that power by the Lords, and to secure to the Commons their rightful control over taxation and supply, this house has in its own hands the power so to impose and remit taxes and to frame bills of supply that the right of the Commons as to the matter, manner, measure, and time may be maintained inviolate"

These resolutions were carried, but they were not received with any great satisfaction. It was felt by the Liberals that they evaded that vindication of the rights of the House of Commons which might have been demanded, and that the House of Lords was treated with a studied forbearance which was too much like deference. Palmerston himself felt that this was the conclusion which might be drawn from his resolutions, and commended them to parliament with the rather dubious explanation that as the House of Lords had been encouraged by the diminished majority in the Lower House on the third reading of the proposed bill, it would be better to be satisfied with a mere declaration of constitutional privileges.

There was something of Palmerston's usual adroitness in these resolutions. His biographer¹ has told us that while he wished to build a bridge for the retreat of the Lords, he had two colleagues in his cabinet who were committed far too deeply by their expressions of wrath at what they termed an outrageous invasion of the liberties of the people, to permit them passing the matter over in silence.

The resolutions were accepted, but neither

Milner Gibson nor Gladstone were likely to regard them with complacency, and though the latter said that they had done all that language could do, to defend the honour of the house, he was prepared to go further and to reserve to himself the right of acting. The precedents quoted, he said, had not touched in the slightest degree the case under consideration. There was a great difference between the House of Lords advising an alteration in a money-bill and rejecting the repeal of a tax. The House of Commons had declared that they could spare from the revenue of the country £1,125,000 of the taxation, and having an option between the tea and the paper duties as to which they should remit, they chose that which they believed would prove more beneficial to the country, though, perhaps, not the most popular. The result had been that the House of Lords had chosen to assume to themselves the power of dictating to the House of Commons, and of saying that the country could not spare such a remission of taxation. Mr. Gladstone maintained that the house had the undoubted right to select the manner in which the people should be taxed, and they were bound to preserve intact that precious deposit. He reserved to himself the privilege of submitting such practical measures as would give effect to the resolutions.

Those practical measures were that the remission of the paper duties was brought forward again in a house where five hundred members, including the speaker, were present, a very unusual number in a house near the end of the session, but they came in response to urgent appeals. Mr. Gladstone represented that the question involved great commercial principles and obligations of honour and policy in relation to a contract with France. For the sake of the paper-makers themselves it would be desirable at once to settle the question. In the opinion of the law officers of the crown the obligation of the treaty was undoubted, and the legal authorities of France concurred in this opinion. The question was also one of policy, and this last article which claimed protection was the touchstone to be applied to old and to new friends of free-trade.

¹ The Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

His proposition was to remove so much of the customs duty on foreign paper as exceeded the amount of the excise duty on that at home, and it was carried by a majority of thirty-three. The announcement was received with a burst of cheering from the Liberal benches which lasted for some minutes, even after the chancellor of the exchequer rose to propose that the remission of the paper duties should be extended to other countries beside France, which was also agreed to.

The question of total abolition of the duties was deferred till the following session, and during the interval was widely discussed throughout the country. What will the Lords do? and what will Gladstone do? were the two questions that were asked when the house met in 1861 and everybody was anxiously awaiting the statements of the budget. If the budget of 1860 had aroused intense interest in the country, that of 1861 was still more exciting. Every avenue to the house was crowded by persons hoping for a chance to gain admission, while within the walls every seat was appropriated. The winter of 1860 had been terribly severe, and there was much suffering in many parts of the country, especially in Lancashire. There had been a deficient harvest, and in some respects the revenue had been overestimated. How would he provide for a probable deficiency? Would "the financial freaks of the chancellor of the exchequer," as Lord Derby at the beginning of the session called the financial policy of the government, avail to enable him to maintain his position in remitting the paper duty?

He was able to do that and more. The audience which sat almost breathless to listen to the masterly scheme which he propounded were once more constrained to admire the clear explanations, the telling emphasis, the complete acquaintance with every detail, displayed in a speech which added the charm of a clear musical voice of sustained power and tone to an unhesitating delivery, and was eminently successful in enforcing comprehensive statements of facts and figures by the appeals and the illustrations that belong to oratory. "In the beautiful tragedy of Schiller," he said,

"Mary Queen of Scots is made to say of herself, 'I have been much hated, but I have also been much beloved,' and I think I may say with equal truth that the financial legislation of last year, while I do not mean to contend that it was not unacceptable to many, met, as a whole, with signal support from a great body of public opinion in this country." The past year, he reminded his hearers, had been signalized by the commercial treaty with France, by the removal of great national burdens, and by the abolition of the last protective duty from our system, but it was a year of the largest expenditure that had occurred in time of peace, and it was characterized by an unparalleled severity of the seasons. Apart from the consideration of two millions voted for the fortifications at the close of the year the estimated expenditure had been £73,664,000, while the actual expenditure was only £72,842,000, leaving a balance of £822,000. But while the revenue in 1859 had been £71,089,000, it was only £70,283,000 in 1860, making a decrease of £800,000, so that while in 1859 there was a favourable balance of £1,200,000 there was in 1860 an apparent deficiency of £2,559,000, which, with certain deductions, would actually stand at £221,000, the difference being partly accounted for by the fact that the preceding year was leap-year, and that Good Friday and the day following had been reckoned in the one year and not in the other. The revenue from customs had somewhat exceeded the estimate, and that from excise had fallen rather below it, according to the rule that in a bad year what was lost by excise would be gained by customs. The loss on articles on which duties had been reduced fell below the estimate, that on wine being only £493,000 instead of £830,000, which was the amount calculated. There had been a considerable increase in the importation of French wines, but it was necessary for the public taste to undergo some change before the full effect of the reduction of duty would be experienced.

The deficiency in the excise arose on three articles, hops, malt, and spirits. With regard to the question of trade as affected by the French treaty had there been a want of em-

ployment among the people of this country, or had other circumstances been such as to diminish the revenue below an adequate amount, the provisions made by the previous year's provident legislation would have been seen to have had a still more marked effect in preventing what would have been a very unsatisfactory condition of affairs.

He emphatically told the house that looking at the whole course of proceedings, from first to last, no one could conceive a more loyal, thorough, intelligent, unflinching determination than had been exhibited by the ministers of France, under the animating spirit and guidance of the emperor, to give full effect alike to the terms and to the principles and spirit of the treaty, not for the sake of British interests, nor with any mere wish of conciliating England, but for the sake of the interests of France. With regard to the effect of the measures of 1860, the export trade of the previous year was £136,000,000 of declared value (as against £130,000,000 in 1859), and this was the largest ever known. There had been an increase in several imported articles: butter, cheese, eggs, and rice gave an increase of £7,000,000 in 1860, as compared with £4,000,000 in 1859; and these were articles on which small customs duties had been abolished. The importation of corn had risen from some £17,000,000 in 1859 to £38,154,000 in 1860, a fearful proof of the failure of production in this country, but an equally cogent proof of the value of that legislation which had removed all obstruction to the importation of that article of necessity. Articles of import on which the duties still remained had been about the same. The articles on which there had been a reduction of duty in the previous year were in value, in 1859, £11,346,000, and in 1860 £13,323,000, while those on which the duty had been abolished in the previous year were in 1859, in value, £15,735,000, and in 1860 £22,630,000, an increase of nearly six millions and a half.

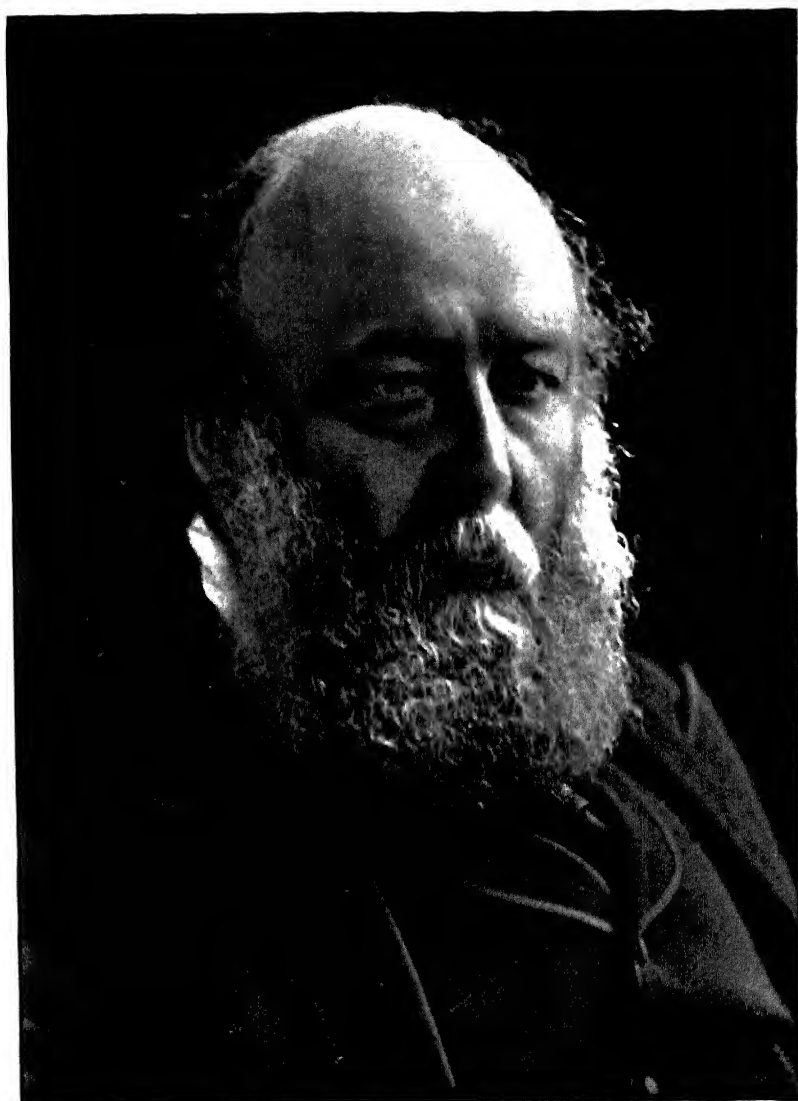
The estimated expenditure for the coming year was £69,900,000, and the estimated revenue £71,823,000. It was therefore proposed to remit the additional penny which had been imposed on the income-tax in 1860,

which would cause a loss to the current financial year of £800,000, and to repeal the duty on paper on the first of the following October, by which the revenue would lose about £665,000. It had been pressed upon the government that there should be a remission of the duties on tea and sugar; but these it had been decided to continue in favour of the greater benefits to be derived from taking the penny from the income-tax and abolishing the paper duties.

In considering the financial condition of the country, it had been necessary to advert to the growing expenditure. In 1858 the sum voted was under £61,000,000, while in 1861 it was nearly £71,000,000, an increase of £10,000,000 in three years; £6,000,000 of taxes being imposed to meet those requirements, while of temporary resources only £2,700,000 had been called in aid for that purpose. The balances in the exchequer in March, 1861, were £6,522,000. As regarded the national debt, £1,000,000 of exchequer bonds had been paid off, but replaced by a new set to the same amount. The addition to the debt, exclusive of money for fortifications, was £460,000. As compared with 1853 there had been large remissions of taxation and unfavourable seasons; but although 1860 was far worse in this latter respect, it would be found that the immediate and palpable effect of remissions of taxation presented a remarkable contrast. In 1853 there were remitted £1,500,000 of customs duties, which loss was made up, and more, by the end of that year. The gain on the year in excise duties was £900,000. In 1860 the excise ought to have produced a gain of £1,045,000, but it had only produced a gain of £265,000. But the expenditure of 1854 was, of imperial expenditure, £56,000,000; and local expenditure, £16,000,000; total, £72,000,000. In 1860 the imperial expenditure was £73,000,000, the local charge £18,000,000; total, £91,000,000, or an increase of nearly £20,000,000 in seven years.

In reference to this enormous augmentation of expenditure Mr. Gladstone concluded his financial statement by saying:

"We have seen this country during the last



ROBERT ARTHUR TALBOT GASCOYNE-CECIL, K.G.
THIRD MARQUIS OF SALISBURY

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY RUSSELL & SONS

few years without European war, but under a burden of taxation such as, out of a European war, it never was called upon to bear; we have also seen it last year under the pressure of a season of blight, such as hardly any living man can recollect; yet, on looking abroad over the face of England, no one is sensible of any signs of decay, least of all can such an apprehension be felt with regard to those attributes which are perhaps the highest of all, and on which most of all depends our national existence—the spirit and courage of the country. It is needless to say that neither the sovereign on the throne, nor the nobles and the gentry that fill the place of the gallant chieftains of the middle age, nor the citizens who represent the invincible soldiery of Cromwell, nor the peasantry who are the children of those sturdy archers that drew the cross-bows of England on the fields of France, that none of these betray either inclination or tendency to depart from the traditions of their forefathers. If there be any danger which has recently in an especial manner beset us, I confess that, though it may be owing to some peculiarity in my position, or some weakness in my vision, it has seemed to me to be during recent years chiefly, in our proneness to constant, and apparently almost boundless, augmentations of expenditure, and in the consequences that are associated with them. I do not refer to this or that particular change or scheme. Of course I do not refer to the estimates of the year, which are, in our judgment, required by the circumstances taken as a whole in which we stand. But I think that when, in an extended retrospect, we take notice of the rate at which we have been advancing for a certain number of years, we must see that there has been a tendency to break down all barriers and all limits which restrain the amount of public charges. For my own part, I am deeply convinced that all excess in the public expenditure beyond the legitimate wants of the country is not only a pecuniary waste—for that, although an important, is yet a comparatively trifling matter—but a great political, and above all, a great moral evil. It is a characteristic of the mischiefs which arise from financial prodigality

that they creep onwards with a noiseless and a stealthy step; that they commonly remain unseen and unfelt until they have reached a magnitude absolutely overwhelming; and then at length we see them, such and so great as they now appear to exist in one, at least, among the great European states—I mean the Empire of Austria; so fearful and menacing in their aspect, and so large in their dimensions, that they seem to threaten the very foundations of national existence. I do trust that the day has come when a check has begun to be put to the movement in this direction, and I think, as far as I have been able to trace the sentiments of the house, and the indications of general opinion during the present session, that the tendency to which I have adverted is, at least partially, on the decline. I trust it will altogether subside and disappear. It is indeed true—at least I should be among the first to uphold the soundness of the assertion—that sweeping and violent changes of expenditure are to be deprecated almost as much as excess and prodigality. But, at the same time, there are many who share that sentiment, and yet who still feel that it is demanded by high public expediency and by national duty that we should recur—I do not say to the charges—for national wants, with the nation's ever-increasing growth, will vary and will grow—but to the spirit, the temper, and the rules with which, no long time ago, we were all wont to apply ourselves to the subject of public expenditure. I trust that such a wish may be realized; and if only it be so, then, for my part, I say, that if there be difficulties in the work of government, they are not, so far as regards the department with which I have the honour to be connected, difficulties which any man of ordinary courage need for a moment, under whatever contingencies, hesitate to face. The spirit of the people is excellent. There never was a nation in the whole history of the world more willing to bear the heavy burdens under which it lies—more generously disposed to overlook the errors of those who have the direction of its affairs. For my own part, I hold that, if this country can steadily and constantly remain as wise in the use of her treasure as she is

unrivalled in its production, and as moderate in the exercise of her strength as she is rich in its possession, then we may well cherish the hope that there is yet reserved for England a great work to do on her own part and on the part of others, and that for many a generation yet to come she will continue to hold a foremost place among the nations of the world "

This, then, was the scheme, and these were the sentiments by which it was enforced, but the opposition was strenuous, and great efforts were made to frustrate the intentions of the government. These efforts were directed to promote an agitation in favour of a remission of the duty on tea, and they might have been successful had it not been apparent that there was an intention on the part of the late majority in the House of Lords to persist in their opposition to the Paper Duties Bill, and so to confirm their claim to cancel the privilege claimed by the Commons. To frustrate this design a counter agitation had been carried on in favour of the repeal of the paper duties, and eventually Mr Gladstone, in accordance with his former declaration that he reserved the right of action, announced, with the support of the government, that he intended to include all his chief financial propositions in one measure, instead of dividing them into several bills. It had been decided that constitutionally the Lords had not the power to reject a "Money Bill," and they were thenceforward placed in such a position that, while they could not reject the whole financial scheme, they were deprived of the power—which they had previously exercised—of altering its details. Such a change was not to be effected without a serious conflict, and all the influence of the Upper House, together with that of a large number of members of the Commons who had a direct interest in the peerage, and of Conservatives who were ready to uphold the privileges claimed by the Lords, was brought to bear upon the decision. Among those who, it was believed, were disaffected towards the government were some of the Irish members. Lord Derby, when in office, had obtained a grant for a mail packet service between Galway and the United States, and this grant had been

withdrawn at the time that it was believed the concession would have increased the trade of Galway, and improved the condition of the people in that part of Ireland. There had, therefore, been defection among the Irish Liberals, who had on more than one occasion joined the opponents of the government for the purpose of defeating it before the time had gone by for the complete expiration of the grant. A priest named Daly, who had been deputed to make those representations which had obtained the concession, now came over armed with credentials from men of all political parties in Ireland, and began an active canvass for the purpose of engaging the Irish Liberal members to unite against the government, and to support the opposition, for the purpose of bringing about a dissolution of parliament.

The debate in the House of Commons was prolonged and acrimonious. Mr. Bentinck, who was among those who took the opportunity of personally attacking the chancellor of the exchequer, was one of the first assailants. Lord Robert Montague was another. Mr. Gladstone's argument in reply to the contention of Sir Stafford Northcote,—who raised numerous objections to the whole scheme, and urged that this was not a time to propose the surrender of a large amount of revenue,—was, that the estimates were based upon the expectation of an ordinary season and ordinary circumstances, and he never had a stronger conviction than that there was likely to be an excess over the estimated revenue. As to the disposal of the surplus, he balanced the claims of tea and sugar on the one hand and paper on the other. The reduction of the duties upon articles of popular consumption was not the first object kept in view by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, but the liberation and extension of trade, this principle lay at the root of our reformed financial policy, and had governed almost every budget. He demanded that the opinion of the house should be taken by a division instead of being deferred by long and useless debates. Mr. Disraeli announced that in committee he should take the sense of the house on the question whether a remission of indirect taxation should not be

made with respect to the duties on tea. Mr Horsfall proposed an amendment that the tea duty should be reduced to a shilling a pound, and it was supported by Mr. Disraeli and Sir Stafford Northcote, but was lost on a division.

Lord Robert Cecil¹ made a speech which was listened to with some impatience because of its personal animosity. He denounced the budget as a personal budget—they had no guarantee for it but the promises of the chancellor of the exchequer, and experience had taught them that he was not a financier who was always to be relied on. On a former occasion he had described the policy of the government as one only worthy of a country attorney, but he was now bound to say that he had done injustice to the attorneys. The attorneys were very humble men, but he believed they would have scorned such a course as that of her majesty's ministers, which was one distinguished by all the ingenuity of legal chicane. In any other place it would be called a "dodge."

Americanized finance, he declared, was to be a consequence of Americanized institutions. He thought the House of Commons ought to mark its peculiar indignation at the way in which it had been treated by the chancellor of the exchequer. So long as he held the seals of office there was neither regularity in the House of Commons nor confidence in the country.

No reply was made to these observations. They were not believed to require any. Some days later, however, Mr Gladstone took up what had been called the constitutional question, and adduced numerous precedents to show that the power to combine different provisions in the same financial measure had been exercised by the House of Commons to a wider extent than in the present bill, and observing that the practice was not only justified by precedent, but by reason and convenience, the several matters in the bill, essentially homogeneous, being items of one and the same account. It was the doctrine of the constitution that to originate matters of finance was the exclusive right and

duty and burden of the House of Commons, and to divide this function between two distinct and independent bodies would lead to utter confusion. Referring to Mr. Horsman's objection that the budget gave a mortal stab to the constitution, he said, "I want to know what constitution it gives a mortal stab to. In my opinion it gives no stab at all, but, as far as it alters, it alters so as to revive and restore the good old constitution which took its root in Saxon times, which groaned under the Plantagenets, which endured the hard rule of the Tudors, which resisted the Stuarts, and which has now come to maturity under the House of Brunswick. I think that constitution will be all the better for the operation. As to the constitution laid down by my right honourable friend, under which there is to be a division of function and office between the House of Commons and the House of Lords—with regard to fixing the income and charge of the country from year to year, both of them being equally responsible for it, which means that neither would be responsible—as far as that constitution is concerned I cannot help saying, that in my humble opinion the sooner it receives a mortal stab the better."

Sir James Graham, suffering severely from a disease of which he died less than six months afterwards, went down to the house and delivered a powerful defence of the government, and Lord John Russell, Cobden, and other eminent speakers took an earnest part in the debate. It was significant that Sir William Heathcote, Mr Gladstone's colleague in the representation of Oxford, and Mr Walpole, chairman of the committee of precedents in the preceding year, declared the course taken to be constitutional. This was awkward for the opposition. There was no division on the second reading after all, and the budget of which Mr Disraeli had said that ministers had created an artificial surplus in order that they might perpetrate a financial caprice, eventually passed by a majority of 15, 296 voting for it and 281 against it. When it was sent up to the Lords the Duke of Rutland moved its rejection, but Lord Derby advised the withdrawal of the amendment, taking the

¹ Now the Marquis of Salisbury

opportunity to censure Mr. Gladstone, and it was adopted

Some real advances had been made towards further measures of reform in parliament, though no general scheme in the shape of a Reform Bill was accepted. We have already noticed that there had been persistent endeavours to supersede, or to omit, that part of the oath of allegiance which prevented the admission of a Jew to parliament, and these efforts had now been successful after a quarter of a century, during which the question had been over and over again debated. Mr Disraeli had spoken with eloquence and written with force on the subject of the claims of the Jews to all the rights of citizenship. It need scarcely be pointed out that his novels contain references to the virtues and the nobility of the Jewish race which many people still consider extravagant. In his *Memoir of Lord George Bentinck* the whole question of the claims of the Jews to a great place in the history of the world, and as the depositaries of a religion of which Christianity is the consummation, is set forth with serious and significant dignity. It was therefore a happy coincidence that the removal of Jewish disabilities to sit in parliament should have been effected while he was the leader of the House of Commons. The time had passed when it was necessary for a Conservative holding that position, to resign it in consequence of voting for such a measure, as Disraeli's former chief—Lord George Bentinck—had done. There was complete unanimity of opinion on the subject between Lord John Russell—who had espoused the cause of Jewish emancipation—and the Conservative leader, but the matter was not settled till 1858, eleven years after Baron Lionel de Rothschild had been elected as one of the members for the city of London. A bill was passed in the House of Commons to admit Jews to sit, but it was thrown out by the Lords, and Baron Rothschild resigned his seat, stood again, and was again elected. In 1850 he presented himself and offered to take the oaths after having for four sessions occupied a seat under the gallery of the house, where strangers as well as members were accustomed to sit. He now demanded to be

sworn, and took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy on the Old Testament. The oath of abjuration followed, and he omitted from it the words "on the true faith of a Christian." If he had chosen to commit what to him would have been a great impiety, and made use of words which some notorious unbelievers had repeated without apparent shame or scruple, he might possibly have taken his seat unchallenged. As it was he was excluded from either sitting or voting, and returned to his old place, where he might listen to, and perhaps by his presence make a silent protest against the decision of the house.

But several other Jews had presented themselves for election, and among them was Sir David Salomons, a baronet and alderman of the city of London, and a gentleman highly respected for his attainments and for his conduct as a magistrate. In 1851 he was proposed as a candidate for the representation of Greenwich, was elected, and on going up to take the oath omitted the words "on the true faith of a Christian," as Baron Rothschild had done, and with the same result.

When the government was asked whether they would sue him according to an act of parliament if he persisted in taking his seat, the answer of Lord John Russell was that they had no such intention. He therefore took his place amongst the members, one half of the house shouting to him to withdraw, and the other encouraging him to remain. He did remain, and what was more, took part in the debate on a resolution that he should be ordered to withdraw, and himself voted in some of the divisions for an adjournment. He spoke calmly and was listened to with attention. He was actuated by no desire to presume on, or to disregard, the dignity of the house, but by the belief that having been lawfully elected he was justified in asserting his rights and those of his constituents. The resolution for his withdrawal was carried. The speaker requested him to leave, but he remained until the sergeant-at-arms was ordered to remove him, that functionary then touched him on the shoulder and he quietly retired. He had asserted his right, had spoken and voted as a member, and he awaited further proceed-

ings Two actions were brought against him to recover penalties, but neither of them was by the government One was withdrawn, as they both had the same object To obtain a legal settlement of the question the trial came on as a special case in 1852, and the issue sought was whether the words which the defendant had omitted formed an essential part of the oath inserted for the purpose of obtaining a profession of the Christian faith, or were only a part of the form of an affirmation adopted to secure a solemn declaration in accordance with the views of the majority of those to be sworn, but liable to be omitted or altered in particular instances? Three judges out of four decided that it was a necessary part of the oath, and the only thing that remained was to alter the form of affirmation, but though the House of Commons passed measures for that purpose they were repeatedly thrown out by the House of Lords, until in 1858 Lord John Russell prepared a bill in which the form of oath was somewhat altered, and a clause was introduced providing that where the oath had to be administered to a Jew the words "on the true faith of a Christian" might be omitted The House of Lords, however, struck out this clause, and so made the bill useless for the purpose for which it was specially intended The Commons refused to accept the alteration, and referred it to a committee to draw up a statement of their reasons, Baron Rothschild being actually nominated as a member of that committee on the motion of Mr Duncombe. Ungracefully ready to yield rather than provoke an actual collision, the Lords assented to a compromise suggested by Lord Lucan, and inserted a clause enabling either house to modify the form of the oath in such a way as to admit a Jew, but at the same time reserving the power to alter the mode of affirmation at pleasure This was such a manifestly weak and uncertain expedient that, though it was rapidly passed through both houses, it was soon after superseded by another measure which consolidated the acts referring to oaths, allegiance, abjuration, and supremacy, and enabled Jews to omit the words which had previously prevented them from taking a seat

in the legislature, though they could fulfil other high and important offices—Sir David Salomons himself having served the office of Lord-mayor of London in 1855 with great dignity and success

It may be mentioned that three or four days before the bill with the compromise passed in 1858, another measure introduced by Mr Locke King for the abolition of the demand for a property qualification for members of parliament received the royal assent Up to this time nobody could sit in parliament without giving proof that he possessed landed property up to a certain value, and, as was pointed out by Mr Locke King, this obsolete custom had ceased to have any beneficial effect, since any man with sufficient influence to obtain a seat could arrange with some friend or supporter to make to him a merely formal conveyance of a piece of land of sufficient value to cover the legal requirement

These were among the amendments of parliamentary representation which were made during the period from 1855 to 1865, but there appeared to be little popular excitement on behalf of a general measure of wide reform. Within the walls of the House of Commons, only a few ardent supporters of an extension of the franchise were eager to bring in a bill that would increase the number of voters, and though a redistribution of seats in accordance with the growing importance of some of the places insufficiently represented, was more widely demanded, so little general enthusiasm was manifested outside parliament that there was no encouragement for reformers to risk defeat by a strong opposition and an indifferent government Lord Palmerston himself was among the most indifferent, and it was pretty well understood that he had an actual aversion to the introduction of anything that, in his opinion, would unnecessarily disturb the ministry or promote political demonstrations in the country The country, however, was in no mood for political manifestations, and when, on the 1st of March, 1860, Lord John Russell introduced his "Representation of the People Bill," in the belief that the time had come for making further advances in the system of parliamentary legislation, he was

listened to with an ominous calm, which bespoke the neglect that afterwards frustrated his efforts to carry it through either house. It is true that there was nothing startling about the proposed changes. There was to be a £10 occupation franchise for the counties, and the borough franchise was to be reduced to £6. The payment of poor-rates was to be a qualification for a vote. Twenty-five boroughs returning two members each were to be left with one, twelve counties or county divisions were to have one member, the West Riding two additional seats and the southern division of Lancashire two, Kensington and Chelsea were to form a borough with two members, Birkenhead, Stalybridge, and Barnsley were to have one each, and Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds each an additional member. The University of London was also to be represented by a member. In places where three members were returned the third was to represent the minority. The bill appeared to be unacceptable to both sides. It was too much for those who deprecated disturbance, and not enough for the promoters of political progress in the direction of a largely increased representation of the body of the people. It was said that the opposition were so sure of Lord Palmerston's hostility to the scheme, that Lord Derby had broadly hinted to him that if he could remove Gladstone, Russell, and Milner Gibson from the ministry the Conservatives would support the government. If this had really been suggested, it betrayed a singular misunderstanding of Palmerston's character. He may have cordially disliked the proposed Reform Bill, but he would certainly not betray his colleagues. However, he probably knew that there was little occasion for him to be troubled about Lord Russell's measures. Proposals were made for its adjournment till the following year, when the census was to be taken, and it was so evident that by the delay of a prolonged debate the opponents of the bill might be able to defeat it, that, with manifest grief and disappointment, Lord Russell announced its withdrawal.

In the following year he had evidently abandoned all intention of moving any further in the direction of a similar bill, and indeed,

in the royal speech, no mention was made of parliamentary reform. The question was subsequently raised by Mr. Locke King, who proposed to lower the county qualification to £10, and by Mr. Baines, who brought forward a motion for reducing the borough franchise to £6, but both suggestions were rejected.

Reference has been made to the ages of Lord Palmerston, Lord Lyndhurst, and Lord Brougham, and to the failing health of Sir James Graham. These were instances of some of the losses which might naturally be expected to befall the nation at no remote period. Already several of those who had been the contemporaries of Mr. Gladstone during the early part of his career were seen no more in their accustomed places, and he had referred in words of solemn pathos to the fact that the time had arrived when, in looking round him, he missed the once familiar forms and faces, and felt their loss by that sense of solitariness which even the necessity for making new associations will not for a time overcome.

In the ranks of literature as well as in the world of politics and statesmanship, well known names had fallen out of the lists of the living. Douglas Jerrold the satirist, whose brilliant wit and caustic subtle humour had sparkled both in the drama and in the pages of *Punch* and other periodicals, had died in 1857, just as the tidings of the Indian mutiny had reached England. Hallam the historian—long bereft of the son whose early death was mourned by Tennyson and by Gladstone—lived on and worked on until January, 1859, when he died at the age of eighty-one. Leigh Hunt, the charming poet and essayist, who had outlived the dreary days of his imprisonment for libelling George the Fourth, was seventy-five years old when his death took place at Putney in August, 1859. In November of the same year intelligence came from Bonn of the death of the Chevalier Bunsen, who, when he was Prussian ambassador in London, had been the delightful companion and warm friend of distinguished men of letters in this country, and was himself the author of many books of deep interest to students of ecclesiastical lore, and of one by which he has been better known,

entitled *Egypt's Place in History*. He had been recalled to Prussia or had resigned because of his opinions on the policy of the king in relation to the Russian war, but he was greatly esteemed by men of all parties in England.

But a larger gap than either of these was left in the public and literary ranks in England by the sudden death of Lord Macaulay on the 28th of December, 1859. This loss, which was felt throughout the country, may be said to have cast a shadow on the closing days of the year, for his books, and especially his *History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, was known and read all over England, and some of his poems had been listened to with delight when they were recited before large audiences. His prodigious memory and his philosophical mode of thought were allied to a strong imagination and to the power of striking poetical expression. Few men have united so much of the genius of the poet to the plodding industry and research of the antiquarian. The latter quality enabled him to seek the material for his vivid pages in musty parliamentary records—long closed correspondence—time-worn ballad-sheets, and even stained and frayed broadsheets relating to events that might otherwise have been forgotten, since they were never popularly depicted until he drew them with a vigorous hand. It has been contended that Macaulay only wrote history from the Whig side; and it can scarcely be denied that while he draws the misdeeds of the other party in strong dark outlines, he sublimates some of the faults of his political predecessors and somewhat idealizes their professed principles. Yet his remarkable power of illustration and the charming lucidity which characterizes his style will always cause his history to hold a high place among all classes of readers. It was not, however, as an author alone that Macaulay was sorely missed. The place he had occupied in parliament and in the arena of politics could not easily be filled. Failing health had compelled him to resign the representation of Edinburgh and to abandon public speaking; but his superb achievements as a speaker, both in and out of the

House of Commons, were not forgotten when he had retired to the seclusion of the home, where his presence was ever welcome and where his tender and affectionate nature found fitting companionship in his sister's family. He had been eminently successful, and his great ability and indefatigable energy had enabled him to achieve high distinction in whatever he attempted. Probably it would not have added to his fame if he had lived to carry his voice to the House of Peers, which would, however, have been graced by his intellect; and though it is to be deplored that his history remained uncompleted, it is not a mere fragment, but a shapely and finished production, a monument of his genius. Macaulay was never married, and the wealth which he had acquired went to his relatives; but during his life he was one of the most generous of men, and few distressed representatives of the literary craft applied to him in vain for assistance. It is certain, on the contrary, that because of the natural goodness of heart which could spare some pity for their distresses, he consciously helped some who were incompetent, and should never have taken upon themselves the profession of letters.

We have already seen something of the early correspondence between Mr Gladstone and the brilliant reviewer in their early days, and we may therefore fitly refer here to a few of the words used by the former when, in 1876, in a review of *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, by his nephew George Otto Trevelyan, M.P., he has to speak of the man whose own achievements had by that time almost become historical. Mr. Gladstone says:

"Lord Macaulay lived a life of no more than fifty-nine years and three months. But it was an extraordinarily full life, of sustained exertion; a high table-land, without depressions. If in its outer aspect there be anything wearisome, it is only the wearisomeness of reiterated splendours, and of success so uniform as to be almost monotonous. He speaks of himself as idle; but his idleness was more active, and carried with it hour by hour a greater expenditure of brain-power, than what most men regard as their serious employments. He might

well have been in his mental career the spoiled child of fortune; for all he tried succeeded, all he touched turned into gems and gold. In a happy childhood he evinced extreme precocity. His academical career gave sufficient, though not redundant, promise of after celebrity. The new golden age he imparted to the *Edinburgh Review*, and his first and most important, if not best, parliamentary speeches in the grand crisis of the first Reform Bill, achieved for him, years before he had reached the middle point of life, what may justly be termed an immense distinction.

"For a century and more, perhaps no man in this country, with the exceptions of Mr Pitt and of Lord Byron, had attained at thirty-two the fame of Macaulay. His parliamentary success and his literary eminence were each of them enough, as they stood at this date, to intoxicate any brain and heart of a meaner order. But to these was added, in his case, an amount and quality of social attentions such as invariably partake of adulation and idolatry, and as, perhaps, the high circles of London never before or since have lavished on a man whose claims lay only in himself, and not in his descent, his rank, or his possessions. Perhaps it was good for his mental and moral health that the enervating action of this process was suspended for four years. Although after his return from India in 1839 it could not but revive, he was of an age to bear it with less peril to his manhood. He seems at all times to have held his head high above the stir and the fascination which excite and enslave the weak. His masculine intelligence, and his ardent and single-minded devotion to literature, probably derived in this respect essential aid from that depth and warmth of domestic affections which lay nearer yet to the centre of his being . . . He was, indeed, prosperous and brilliant, a prodigy, a meteor, almost a portent, in literary history. But his course was laborious, truthful, simple, independent, noble, and all these in an eminent degree. Of the inward battle of life he seems to have known nothing: his mind was, so to speak, self-contained, coherent, and harmonious. His experience of the outward battle, which had reference to money,

was not inconsiderable, but it was confined to his earlier manhood. The general outline of his career has long been familiar, and offers neither need nor scope for detail. After four years of high parliamentary distinction, and his first assumption of office, he accepted a lucrative appointment in India, with a wise view to his own pecuniary independence, and a generous regard to what might be, as they had been, the demands of his nearest relations upon his affectionate bounty. Another term of four years brought him back, the least Indian, despite of his active labours upon the legislative code, of all the civilians who had ever served the Company. He soon re-entered parliament, but his zest for the political arena seems never to have regained the temperature of his virgin love at the time of the Reform Bill. He had offered his resignation of office during the debates on the Emancipation Act, at a time when salary was of the utmost importance to him, and for a cause which was far more his father's than his own. This he did with a promptitude and a manly unconsciousness of effect or merit in the act which were truly noble. Similar was his dignified attitude when his constituents of Edinburgh committed their first and last fault in rejecting him on account of his vote for Maynooth. This was in 1847. At the general election in 1852 they were again at his feet, as though the final cause of the indignity had been only to enhance the triumph of his re-election. Twice at least in the House of Commons he arrested the successful progress of legislative measures, and slew them at a moment's notice and by his single arm. The first of these occasions was the Copyright Bill of Serjeant Talbott in 1841; the second, the bill of 1853 for excluding the Master of the Rolls from the House of Commons. But, whenever he rose to speak, it was a summons like a trumpet-call to fill the benches. He retired from the House of Commons in 1856. At length, when in 1857 he was elevated by Lord Palmerston to the peerage, all the world of letters felt honoured in his person. The claims of that, which he felt to be indeed his profession, acquired an increasing command on him as the interests of political action grew less and less

Neither was social life allowed greatly to interfere with literary work, although here, too, his triumphs were almost unrivalled. Only one other attraction had power over him, and it was a life-long power—the love of his sisters, which about the mid-point of life came to mean his sister Lady Trevelyan.

“As there is nothing equally touching, so there is really nothing more wonderful in the memoirs, than the large, the immeasurable abundance of this gushing stream. It is not surprising that the full reservoir overflowed upon her children. Indeed he seems to have had a store of this love that could not be exhausted, for little children generally, his simplicity and tenderness vying all along in graceful rivalry with the manly qualities, which in no one were more pronounced. After some forewarnings, a period of palpable decline, which was brief as well as tranquil, brought him to his end.

“To the literary success of Macaulay it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of recent authorship. For this and probably all future centuries we are to regard the public as the patron of literary men, and as a patron abler than any that went before to heap both fame and fortune on its favourites. Setting aside works of which the primary purpose was entertainment, Tennyson alone among the writers of our age, in point of public favour, and of emolument following upon it, comes near to Macaulay. But Tennyson was laboriously cultivating his gifts for many years before he acquired a position in the eye of the nation. Macaulay, fresh from college in 1825, astonished the world by his brilliant and imposing essay on Milton. Full-orbed he was seen above the horizon, and full-orbed, after thirty-five years of constantly-emitted splendour, he sank beneath it.

“His gains from literature were extraordinary. The cheque for £20,000 is known to all. But his accumulation was reduced by his bounty, and his profits would, it is evident, have been far larger still had he dealt with the products of his mind on the principles of economic science (which, however, he heartily professed), and sold his wares in the dearest market, as he undoubtedly acquired them in

the cheapest. No one can measure the elevation of Macaulay's character above the mercenary level without bearing in mind that for ten years after 1825 he was a poor and contented man, though ministering to the wants of a father and a family reduced in circumstances, though in the blaze of literary and political success, and though he must have been conscious from the first of a gift which, by a less congenial and less compulsory use, would have rapidly led him to opulence. Yet of the comforts and advantages, both social and physical, from which he thus forebore, it is so plain that he at all times formed no misanthropic or ascetic, but on the contrary a very liberal and genial, estimate. It is truly touching to find that never, except as a minister, until 1851, when he had already lived fifty years of his fifty-nine, did this favourite of fortune, this idol of society, allow himself the luxury of a carriage.

“It has been observed, that neither in art nor letters did Macaulay display that faculty of the higher criticism which depends upon certain refined perceptions and the power of subtle analysis. His analysis was always rough, hasty, and sweeping, and his perceptions robust. By these properties it was that he was so eminently *φωτεινός*, not in the vulgar sense of an appeal to spurious sentiment, but as one bearing his reader along by violence, as the river Scamander tried to bear Achilles. Yet he was never pretentious; and he said frankly of himself that a criticism like that of Lessing in his *Laocöon*, or of Goethe on *Hamlet*, filled him with wonder and despair.”

In the first days of January, 1861, intelligence arrived of the death of the King of Prussia, whose illness, accompanied by mental disorder, had long precluded him from taking any part in the government of the country. His brother, who had been appointed prince-regent, came to the throne with the title of King William I., and our princess royal thereupon became Crown-princess of Prussia, —and afterwards, of Germany.

The relations between our own royal family and that of Prussia naturally increased the serious feelings with which the death of King

Frederick William was regarded by the Queen and Prince Albert, especially at a time when they were mourning the sickness or the loss of some of those eminent servants of the state on whose loyalty and ability they had so frequently been able to rely

Sir James Graham was dead. On the 14th of December the Earl of Aberdeen, who had been so intimately associated with the royal family, had passed away. Sir Sidney Herbert, who had been raised to the House of Lords with the title of Lord Herbert of Leigh, had been for some time suffering from the same illness of which he died in the following August. As the year went on the other names were absent from the earthly roll-call of those who were loved, respected, or admired. On the 6th of June Cavour, suffering from typhoid fever, had been bled to death by Italian doctors, who could not depart from their old traditions, and the news telegraphed from Turin sent a shock through Europe; for the affairs of Italy had reached a crisis, in which it was believed only his strong guiding hand and immutable statecraft could be of immediate avail. We shall have to return to the events which had produced that impression, and had caused Prince Albert, on receiving the intelligence of the death of the minister, to write in his diary the words, "Ein ungeheurer Verlust für Italien" (an immeasurable loss for Italy).

There were other losses nearer to the royal domestic circle in England. Dr. Baly, the trusted physician to the prince and the royal family, was killed in a railway accident between London and Wimbledon on the 29th of January. He was the only person seriously injured. Soon afterwards, died Sir George Couper, physician to the Duchess of Kent. These losses occurred during the sorrow experienced by the royal household for the death in April, 1860, of Prince Ernest of Hohenlohe Langenburg, husband of the queen's sister, and president of the upper chamber of Württemberg.

Not only were public affairs full of exciting interest during the latter half of 1860 in consequence of the Franco-Italian alliance, the schemes of Napoleon III., and other foreign complications of which we shall presently

have to take note; but the royal family was to some extent separated, and amidst many domestic claims and an unflagging attention to public business the health of Prince Albert became precarious, and he frequently suffered from attacks of illness, against which he bore up with patient courage, but which were sufficient to cause great uneasiness to the queen and to others who anxiously watched his unremitting labours.

In March, 1860, arrangements were made for the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada, in fulfilment of a promise made to a deputation which came here during the Crimean war asking the queen to visit her American possessions. Her majesty could not accede to a request which would involve so long a voyage, and it was then proposed that one of the princes should become governor-general. They were both too young for such a proposition to be entertained; but it was agreed that as soon as the Prince of Wales was old enough, he should visit the Dominion. This intention was about to be carried out in the autumn, when the visit would be signalized by his royal highness laying the foundation-stone of the new Canadian parliament-house at Ottawa, and opening the great railway bridge across the St. Lawrence at Montreal.

When it was known in America that the heir to the English throne was about to visit Canada, the president, Mr. Buchanan, addressed a letter to the queen, offering a cordial welcome at Washington to the prince if he should extend his visit to the United States, and assuring her majesty that he would be everywhere greeted by the American people in a manner which could not fail to prove gratifying to her majesty. This request was answered in the same cordial spirit, and Mr. Buchanan was informed by the queen that the prince proposed to return from Canada through the United States, and that it would give him great pleasure to have an opportunity of testifying to the president in person that the feelings which had dictated the president's letter were fully reciprocated on this side of the Atlantic. At the same time the municipality of New York sent a message through the American minister, Mr. Dallas, expressing

a strong desire that the prince should visit that city. This visit, also, was included in the programme of the prince's journey, which was, however, to be only that of a private gentleman, and in no sense an affair of state. The prince was to travel as Lord Renfrew, and was to be accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the colonies.

Prince Alfred also started on a long voyage to another colony, the Cape of Good Hope, by way of Rio Janeiro. He left England in the spring of 1860, and was expected to reach Capetown, and there to lay the first stone of the breakwater in the harbour at about the same time that his brother was performing similar duty in Canada.

Among the numerous questions in which the prince and the queen were concerned at this time, was the institution of a proposed new order or decoration for distinguished service in India. Not only was it exceedingly difficult to decide on a design and motto, of which the prince sketched several, but there was still more difficulty in adopting a name for the decoration, though several were proposed. It was agreed that the order should be a star, but the question was *what* star? To illustrate the important critical nature of the discussion, we may quote a letter from Lord Canning, urging that the title "Eastern Star," which was most liked, could not be adopted.

"The Hindustani for the 'Eastern Star,'" he wrote, "is '*Poorbeah Sittara*.' '*Poorbeah*' has, as you probably know, become a sort of generic name given to our Sepoys, from their being mostly men from Behar and Oudh—Eastern provinces, and during the mutinies it grew to be used somewhat as '*Pandy*' was used, as a familiar name for the mutineers. This, however, is not the point. That association is already passing away. But '*Poorbeah*,' for the very reason that it means 'Eastern,' and that in India the further any person or thing comes from the East, the less is the respect shown to either, has been a term of disparagement time out of mind. Long before mutinous Sepoys were heard of, an Indian resented being called a '*Poorbeah*.' The term was, and—as Frere assures me—still is eagerly repudiated by every one who comes from

far enough west to be able to do so. He speaks with knowledge, for his time has been passed chiefly amongst the Mahrattas and Rajpoots, who are the best and proudest blood in India. I asked him if there was anything insulting in the word. He said, Not quite that; but that it implied the same sort of contemptuous superiority on the part of one Indian who used it towards another, as would be implied by an Englishman who should call an Irishman a 'Paddy,' or address a Scotchman as 'Sawney'."

The prince, referring to the obstacles to the adoption of every name proposed, humorously wrote to Sir Charles Wood—

"It is unfortunate that we get no further with the appellation of the order than from one difficulty into another, and I might be inclined to give it the sign and name of a house at Toplitz—the sign being gilt figures of men rowing against a rock, with the title of 'The Golden Impossibility.'" Not till some time afterwards was the difficulty solved, and on the 23rd of February, 1861, the institution of "The Most Exalted Order of the Star of India," set the question at rest.

It may be mentioned in connection with military affairs, that early in May, 1860, it was decided by a resolution of the cabinet to discontinue supporting a separate European army for India, and that instead of two forces there should be only one imperial army, taking its turn of duty throughout the British Empire, in all its home provinces and foreign dependencies, including India. This resolution was afterwards strenuously opposed in parliament, but was passed in the autumn session.

The winter of 1859 had been wet, cold, and unhealthy, but on the return of spring the weather was more cheering. There were 18,000 men at Aldershot, where the queen and the prince were frequent visitors, and held a review in the first week of May. But of more significance still was the rapid growth of the Volunteer force, which consisted at that time of 124,000 men, already well drilled, and a large number of them possessing such remarkable skill with the rifle that it recalled the ancient fame of the English bowmen.

The prince was engaged daily in fulfilling a multitude of claims on his strength and leisure. Writing from Osborne to the princess royal he speaks of the delightful air and rural aspects of the place, to which one might abandon one's self, but that "one's feelings remain under the influence of the treadmill of never-ending business. The donkey in Carisbrook, which you will remember, is my true counterpart. He, too, would rather munch thistles in the castle moat, than turn round in the wheel at the castle well, and small are the thanks he gets for his labour.

"I am tortured, too, by the prospect of two public dinners at which I am, or rather shall be, in the chair. The one gives me seven, the other ten toasts and speeches, appropriate to the occasion, and distracting to myself. Then I have to resign at Oxford the Presidency of the British Association, and later in the season to open the Statistical Congress of all nations. Between these come the laying the foundation-stone of the Dramatic College, the distribution of the prizes at Wellington College, &c &c; and this, with the sittings of my different commissions, and Ascot races the delectable, and the balls and concerts of the season all crowded into the month of June, over and above the customary business, which a distracted state of affairs in Europe and a stormy Parliament . . . make still more burdensome and disagreeable than usual."

This letter does not exhaust the special engagements which awaited the prince on his return to Windsor Castle. He had, as a domestic as well as a public duty, to settle all the details of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada, and to draw up memoranda of the tone to be taken in replying to addresses, according to the conditions and circumstances of the different places where they were likely to be presented. Then there were meetings and correspondence with the promoters of the forthcoming International Exhibition of 1862, and there were the duties of hospitality to observe amidst a numerous assembly of guests, including the King of the Belgians and his second son, and the young Prince Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt and his brother.

Before the end of June, however, there was

one great public demonstration in which both the queen and the prince necessarily took the leading part. On the 23d of that month the first great Volunteer review was held in Hyde Park. Her majesty and the royal party arrived on the ground at four o'clock, the queen entering the park in an open carriage with the King of the Belgians, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur, Prince Albert riding by the side of the carriage and followed by a brilliant *cortège*. Her majesty drove along to the extreme left of the line of volunteers on the Bayswater Road, and thence along the whole front to the extreme right at Albert Gate. The royal stand was about the centre of Park Lane, and in front of this the whole 21,000 men marched past in companies, taking two hours to pass. The various corps then took up their original positions, and the line advanced in battalion columns with salvoes of cheering for her majesty as they moved onward. Of the vast force assembled, 15,000 belonged to London and 6000 to the provinces, the City of London sending 1800 men, and Manchester about 2000. By eight o'clock the whole body of volunteers had got entirely clear of the park without accident, and after admirably executing the few movements which could alone be effected by so large a number within the allotted space.

At the Trinity House dinner, where he presided the same evening, the prince said:

"We have witnessed this day a scene which will never fade from the memory of those who had the good fortune to be present—the representatives of the independence, education, and industry of this country, in arms, to testify their devotion to their country, and their readiness to lay down their lives in its defence. The Volunteer force exceeds already 130,000 men, and to what extent this country is capable of exerting itself in real danger is shown by the number of volunteers, which in 1861 reached the extraordinary figure of 479,000! We are apt to forget, however, that, in contrast with every other country of the world, all our services are composed exclusively of volunteers—the navy, coast-guard, coast volunteers, army, militia, yeomanry, constabulary. May the noble and patriotic spirit

which such a fact reveals remain ever unimpaired! And may God's blessing, of which this nation has seen such unmistakable evidence, continue to rest upon these voluntary services!"

Congratulatory references were everywhere heard, and the Volunteer force was soon afterwards almost likely to be impaired by the manifestations of popularity which it enjoyed. On the 2d of July the first meeting of the National Rifle Association was held at Wimbledon. The weather was brilliant, which, after such a dreary season, was a delightful change, and a brilliant assembly had gathered to witness the proceedings.

The first shot at the targets was fired by the queen; and Mr. Whitworth had so adjusted one of his rifles as to secure a good score for her majesty at the 400 yards range. An address was presented to the queen on her arrival at the camp by Mr Sidney Herbert as president of the association, after which her majesty, accompanied by the prince, advanced to a tent, in which the rifle had been fixed which was to open the competition. A touch of the trigger was followed by the flutter of the red and white flag before the target, an intimation that the "bull's-eye" had been hit, and that her majesty, in accordance with the rules of the association, had scored three points.

For six successive days the competition for the prizes for the best shooting continued. The number of volunteers who entered for the regulated prizes was 292, while 494 competed for those open to all comers. The first queen's prize of £250 with the gold medal of the association was won by Mr. Ross of the 7th York, who, in the determining contest, made eight points at 800, seven at 900, and nine at 1000 yards. About £2000 was taken for admission to the camp.

At the beginning of August, the court moved to Balmoral, taking Edinburgh in the way for the purpose of holding a review of the Scottish volunteers.

The scene of the review (on the 7th of August) was Holyrood Park, a long level space stretching eastward from Holyrood Palace at the base of the steep ascent which is crowned

by Arthur's Seat, and also commanded by the great breadth of slope westwards which terminates in the picturesque ridge of Salisbury Crags. "A nobler arena for such a display could not be imagined," says one account of the scene, "and the enthusiasm of the multitudes, which covered every inch of ground on slope, and peak, and crag, from which it could be seen, made even more exciting a spectacle that abounded in features peculiarly fitted to satisfy the eye and to quicken the imagination. Of all the cities of Europe none presents so many points as Edinburgh for giving effect to holiday movement and display. The spot, moreover, on which the review took place was not merely dear to Scotchmen from the associations of history and romance, but it has in itself more features of mingled beauty and grandeur than any other in the 'gray metropolis of the North.'"

"The gathering was a truly national one. From all parts of the country vast multitudes flocked to Edinburgh to testify their loyalty to the queen, and the hold which the Volunteer movement had upon their hearts. As the English counties had sent the flower of their local corps to the review in Hyde Park in June, so now came a goodly array of the best blood and bone and sinew from nearly every county in Scotland to swell the general muster. From the Orkneys, 'placed far amid the melancholy main,' from Caithness, from Inverness, from Aberdeen, from the hills of Argyleshire, from the banks of Loch Tay, from the straths and upland pastures of the valley of the Tay, from Forfarshire, Fifeshire, and Stirlingshire came the picked men of each district. Nithsdale, Annandale, Galloway, Roxburghshire, and Selkirkshire sent their contingents from the south, swelled by troops from Tynemouth, Alnwick, Sunderland, and Whitehaven; while Glasgow and the West of Scotland furnished about one-third of the entire force of at least 22,000 men, of whom 18,000 or more were Scottish corps, who came together on that day to salute their sovereign under the windows of the ancient palace of Holyrood."

In the morning the queen and prince had visited the Duchess of Kent, who was staying at Cramond House, a small cheerful house look-

ing across the Firth of Forth, and her royal highness was present at the review.

"Mama arrived," says her majesty's diary, "about a quarter to three, and waited with us, looking at the splendid scene—Arthur's Seat covered with human beings, and the volunteers with bands marching in from every direction on to the ground close in front of the palace. We waited long, watching everything from the window" Soon after half-past three the queen came upon the ground in an open carriage and four, in which were seated with her the Duchess of Kent, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur. The Princess Helena, Princess Louise, and Prince Leopold followed in the next carriage. The Prince Consort rode on the right side of the queen's carriage, and the Duke of Buccleuch, as lord-lieutenant of the county and captain of the Royal Body-guard of Scottish Archers, on the left. As her majesty passed along the lines of the volunteers, who stood at the salute, the whole assembled multitudes that crowned the slopes of the great natural amphitheatre of the adjoining hills broke into acclamations. "The effect," wrote a spectator, "of the cheering on the hill-side was not less than sublime. Peal after peal broke forth in thunder, carried away by the strong wind, to be again and again renewed."

The marching past lasted an hour and ten minutes, and the men then advanced in line cheering.

"We came home," the queen writes, "at near six, so delighted that dear Mama could be present on this memorable and never-to-be-forgotten occasion. She had not witnessed anything of the kind for long (the distribution of the Crimean medals in 1854, and of the Victoria Cross in 1857, excepted), and had not driven with me on any similar occasion for above twenty-six years!"

Alas! The shadow of sorrow followed by its deep reality was soon to fall within the royal circle by the sickness and death of that mother so revered and well beloved. There was much to do even during the holiday at Balmoral, and we find the prince writing to Lord Palmerston on the subject of the coast volunteers and the naval reserve, which had

just previously been formed, and for which the prince strongly advised that boys should be trained.

"What I have never understood is, that the admiralty does not try to raise and train for the service more boys, who are most easily got, cheap to keep, and make much better sailors for the royal navy when grown up than men entered in the ports, and who have been brought up in the merchant service, and may have contracted every vice of indicipline. We actually require on an average 4000 boys a year, and we have only 1880 in our school ships (this number including even the novices!). If we had a reserve of 5000 boys these would almost supply the navy in peace time. And if an equal number of men who have served in the navy were placed in the naval reserve, when these boys grow up and take their places, we should soon have an efficient reserve force, not requiring any further training, and most valuable to the merchant service from the previous training received in the royal navy."

The court was back at Osborne in September, and the queen, the prince, and the Princess Alice prepared for a long-contemplated journey to Coburg. The voyage from Gravesend to Antwerp was made in the royal yacht. They had scarcely entered the railway carriage at Antwerp when a telegram from Prince Ernest (Prince Albert's brother) announced the serious illness of the dowager Duchess of Coburg, who had been joyfully anticipating their coming. The visit could not be put off, and at Verviers another telegram gave intelligence of her death. The journey was naturally a sad one, since, though the health of the duchess had been so feeble that she was not expected to live long, her death was sudden and unexpected. There were, however, so many dear associations at Coburg, and the presence there of Prince Ernest and of the princess royal, with her husband Prince Frederick William and their boy, the queen's first grandchild, now seen for the first time, made the reception deeply affecting. The space in these pages will not suffice for dwelling upon the incidents of that visit to the scenes of the prince's early days; nor need we

describe them at length, for the narrative has been written in simple, touching, but graphic language by the queen herself in her journal, from which it has been partly transcribed into the *Life of the Prince Consort*.

Prince Albert had had a narrow escape at Coburg in consequence of the horses of a carriage in which he was being driven alone taking fright and dashing onward to a spot where a bar had been placed across the road to divide it from the railway line. The prince leaped out only just in time, and though shaken and sustaining some grazes and contusions, was not seriously hurt, and at once endeavoured to assist the driver, who had been badly injured by the collision. Two of the four horses broke away and galloped towards Coburg, where they were seen by Colonel Ponsonby, the prince's equerry, who immediately obtained a carriage, and with Dr. Baly and another doctor drove along the road to the scene of the disaster.

During the latter part of the visit, and on the homeward journey, the queen suffered greatly from illness, brought on by a severe cold, and aggravated by the inclement weather which prevailed for a great portion of the time of their stay. To mark her sense of gratitude to Almighty God for the escape of the prince from imminent peril her majesty afterwards established a trust called the Victoria Foundation by investing 12,000 florins (a little over £1000) in the names of the burgomaster and chief clergyman of Coburg as trustees for the distribution of the interest of the fund on the 1st of October in each year among a certain number of young men and women of exemplary character belonging to the humbler ranks, the money being intended to apprentice or otherwise to assist the young men to pursue some industrial occupation, or to assist the young women either by enabling them to earn their livelihood or to furnish a marriage dowry.

The two princes had been expected back in England by the end of October, but adverse winds were blowing, and Prince Alfred did not arrive in Portsmouth till the 8th of November, the birth-day of the Prince of Wales, who was still absent. Prince Alfred, who had

gone out in the *Euryalus*, and while on board served strictly as a midshipman, had been received at Cape Town with much enthusiasm, and had re-embarked in company with the governor, Sir George Grey, on his tour through the colony, where he everywhere experienced the loyalty and hearty good-will of the people. The Prince of Wales, who arrived at Plymouth on the 15th on board H.M.S. *Hero*, had reached Canada amidst great popular rejoicings and an enthusiastic welcome, which was in no way diminished when he left the British possessions and continued his journey, as Lord Renfrew, in the United States of America. Nothing could have exceeded the enthusiastic hospitality of the American people and their demonstrative pleasure at the presence of the heir to the British crown in the cities of the great republic from Chicago to Cincinnati, Washington, New York, and Boston. Everywhere arrangements were made for his reception, but at first there was an observance of the fact that the queen had represented the visit to be a private one. In Chicago and Cincinnati the streets were filled with enormous crowds, whose demonstrations were quiet and respectful; and the municipal and other authorities exhibited genuine and courteous hospitality. At Washington the prince accompanied the president to the home and the burial-place of Washington at Mount Vernon, and the prince planted a chestnut by the side of the tomb. In New York the reception had broken out of the bounds of a general, but at the same time not an officially national, welcome; and Boston, the city of intellectual culture, was almost as demonstrative. Mr. Charles Sumner, writing from the latter city to Mr. Evelyn Denison, speaker of the House of Commons, said —

"You will have heard something of the uprising of the people to welcome the prince. But I doubt if any description can give you an adequate idea of its extent and earnestness. At every station on the railway there was an immense crowd, headed by the local authorities, while our national flags were blended together. I remarked to Dr. Arnold that it 'seemed as if a young heir long absent was returning to take possession.' 'It is more

than that,' said he, affected almost to tears. For the Duke of Newcastle, who had so grave a responsibility in the whole visit, it is a great triumph. I took the liberty of remarking to him that he was carrying home an unwritten treaty of amity and alliance between two great nations."

President Buchanan wrote to the queen on the 6th of October —

"When I had the honour of addressing your majesty in June last, I confidently predicted a cordial welcome for the Prince of Wales throughout this country, should he pay us a visit on his return from Canada to England. What was then prophecy has now become history. He has been everywhere received with enthusiasm, and this is attributable not only to the very high regard entertained for your majesty, but also to his own noble and manly bearing. He has passed through a long ordeal for a person of his years, and his conduct throughout has been such as became his age and station. Dignified, frank, and affable, he has conciliated, wherever he has been, the kindness and respect of a sensitive and discriminating people. His visit thus far has been all your majesty would have desired, and I have no doubt it will so continue until the end.

"The prince left us for Richmond this morning with the Duke of Newcastle and the other members of his wisely selected suite. I should gladly have prolonged his visit had this been possible consistently with previous arrangements. In our domestic circle he won all hearts. His free and ingenuous intercourse with myself evinced both a kind heart and a good understanding. I shall ever cherish the warmest wishes for his welfare.

"The visit of the prince to the tomb of Washington, and the simple but solemn ceremonies at this consecrated spot, will become an historical event, and cannot fail to exert a happy influence on the kindred people of the two countries."

This letter was received with great satisfaction. In returning it to the queen, Lord Palmerston wrote of it as doing "equal honour to the good feelings and just appreciations of the person who wrote it, and to the royal

prince to whom it relates." In reply her majesty wrote:—

"Your letter has afforded me the greatest pleasure, containing as it does such kind expressions with regard to my son, and assuring me that the character and object of his visit to you and to the United States have been fully appreciated, and that his demeanour and the feelings evinced by him have secured to him your esteem and the general good-will of your countrymen.

"I purposely delayed the answer to your letter until I should be able to couple with it the announcement of the Prince of Wales's safe return to his home. Contrary winds and stress of weather have much retarded his arrival, but we have been fully compensated for the anxiety which this long delay has naturally caused us, by finding him in such excellent health and spirits, and so delighted with all he has seen and experienced in his travels. He cannot sufficiently praise the great cordiality with which he has been everywhere greeted in your country, and the friendly manner in which you have received him; and whilst as a mother I am most grateful for the kindness shown him, I feel impelled to express at the same time how deeply I have been touched by the many demonstrations of affection towards myself personally, which his presence has called forth.

"I fully reciprocate towards your nation the feelings thus made apparent, and look upon them as forming an important link to connect two nations of kindred origin and character, whose mutual esteem and friendship must always have so material an influence upon their respective development and prosperity.

"The interesting and touching scene at the grave of General Washington, to which you allude, may be fitly taken as the type of our present feeling, and I trust of our future relations."

The Prince of Wales was to go to Cambridge for a year, Prince Alfred was to start in January on a voyage to Jamaica, but the betrothal of the Princess Alice to Prince Louis of Hesse on the 30th of November was the next important event in the royal household.

At this time Prince Albert was suffering from another attack of illness which caused frequent uneasiness, though he rallied and returned to his arduous engagements, usually commencing work as early as half-past seven, even in winter.

The opening of the new year was, as we have seen, somewhat clouded by the death of the King of Prussia, and the remote political horizon was dim with rumours of serious differences which had arisen between the States of America, the Italian question and the probable action of France were, however, more immediate troubles

Sunday the 10th of February, 1861, was the twenty-first anniversary of the royal marriage Prince Albert wrote to the Duchess of Kent at Frogmore.—

"I cannot let this day go by without writing to you, even if I had not to thank you for your kind wishes and the charming photographs Twenty-one years make a good long while, and to-day our marriage 'comes of age, according to law.' We have faithfully kept our pledge for better and for worse, and have only to thank God that he has vouchsafed so much happiness to us May he have us in his keeping for the days to come! You have, I trust, found good and loving children in us, and we have experienced nothing but love and kindness from you

"In the hope that your pains and aches will now leave you soon, I remain, as ever, your affectionate son,

ALBERT."

Two days later the queen, writing to King Leopold, said —

"On Sunday we celebrated with feelings of deep gratitude and love the twenty-first anniversary of our blessed marriage, a day which has brought to us, and, I may say, to the world at large, such incalculable blessings! Very few can say with me, that their husband at the end of twenty-one years is not only full of the friendship, kindness, and affection which a truly happy marriage brings with it, but of the same tender love as in the very first days of our marriage! We missed dear Mama and three of our children, but had six dear ones round us, and assembled in the evening those of our household still remaining, who were with us then."

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The temporary parting between the queen and her beloved mother was to be followed by a longer one In the beginning of March the duchess underwent a surgical operation in the arm to relieve the pain from an abscess, which itself was a symptom of serious disorder of the health

On the 15th of the month her majesty received a favourable report of her mother's condition, and went with the prince-consort to inspect the new gardens of the Royal Horticultural Society at South Kensington, then approaching completion, from which the queen returned alone, leaving the prince to transact business with the committee of the society While there he was suddenly summoned to Buckingham Palace by Sir Jas Clark, who had come up from Frogmore with the intelligence that the Duchess of Kent had been seized with a shivering fit, which he regarded as a very serious symptom. The queen, who had only a short time before received a letter from Lady Augusta Bruce, the duchess's lady-in-waiting, reporting that the duchess had passed a good night, and seemed altogether better, describes herself in her diary as "resting quite happy in her arm-char," having finished her work for the day, when, soon after six o'clock, the prince came in with the tidings which Sir James Clark had brought, and said they ought to go to Frogmore. Without loss of time the queen, with the prince, and also the Princess Alice, went by train to Windsor. "The way seemed so long," is the entry in her majesty's diary, "but by eight we were at Frogmore Here Lord James Murray and the ladies received us, and, alas! said it was just the same, but still I did not then realize what it really was Albert went up, and when he returned with tears in his eyes I saw what awaited me . With a trembling heart I went up the staircase and entered the bed-room, and here, on a sofa, supported by cushions, the room much darkened, sat, leaning back, my beloved mama, breathing rather heavily, in her silk dressing-gown, with her cap on, looking quite herself. . . .

"Seeing that our presence did not disturb her I knelt before her, kissed her dear hand, and placed it next my cheek, but though she

opened her eyes, she did not, I think, know me. She brushed my hand off, and the dreadful reality was before me that for the first time she did not know the child she had ever received with such tender smiles! I went out to sob . . . I asked the doctors if there was no hope. They said, they feared, none whatever, for consciousness had left her . . . It was suffusion of water on the chest which had come on . . ."

"As the night wore on into the morning," again to quote her majesty's diary, "I lay down on the sofa at the foot of my bed, where at least I could lie still. I heard each hour strike, the cock crow, the dogs barking at a distance. Every sound seemed to strike into one's inmost soul. What would dearest Mama have thought of our passing a night under her roof, and she not to know it! At four I went down again. All still—nothing to be heard but the heavy breathing, and the striking, at every quarter, of the old repeater, a large watch in a tortoise-shell case, which had belonged to my poor father, the sound of which brought back all the recollections of my childhood, for I always used to hear it at night, but had not heard it for now twenty-three years! I remained kneeling and standing by that beloved parent, whom it seemed too awful to see hopelessly leaving me, till half-past four, when, feeling faint and exhausted, I went upstairs again and lay down in silent misery, during which I went through in thought past times, and the fearful coming ones, with the awful blank which would make such an inroad into our happy family life."

About half-past seven the queen returned to the duchess's room, where the end was now visibly approaching. There was no return of consciousness. About eight o'clock, again to quote the queen's diary, "Albert took me out of the room for a short while, but I could not remain. When I returned the window was wide open and both doors. I sat on a footstool, holding her dear hand. . . . Mean-time the dear face grew paler (though, in truth, her cheeks had that pretty fresh colour they always had, up to within half-an-hour of the last), the features longer, sharper. The breathing became easier. I fell on my knees, hold-

ing the beloved hand, which was still warm and soft, though heavier, in both of mine. I felt the end was fast approaching, as Clark went out to call Albert and Alice, I only left gazing on that beloved face, and feeling as if my heart would break. . . . It was a solemn, sacred, never-to-be-forgotten scene.

"Fainter and fainter grew the breathing. At last it ceased; but there was no change of countenance, nothing, the eyes closed, as they had been for the last half-hour. . . . The clock struck half-past nine at the very moment. (Convulsed with sobs, I fell upon the hand, and covered it with kisses. Albert lifted me up and took me into the next room, himself entirely melted into tears, which is unusual for him, deep as his feelings are, and clasped me in his arms. I asked if all was over; he said, 'Yes!'

"I went into the room again after a few minutes, and gave one look. My darling mother was sitting as she had done before, but was already white! O God! How awful! How mysterious! But what a blessed end! Her gentle spirit at rest, her sufferings over! But I, —I, wretched child! who had lost the mother I so tenderly loved, from whom for these forty-one years I had never been parted except for a few weeks, what was my case? My childhood everything seemed to crowd upon me at once. I seemed to have lived through a life, to have become old! What I had dreaded, and fought off the idea of for years, had come, and must be borne. The blessed future meeting, and her peace and rest, must henceforward be my comfort."

If anything could soothe the feelings of her child at such an hour, it would have been to see how loved and how mourned the Duchess of Kent was by every member of her household, from the highest to the lowest. Some of them had been in her service for more than thirty years, and there was not one but felt that in her a dear friend had been lost. When, as evening drew on, the hour came for the queen and prince to leave the house, endeared to them by so many associations, and go to Windsor Castle, they left it through a crowd of familiar faces bathed in tears, every one of whom had some special link of association

with her, whom they were to see no more "It was," as the record already quoted notes, "a fearful moment All lit up, as when we had arrived the night before. I clung to the dear room, to the house, to all,—and the arriving at Windsor Castle was dreadful"¹

The princess royal set out from Berlin as soon as the sad intelligence reached her, and her presence and the faithful affection of the prince consort, helped to comfort the heart of the queen. It is a merciful condition of our present existence that we cannot foresee the trials which we are to meet, or the advancing shadows of that fatal year would have overwhelmed the royal wife and mother

The Prince Consort had long been in poor health. He suffered from imperfect digestion, from weakness, from rheumatic pains, from sleeplessness. He had never allowed himself enough of actual repose. Even his recreations appear to have been taken with a kind of methodical determination to make use of them as another kind of duty. He seems to have perpetually saddled himself with official harness. In the latter days of his life the training of his old tutor Baron Stockmar began to show its weak side. Stockmar had a notion that he could settle and define the political positions and proper methods of government of all the countries of Europe if the rulers and the people would but listen to his philosophic interference. Prince Albert was too wise to be a meddler, but he was always anxious to be doing something to help on the government of the country, and his sagacity was really often of so much importance both to the queen and to the ministry, while his tact in avoiding the assumption of authority was so good, that he was prone to undertake an amount of public business which his physical powers were unable to sustain. Unhappily he continued to work in spite of symptoms which should have sent him at once to rest and to careful nursing. His was not a physique to bear pain or to recover quickly from the weakness caused by want of sleep and want of digestive power, but he had the courage to act as though he was comparatively free from suffering. An

entry now and then in his diary attested that he felt ill—wretched—depressed. The queen was anxious, and those immediately associated with the royal family feared that his condition was such as to render him liable to more serious illness should he be exposed to any exciting cause of disease. The prince never seemed to have what one may call a grip on life. His physical vitality was low. People of great physical vitality may work on through pain and sickness and temporary feebleness by sheer force of will and recuperative power; on the other hand people of low vitality may, by moral courage, refuse to notice the weakness that is creeping on them and will work on in spite of it. In these respects the same apparent results may be attained by self-assertion and by self-suppression. Prince Albert was well aware of his own constitutional tendency. "I do not cling to life. You do, but I set no store by it," he had said to the queen in the course of a conversation not very long before his fatal illness. "If I knew that those I love were well cared for, I should be quite ready to die to-morrow. I am sure if I had a severe illness I should give up at once, I should not struggle for life. I have no tenacity of life."

Whether he had already become affected by low or gastric fever when he went, weak and "out of sorts," to Sandhurst on the 27th of November, 1861, to inspect the buildings for the Staff College and Royal Military Academy then in progress, could not be positively declared. It was, however, to that journey, made while he was in a condition to receive injury from fatigue or exposure or other deleterious influences, that the subsequent character of the illness was attributed. It was but three or four hours' drive from Windsor to Sandhurst and back, but the weather was tempestuous with incessant rain. Still there seemed to be little to apprehend, and though his sleeplessness continued, and he felt tired and uncomfortable, he went out shooting with Prince Ernest of Leiningen the next day. On the Sunday his discomfort and feeling of illness continued, but on the Monday he visited the Prince of Wales at Cambridge, returning on the following day. The weather was still

¹ *The Queen's Diary; Life of the Prince Consort.*

very stormy, and on his again arriving at Windsor he was much prostrated. He would not treat himself as an invalid, however, and as at that time there was much excitement because of the serious dispute with America about the seizure of Mr. Mason and Mr. Shdell on board the *Trent* (a matter to which we shall presently have to refer) he was almost constantly occupied in conference or correspondence with members of the government. The last thing ever written by the prince were alterations and amendments which he proposed should be made in the despatch sent from the government to Lord Lyons as our representative at Washington, and it was to the impression caused by his representations that the success of the despatch was largely attributed.

The illness of the prince increased, and though he appeared amidst the guests at Windsor Castle, among whom were Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, the Duc de Nemours and Lord Carlisle, he suffered much from weakness and depression. He slept little, felt chilly and wretched, and could take very little food. Still he observed his usual habits of industry, and the morning after the arrival of the proposed despatches to Lord Lyons at Washington, rose at seven o'clock to write the memorandum containing the amendments which he submitted to the queen.

By the time that a letter reached him from the ministers, speaking in high terms of the draft containing these amendments, he was worse. On the morning of the 2d of December Dr. Jenner was sent for, and was followed by Sir James Clark. The prince was unable to appear at dinner, and Lord Palmerston, who with the Duke of Newcastle and Sir Allan McNab from Canada had arrived as guests, was much distressed, and urged that a third physician should be sent for. This was not thought to be necessary, and for two or three days afterwards there was much hope that the disorder might take a favourable turn without the development of fever, of which the prince himself had a peculiar dread. Unhappily these hopes were frustrated. Day after day, though there were many symptoms that appeared to be not unfavourable to his

recovery, the fluctuations of the disorder gave rise to serious apprehensions. Dr. Watson and Sir Henry Holland were called in. All that medical skill could accomplish was doubtless secured, but the depressed condition of the prince, his inability to take food, his prostration from want of sleep, and that want of vital force were against him. Lord Palmerston, and indeed every member of the government, nay, all to whom the intelligence of the patient's condition was conveyed, felt the greatest grief and anxiety.

It may be imagined what days of sorrow those must have been to the queen herself, who, with the Princess Alice, was there to watch and soothe and read to him while he could bear it, and who, when the last sad hours came, would only leave his bedside for the adjoining room. We can do no more than record the great and solemn grief of the tender devoted wife, and the sorrow of the loving daughter. In the simple words of her own diary her majesty afterwards wrote of those parting hours, and they are the words of a heart-stricken woman, who yet, with the self-control that is one of her queenly virtues, gave way to outbursts of sorrow only in private, and sat outwardly calm and ready for whispered word or sign, with the beloved head leaning upon her shoulder, the hand clasped in her own.

Early on the morning of Saturday the 11th of December the prince's appearance had indicated some rallying of his powers, and physicians and attendants were striving to hope that the crisis might pass favourably, but during the day the symptoms became unmistakable. As the evening advanced her majesty retired to give way to her grief in the adjoining room. She had not long been gone when a rapid change set in, and the Princess Alice was requested by Sir James Clark to ask her majesty to return. The import of the summons was too plain. When the queen entered she took the prince's left hand, "which was already cold, though the breathing was quite gentle," and knelt down by his side. On the other side of the bed was the Princess Alice, while at its foot knelt the Prince of Wales (who had been summoned from Cam-

bridge the previous evening) and the Princess Helena. Not far from the foot of the bed were Prince Ernest Leiningen, the physicians, and the prince's valet Löhlein. General the Hon Robert Bruce knelt opposite to the queen, and the Dean of Windsor, Sir Charles Phipps, and General Grey, were also in the room.

"In the solemn hush of that mournful chamber there was such grief as has rarely hallowed any death-bed. A great light, which had blessed the world, and which the mourners had but yesterday hoped might long bless it, was waning fast away. A husband, a father, a friend, a master, endeared by every quality by which man in such relations can win the love of his fellow-man, was passing into the Silent Land, and his loving glance, his wise counsels, his firm manly thought should be known among them no more. The castle clock chimed the third quarter after ten. Calm and peaceful grew the beloved form, the features settled into the beauty of a perfectly serene repose; two or three long, but gentle, breaths were drawn; and that great soul had fled, to seek a nobler scope for its aspirations in the world within the veil, for which it had often yearned, where there is rest for the weary, and where 'the spirits of the just are made perfect'."¹

These words, quoted from the closing chapter of the record which the queen herself directed and approved, need no eulogistic addition here. When the great bell of St. Paul's tolled for the death of the prince who had outlived false reproach and lived down all but the basest suspicion, it struck its deep note to every heart that heard it, and its solemn echo sounded through the empire. The queen did not mourn alone. The whole nation sorrowed with her. Men went about speaking low, women wept, and even children looked with wistful faces and felt the shadow of a great grief when they heard that "Prince Albert," whose portrait they had seen in almost every street, whose name had been associated with nearly all that had been told of new parks, and schools, orphanages, and

asylums, of open spaces and exhibitions, of better means of learning, and working, and playing in large towns, had left the queen a widow and the young princes and princesses fatherless.

Before the words of the poet-laureate gave the emphasis of noble words to the message that had already gone out from the hearts of the people in signs and sounds of grief, the name "Albert the Good" had been accepted in its significance and made enduring in the public memory.

Realizing what manner of man Prince Albert was, and truly estimating the work of his that should live after him, and the memory of him that would be most likely to endure, there could scarcely have been a better or more just and appropriate tribute to his memory than that delivered by Mr Gladstone in his address before the Association of Lancashire and Cheshire Mechanics' Institutes at Manchester, on the 23d of April, 1862, and therefore shortly after the death of the prince and during the pressure of the cotton famine. The occasion, the audience, the circumstances, were such as would well serve to turn men's thoughts to the bereavement which the country had so recently sustained. We may at least see in the words themselves some reflection of what was felt and of what even now continues to be felt in relation to a loss which was a national calamity. Mr Gladstone said.—

"In many a humble cottage, darkened by the calamity of the past winter, the mourning inhabitants may have checked their own impatience by reflecting that, in the ancient palace of our kings, a woman's heart lay bleeding, and that to the supreme place in birth, in station, in splendour, and in power, was now added another and sadder title of pre-eminence in grief.

"For perhaps no sharper stroke ever cut human lives asunder than that which in December last parted, so far as this world of sense is concerned, the lives of the Queen of England and of her chosen consort. It had been obvious to us all, though necessarily in different degrees, that they were blest with the possession of the secret of reconciling the

¹ *Life of the Prince Consort*, by Sir Theodore Martin

discharge of incessant and wearing public duty with the cultivation of the inner and domestic life. The attachment that binds together wife and husband was known to be in their case, and to have been from the first, of an unusual force. Through more than twenty years, which flowed past like one long unclouded summer day, that attachment was cherished, exercised, and strengthened by all the forms of family interest, by all the associated pursuits of highly cultivated minds, by all the cares and responsibilities which surround the throne, and which the prince was called, in his own sphere, both to alleviate and to share. On the one side, such love is rare, even in the annals of the love of woman, on the other, such service can hardly find a parallel, for it is hard to know how a husband could render it to a wife, unless that wife were also queen.

"So, then, she whom you have seen in your streets a source of joy to you all, and herself drinking in with cordial warmth the sights and the sounds of your enthusiastic loyalty, is now to be thought of as the first of English widows, lonely in proportion to her elevation and her cares

"If the mourning of the nation for the Prince Consort's death was universal, yet within certain precincts it was also special. . . .

"In his well-ordered life there seemed to be room for all things—for every manly exercise, for the study and practice of art, for the exacting cares of a splendid court, for minute attention to every domestic and paternal duty, for advice and aid towards the discharge of public business in its innumerable forms, and for meeting the voluntary calls of an active philanthropy: one day in considering the best form for the dwellings of the people, another day in bringing his just and gentle influence to bear on the relations of master and domestic servant, another in suggesting and supplying the means of culture for the most numerous classes; another in some good work of almsgiving or religion. Nor was it a merely external activity which he displayed. His mind, it is evident, was too deeply earnest to be satisfied in anything, smaller or greater, with resting on the surface. With a strong

grasp on practical life in all its forms, he united a habit of thought eminently philosophical; ever referring facts to their causes, and pursuing action to its consequences.

"Gone though he be from among us, he, like other worthies of mankind who have preceded him, is not altogether gone; for, in the words of the poet

"Your heads must come
To the cold tomb;
Only the actions of the just,
Smell sweet and blossom in their dust."

"So he has left for all men, in all classes, many a useful lesson to be learnt from the record of his life and character. For example, it would, I believe, be difficult to find any where a model of a life more highly organized, more thoroughly and compactly ordered. Here in Manchester, if anywhere in the world, you know what order is and what a power it holds. Here we see at work the vast systems of machinery, where ten thousand instruments are ever labouring, each in its own proper place, each with its own proper duty, but all obedient to one law, and all co-operating for one end. Scarcely in one of these your own great establishments are the principles of order and its power more vividly exemplified, than they were in the mind and life of the Prince Consort. Now this way of exelling is one that we all may follow. There is not one among us all, here gathered, who may not, if he will, especially if he be still young, by the simple specific of giving method to his life, greatly increase its power and efficacy for good.

"But he would be a sorry imitator of the prince who should suppose that this process could be satisfactorily performed as a mechanical process, in a presumptuous or in a servile spirit, and with a view to selfish or to worldly ends. A life that is to be like his, ought to find refreshment even in the midst of labour; nay, to draw refreshment from them. But this it cannot do, unless men can take up the varied employments of the world with something of a childlike freshness. Few are they who carry on with them that childlike freshness of the earliest years into after life. It is that especial light of Heaven, described

by Wordsworth in his immortal *Ode on the Recollections of Childhood*; that light—

‘Which lies about us in our infancy,’

which attends even the youth upon his way,
but at length—

‘The man perceives it die away,
And fade into the light of common day’

Its radiance still plays about a favoured few they are those few who, like the prince, strive earnestly to keep themselves unspotted from the world, and are victors in the strife.

“In beseeching, especially the young, to study the application to their daily life of that principle of order which engenders both diligence and strength of will, and likewise so greatly multiplies their power, I am well assured that they will find this to be not only an intellectual but a moral exercise. Every real and searching effort at self-improvement is of itself a lesson of profound humility. For we cannot move a step without learning and feeling the waywardness, the weakness, the vacillation of our movements, or without desiring to be set up upon the Rock that is higher than ourselves. Nor, again, is it likely that the self-denial and self-discipline which these efforts undoubtedly involve, will often be cordially undergone, except by those who elevate and extend their vision beyond the narrow scope of the years—be they what we admit to be few, or what we think to be many—that are prescribed for our career on earth. An untiring sense of duty, an active consciousness of the perpetual presence of Him who is its author and its law, and a lofty aim beyond the grave—these are the best and most efficient parts, in every sense, of that apparatus wherewith we should be armed, when with full purpose of heart we address ourselves to the life-long work of self-improvement. And I believe that the lesson which I have thus, perhaps at once too boldly and too feebly, presumed to convey to you in words, is the very lesson which was taught us for twenty years, and has been bequeathed to us for lasting memory by the Prince Consort, in the nobler form of action, in the silent witness of an earnest, manful and devoted life”

These words of Mr. Gladstone may be said to have permanently recorded feelings which had been expressed not only by his colleagues in the government and by leading speakers in parliament, but by ministers of religion in places of worship and by means of addresses of condolence forwarded to her majesty from all parts of the kingdom. To the people of this country and to a large number of persons abroad the death of Prince Albert was little less than a personal bereavement and had an individual influence. The grief was intimate and sincere, the mourning was truly national. The sermon preached by Dean Milman at St Paul's Cathedral on the first Sunday after the news of the Prince Consort's death contained a passage which well expressed the common sentiment of the country. “From the highest to the lowest it is felt that a great example has been removed from among us—an example of the highest and the humblest duties equally fulfilled—of the household and everyday virtues of the husband and father, practised in a quiet and unostentatious way without effort or aid as it were by the spontaneous workings of a true and generous nature. To be not only blameless but more than blameless in those relations is not too common in such high positions, but his duties to the queen's subjects as well as to the queen, his duties to the great English family dispersed throughout all the world as well as to the young family within the chambers of the palace, were discharged with calm thought and silent assiduity. No waste of time in frivolous amusement, in vain pomp and glory, but usefulness in its highest sense. Schemes of benevolence promoted, plans for the education of the people suggested and fostered with prudent and far-seeing counsel, and with profound personal interest, great movements for the improvement of all branches of national industry, if not set on foot, maintained with a steady and persevering impulse, in short, notwithstanding foreign birth and education, a full and perfect identification of himself with English interests, English character, English social advancement. All these things have sunk gradually, if not slowly, into the national mind. He was ours, not merely by

adoption, but, as it were, by a second nature."

After the death of the Prince Consort the Queen, who had been during that sorrowful time aided by the calm devotion of the Princess Alice, called her children around her, and, though borne down with grief, exhorted them to assist her in doing her duty by them and by the country. The funeral of the prince took place at St George's Chapel, Windsor, on the 23d of December, and, though attended by some of the highest dignitaries of the realm and the royal household, the ceremony was almost private. The coffin was only placed in the entrance of the royal vault and not in the vault itself, as her majesty had determined to have a mausoleum constructed in the gardens at Frogmore, and had already selected the place which was to be occupied by the building. Within a year afterwards this mausoleum was completed, and on the 18th of December, 1862, the remains of the Prince Consort were removed thither from St. George's Chapel, a temporary stone sarcophagus having been provided to receive the coffin, which was not finally placed in the permanent sarcophagus afterwards prepared for it until the 28th of November, 1868.

Although the queen in her deep grief had felt unable to take any public part in affairs of state, and remained in seclusion for a longer period than some of her subjects thought was necessary or desirable, she continued to manifest her genuine interest in all that concerned the happiness and welfare of the people. At about the time when a year of mourning had expired a great calamity affecting a number of the humbler class of the population called forth her ready sympathy and aroused a feeling of pity throughout the country. The accident at the *Hartley Colliery*, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, probably excited more consternation than any tragical event since the wreck of the *Royal Charter* in October, 1859. The *Royal Charter*, a homeward bound steamer from Australia, carrying a large number of passengers and their possessions, including a considerable quantity of gold, was wrecked in Redwharf Bay, Anglesea,

during a fearful storm in which she kept near a lee shore in the hope of meeting with a pilot for Liverpool. The gale was so violent that, though the two anchors were let go and the engines were worked at full speed to lessen the strain, the chain cables parted and she was driven on shore and struck on the rocks astern. The passengers, among whom were a large number of women and children, had been unaware of any serious cause for alarm when the vessel began to beat upon the sharp pointed rocks. The masts and rigging were cut away without avail, and she was thrown broadside on and perfectly upright on the shelving stony beach, from which a rock projected not more than twenty yards from her head. One of the crew, a Portuguese named Joseph Rogers, bravely volunteered to carry a rope on shore, and succeeded in struggling with it through the heavy surf. A hawser was then hauled out and fastened on shore and a "boatswain's chair" rigged to it, but the fury of the wind and sea prevented much use being made of it. In the saloon the terror-stricken passengers had assembled and a clergyman, Mr. Hodge, attempted to hold a religious service; but the waves were already pouring through, and even while Captain Taylor and another officer were endeavouring to allay the fears of those around them a succession of tremendous shocks broke the vessel amidships and she soon began to break up. A few of the crew contrived to reach the shore by the hawser, some persons were flung bruised and almost senseless on the rocks by the force of the waves, but of those on board 459 perished, Captain Taylor having been the last seen alive on board, where he had lashed himself to a spar, but did not succeed in his attempt to escape. All the officers were lost. Few storms have left such strange evidences of their violence. The iron safe containing the ship's treasure was afterwards discovered to have been broken up into shapeless masses, and in the crushed fragments of smaller iron boxes, sovereigns and nuggets of gold were found imbedded as though they formed part of the substance of the metal.

The appalling circumstances of this wreck had made it historical. In the records of such

calamities the wreck of the *Royal Charter* stood forth with terrible distinctness. The story of the recovery of the bodies, of the awful solemn scene of the funeral in that remote Welsh burial-ground at Llanalgo near Moelfra on the coast, and of the anxious inquirers who journeyed thither to look upon the faces of the dead, was still remembered when, more than two years afterwards, on the 16th of January, 1862, tidings came of another dreadful accident, not upon the sea, but amidst all the busy life and activity of a coal-pit, where a hundred and ninety-nine men and boys were working "underground."

The main features of the calamity at Hartley Colliery may be soon indicated. Closely adjoining the shaft of the mine on the east side, was a substantial stone structure containing the machinery employed for keeping the pit clear of water. The pumping-engine was one of the largest to be met with in the coal trade, with a power equal to 400 horses.

The accident occurred about half-past ten in the morning. The greater body of the miners in the pit had gone in at one o'clock in the morning, and were just about being relieved to come to bank by the back shift, which went in at nine o'clock. In fact, two sets of men of the first shift had got to bank, and the third shift was "riding" or coming up the shaft in the cage, and had got hauled halfway up when the beam of the pumping-engine overhanging the shaft at the bank suddenly and without any warning snapped in two, the projecting outer half, weighing upwards of twenty tons, falling with a tremendous crash right down the centre of the shaft. It struck the top of the brattice and carried the woodwork and timber, which extended from the top to the bottom of the shaft, with it down the shaft. It encountered the ascending cage, bringing up eight miners, halfway. The survivors of the party stated that they first observed something shoot past them with the velocity of a thunderbolt, and presently found themselves overwhelmed by a perfect hail of broken beams and planks. The iron cage in which they were ascending was shattered to pieces by the shock, and two

of the unfortunate men were killed on the spot, and carried far down among the ruins. Of the remaining six three survived for some time, and the others were ultimately rescued.

Of course as soon as the accident was known help arrived from the neighbouring collieries, and every effort was made to reach the number of men and boys imprisoned below, but only two men at a time could work at removing the obstruction, and they had to be slung by ropes in the narrow space. Meanwhile the scene around the pit's mouth and in the neighbourhood was sad and touching. The police had some difficulty in keeping the space about the bank top sufficiently clear for the work to be carried on. Crowds of people came from the adjoining mining villages, and even from distant places. Numbers of women remained all day in sad foreboding groups, after having stood near the mine in the chill air of the November night. The wives and families of the men who were imprisoned below passed hither and thither with sorrow-stricken faces. There were plenty of experienced men, with brave hearts and strong hands, but the work could only be effected slowly; and though it was said that at one time on the Saturday (the third day of their imprisonment) the men for whom they were labouring were heard working and signalling in the shaft, the obstructions had been found to be more solid and closely wedged together as the explorers worked to the lower part of the shaft. Signals were made and not answered, and the sounds which had been heard ceased. It was supposed that the men had retired more into the workings. The managers of the pit felt confident that there was not the least cause for alarm, unless the men should suffer from the effects of foul air, and this apprehension, as the event proved, was unhappily too well founded. The work of clearing away the obstructions in the shaft was continued night and day with unremitting vigour, but the men engaged in this praiseworthy, but difficult and dangerous, task felt the effects of the gases which had been generated below, and were compelled to suspend operations till a ventilating apparatus, composed of cloth, and called a cloth bratticing,

could be arranged. This was completed on Wednesday afternoon, and the shaft being cleared, to some extent, of gas, the terrible tragedy was revealed in all its horrors. Three pitmen (volunteers) went down, penetrated the obstruction, got into the yard seam by the engine-drift, and found men lying dead at the furnace. They pushed their way through. The air was bad. Within the door they found a large body of men sleeping the sleep of death. They retreated and came to bank with the appalling intelligence.

Those who went all through the works found no living man, but a hecatomb of dead bodies. The bulk of the bodies were lying in the gallery near the shaft. Families were lying in groups, children in the arms of their fathers, brothers with brothers. Most of them looked placid as if asleep, but higher up, near the furnace, some tall stout men seemed to have died hard. The corn-bins were all cleared. Some few of the men had a little corn in their pockets. A pony was lying dead among the men, but untouched.

To the usual danger of foul air was added the inroad of water into the workings. The "yard seam," where most of the men had taken refuge, was not reached till the 22d, and those lying there bore the appearance of having been suffocated two or three days before.

Indications of piety and of courage were not wanting from the first. Two of the men who were knocked out of the cage were partly buried in the ruins which choked the shaft. The elder Sharp could be heard praying among the rubbish where he was buried. Thomas Watson, who was hanging by the broken cage, heard the moans and prayers of his unfortunate companion, and though much bruised by the wood that had struck him, he dropped himself down the pump on to the rubbish in which poor Sharp was buried, and prayed with him until he expired, though every moment Watson himself expected to be engulfed where he stood. After Sharp's death Watson scrambled back to the cage, where he hung for many hours, till he and his other two companions were rescued.

Amos, the "overman," and one of his

deputies named Tennant, a fine fellow who had been to the Australian gold mines but had returned, would, it was believed, lead the men out of the pit and to a place secure from the water. Thus they succeeded in doing, and, like true captains of industry, they died at their post. They had struggled up through the furnace drift after the accident, and had hacked and hewn at the obstruction in the shaft until the Sunday afternoon, when a fall of stone took place in the shaft which drove them away, and they were found lying at the post of danger, but the post of duty—the furnace—having died in mortal agony, the men and boys "in by" having subsequently slept quietly away.

The Hartley colliers had the character of being steady and thoughtful men. There was no public-house within a mile of the village; many of the miners were abstainers from intoxicating drinks, and several of them were local preachers and class leaders among the Methodist communities. A number of the dead were lying in rows on each side, all quiet and placid as if in a deep sleep after a heavy day's work. In a book taken from the pocket of the overman was a memorandum dated "Friday afternoon (17th), half-past two o'clock. Edward Armstrong, Thomas (Hedson), John Hardie, Thomas Bell, and others, took extremely ill. We had also a prayer-meeting at a quarter to two, when Tibbs, H. Sharp, J. Campbell, H. Gibson, and William Palmer—(here the sentence was incomplete). Tibbs exhorted to us again, and Sharp also."

Messages to families were found scratched on flasks and boxes; there appeared to have been no little calm and peace at meeting death.

The scene as the bodies were slowly removed and brought to the bank was very painful. About 5000 people had assembled by that time, and the widows and orphans knew the worst. Occasionally a stifled groan or a hysteric cry would be heard from the crowd as some well-known face slowly rose up out of the dark chasm, but for the most part a reverent silence was kept throughout. With the shaft in its present condition it was found impossible to lower a cage of the usual character, and the

bodies were brought up in slings passed under the armpits. As each came to earth it was unslung, wrapped in a winding-sheet, and placed in a coffin which stood by on a truck. As each was identified his name was chalked on the coffin, and it was wheeled away from the platform and delivered over to the friends who stood waiting outside the barrier. The bodies of those men who lived in the village hard by were carried there at once, and for others who came from a distance there were hearses and carts in waiting. Still, this process was slow, and in leaving the colliery to get to the railway station the path lay through long lines of piled-up coffins, some of which had already received their ghastly burden and others were standing ready for it. The coffins were made in a peculiar fashion, the head part opening out on a hinge, so that it might be readily turned back for the relatives to cast a last look on the features of the dead. Almost every cottage had a coffin, some two, one five, and one poor woman had lost a husband, five sons, and a boy whom they had brought up and educated. Most of the funerals took place on Sunday at Earsdon Church, in a piece of ground given by the Duke of Northumberland. The scene was solemn and deeply touching as the relations followed the coffins to the graves, singing the hymn commencing,

"Oh God, our help in ages past."

Deep sympathy was everywhere manifested on behalf of the bereaved sufferers, and by no one more than by the bereaved queen at Osborne, who directed that intelligence should be constantly conveyed to her, and whose first message said she was "most anxious to hear that there are hopes of saving the poor people in the colliery for whom her heart bleeds."

On the sad Sunday of the funerals a letter, addressed to Mr. Carr, the head viewer of the colliery, by command of her majesty, was read by the incumbent of Earsdon at a large religious meeting held on the pit-head.

"Osborne, Jan 23, 1862

"The queen, in the midst of her own overwhelming grief, has taken the deepest interest in the mournful accident at Hartley, and up

to the last had hoped that at least a considerable number of the poor people might have been recovered alive. The appalling news since received has afflicted the queen very much. Her majesty commands me to say that her tenderest sympathy is with the poor widows and mothers, and that her own misery only makes her feel the more for them. Her majesty hopes that everything will be done as far as possible to alleviate their distress, and her majesty will have a sad satisfaction in assisting in such a measure."

There were 103 widows and 257 children left destitute, while the number of sisters, parents, and other relatives who had relied for support on those who had perished made the total 407. Her majesty had readily sent £200 towards their relief, and other subscriptions quickly followed. The large sum of £81,000 was ultimately subscribed, a fourth part of which was contributed to a fund opened by the lord-mayor at the Mansion-house. Of course the large coal-owners, many of the mining engineers, the Earl of Durham, the Duke of Northumberland, and others contributed largely, and the London Stock-exchange subscribed nearly £1000 in a single day.

It is necessary for a complete survey of the position occupied by England, and by the government at the period we are now considering, that we should look back for a moment to the early part of the year 1860. Public attention at that time was fixed chiefly on Italy, but we had taken a prominent part in some more distant operations, where the combined action of the French and English forces continued to support an alliance between the two nations. Our difficulties in China had not terminated with the draft of that treaty of Tien-tsin, which, as we have seen, was arranged by Lord Elgin and Baron Gros. The treaty itself was to be ratified at Peking, within a year of the date of its signature, in June, 1858, and Lord Elgin returned to England, and his brother, Mr. Frederick Bruce, went out in March, 1859, as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, with

orders to proceed by way of Peiho to Tien-tsin and thence to Peking. It was in fact suspected that the Chinese, who had an insurmountable objection to any foreign envoy entering Peking, would use any excuse for delay or for the actual fulfilment of the treaty in the manner determined on. For this reason Mr Bruce was authorized to go to the mouth of the Peiho with a naval force, and on board a man-of-war, to Tien-tsin, which itself stands on the Peiho, near the confluence of several streams which flow into it, Peking being about a hundred miles inland from the mouth of the Peiho, but connected with the river by a canal. The expedition was so ordered that Admiral Hope, who was in command of the British naval force, had sent word to Taku, at the entrance to the Peiho, to say that the English and French envoys were coming. When they reached there with the admiral and a fleet of nineteen vessels, it was found that the suspicions communicated to Mr. Bruce by Lord Malmesbury as the reason for his taking effectual means of reaching Peking were justified. The river was closed by stakes and obstructions, the Taku forts commanding its entrance were defended by a crowd of armed men, who, in reply to the demand to let the envoys and the naval escort pass, declared that they belonged to a kind of militia, and that they had no orders from the imperial authorities, but that they would send any message from the troops to Tien-tsin and wait for the answer.

On the whole it was pretty evident that Lord Malmesbury's opinions were well founded. The Chinese were repeating their peculiar tactics of hostile demonstrations and foolish prevarication, to be followed by bluster and (after they were defeated) an emphatic denial of intentional provocation. The defences of the river and of the forts at Taku, for the purpose of preventing the passage of the vessels of war and the envoys, were acts of defiance, or were regarded as such, and though it might have been possible to have taken another way to Peking, there seems little reason to suppose that anything would have been gained by "sheering off" from Taku, either because of these preparations, or of the pre-

tended irresponsibility of the force which had been stationed there. Probably any such course would have been regarded by the foolishly crafty Chinese government as an evidence of actual fear. The Chinese soldiers were not cowards, they seem to have been possessed of a kind of constitutional courage, and, considering their inferiority in physique, in weapons and warlike ability, they fought bravely. They appeared to have an ineradicable impression either that we, like themselves, threatened without the intention or the ability of proceeding to extremities, or that they would be in some occult way able to prevent the incursion of barbarians beyond a certain external point of the Celestial Empire. In endeavouring to estimate the conduct of the Chinese, it is necessary to take particular account of what appears to be a strange, if only a superficial peculiarity that of a certain childish, one scarcely likes to say child-like, temper in relation to troubles or calamities, treating even grave misfortunes as temporary difficulties, and evading them by recurring to some possible immediate occupation rather than making them serious turning-points of life. The Chinese character would seem to be alike shallow and simple, with a kind of contented cunning in place of wisdom, and a singular want of ability to estimate the value of a principle of truthfulness and loyalty beyond an immediate and personal loyalty to those who by power or affection can command it. This is not the place to enter into an examination of the superficial but intricate mental characteristics of the Chinaman, which may perhaps be compared to one of those carved ivory balls with which we are familiar, as the result of years of practice in minutely following immediate processes requiring consummate skill of manipulation, but seldom developing much variety in its ingenuity.

At all events both the envoys and the admiral had somewhat underrated the courage or the ability of the force at Taku. When Admiral Hope sent again to demand that the passage of the river should be cleared, the reply was that they had sent a messenger to Tien-tsin, and when an official came from Tien-tsin, after the admiral had found that

the obstructions and defences had been increased, the only object of this mission seems to have been to obtain further delay. Mr. Bruce and the French envoy concurred in asking the admiral to clear a passage for the vessels, but by that time the forts were well manned. When the gunboats approached the barriers, they were fired upon and four of them were disabled, while the vessels of the fleet got aground. An attempt to storm the forts failed, and of about 1000 English and 100 French assailants, 450 were wounded including the admiral himself and the commander of the French vessel which had joined in the attack. The attempt had to be abandoned.

Affairs had become serious, and it was determined by the governments of France and England that Baron Gros and Lord Elgin should return to carry out the treaty which they had concluded, and with a sufficient force to show that they were not to be trifled with. Sir Hope Grant was in command of the troops sent from England, and General de Montauban, afterwards known as Count Palikao, at the head of the French. There was very little further delay. The Chinese at Taku fought with some obstinacy, but were quickly defeated; the forts were taken, Tien-tsin was occupied, and the allied troops marched on towards Peking. The Chinese government acted as it usually did, and having been beaten sought for further negotiations for the purpose of keeping the foot of the barbarian out of the capital. As usual, too, no sooner had negotiations been admitted than the Chinese forgot their recent defeat and became insolent. At all events the subordinates did. Lord Elgin had agreed that the Chinese commissioners should meet him and Baron Gros at Tangchow, a town about ten miles from Peking, and sent thither his secretaries, Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch, with some of the staff of Baron Gros and several English officers, to make arrangements for the interview. They were also accompanied by a gentleman named Bowlby, the correspondent of the *Times* newspaper. The commissioners had marked out a large space of ground to be occupied by the French and English force, but the secretaries and

their companions on their return from the town found that a large body of Chinese had taken possession of this ground, and that it was necessary to pass through them amidst demonstrations which appeared to be menacing. Unfortunately a squabble arose between a French officer and some of the Tartars in the Chinese ranks, and an attack was made upon the European party. Though they carried a flag of truce and it was known that their mission was to arrange a conference at the request of the Chinese themselves, about thirty of them, French and English, including Mr. Loch, Mr. Parkes, Mr. Bowlby, Mr. de Norman, Captain Brabazon, and Lieutenant Anderson, were seized and dragged off as prisoners towards Peking. The numbers opposed to them made any attempt at resistance useless. Mr. Bowlby, Lieutenant Anderson, and Mr. de Norman were taken to Peking and put into tents. They were directly afterwards thrown on the ground, bound hand and foot, and placed in an open courtyard, where they remained exposed to the sun and the cold for three days without food. If they spoke they were kicked or beaten, and dirt was thrust into their mouths. Irons were fastened to their necks, wrists, and ankles, and they were then thrown into rough country carts and taken away in different directions along with several of their companions who had also been captured. Some of them were shut in cages or prisons, and loaded with chains, the wrists of others were tightly bound with cords till the torture became unbearable. Lieutenant Anderson's sufferings were dreadful. He became delirious and died. Mr. de Norman and Mr. Bowlby also succumbed to the barbarous treatment they received. Mr. Loch and Mr. Parkes were bound, their arms behind them, and taken before the Chinese commander-in-chief and other officials, on approaching whom they were thrown down on their knees, they were then taken, half dead with pain, heat, thirst, and fatigue, before a Chinese secretary of state. They were deprived of their papers, letters, and watches, and then they were again roughly forced into a cart and driven to Peking, a journey which lasted seven hours, during which only a small

quantity of water was given them. Arriving at nightfall they were taken to a small dimly lighted room in the "hall (or board) of punishment," a room from the walls of which hung chains and implements of torture. Again they were forced on their knees before a mandarin. Mr. Loch, who did not speak Chinese, was cuffed, kicked, and ill treated for not answering questions. Mr. Parkes, who *could* reply, was served in the same manner on the accusation that he gave lying answers. Both gentlemen were then removed to the common jail, a long barn-like building with grated windows, where the prisoners were half naked, filthy, savage-looking wretches, the worst class of criminals loaded with chains. Here they were chained by their necks to a beam over their heads in such a manner that they could just lie down to rest on a hard board. Provided with only a little coarse food they were kept in this condition for several days. They were eventually restored, but of the twenty-four of their companions who were seized, thirteen died of the horrible usage they had received. Those who survived continued to suffer much from the effects of torture and privation, and it is doubtful whether any would have been released had not Lord Elgin refused to negotiate till the prisoners were returned, and if at the same time the allied armies had not been at the very gate of Peking and ready to storm the city.

Not till the city was surrendered and the French and English flags floated on its walls did the envoys hear of the atrocities by which so many of those who went to prepare pacific negotiations had been killed, and when the truth was discovered, and the suffering survivors brought the evidence of their altered appearance before their countrymen, Lord Elgin could scarcely have allayed the fury of the troops if he had not at once determined as a signal act of punishment to burn and utterly destroy the magnificent Summer Palace of the emperor. Much regret was expressed afterwards by some who regarded the act as an unnecessary piece of vandalism; but it was at any rate better than the vengeance of indiscriminate slaughter would have been, and probably conveyed a more signal lesson

of stern retribution to people who had assumed that the place was in a sense sacred, and who knew that it contained the accumulated treasures of the emperors of China.

The so-called palace was in fact a series of remarkable buildings, occupying a kind of pleasure-park surrounded by beautiful scenery, and with mountains on one side of the inclosure. An eye-witness afterwards declared it would be impossible to convey any adequate idea of the quaint luxury and magnificence of the place. After having traversed the first palace, occupied chiefly by the throne room, the visitor entered the park, beautifully planted, and containing watercourses, lakes, kiosks, and pagodas in every variety, while no fewer than thirty buildings at some distance from each other formed the suite of palaces, of which the one painted a red or "lake" colour was the actual residence of the emperor, "the brother of the sun and moon." The exterior walls were of this colour, but ornamented with gold and rich fantastic carving. Here had been collected by the "celestial" emperor his treasures of art, suites of porcelain, flowered vases, jars, and ornaments of jade-stone, ivory carvings, watches, clocks, gems, gold and silver ingots, necklaces of pearls, and other jewels.

Prince Kung, the brother of the emperor, who was in communication with Lord Elgin, and had shown considerable sagacity in his efforts to prevent further outrages on the prisoners and to renew reasonable negotiations, was informed that no representations would prevent the destruction of this palace as an act of signal retribution. It was understood that it would first be given over to pillage, and the French troops appear to have had the start of our men in this magnificent opportunity for "looting." The treasures acquired by some of them were afterwards referred to as being almost fabulous. Watches, jewels, rare works of art were, it was said, sold for very small sums. It may be remembered that a Captain Negroni, a year or two afterwards, had an exhibition at the Crystal Palace of jade-stone vases and other ornaments and valuables which he had acquired from the soldiers after the looting of the Summer Palace, and stories were afterwards told of a magni-

ficent diamond necklace which found its way through the hands of the French commander to the palace of the Tuileries. It may be mentioned that among the curiosities collected in the building were a presentation watch set with diamonds, several pictures and portraits of the time of Louis XIV, and some pieces of Sevres china. The contents of the Pekin treasury were said to be worth £6,000,000, but this was probably a fancy estimate, and indeed the articles, except actual gems and gold and silver, could scarcely be valued; but it is certain that the French soldiers took possession of considerable treasure, and that our men had some booty though they did not obtain an equal share. So far as the objects of art were concerned it was believed that those which were destroyed were nearly equal in value to the whole of the property that had been pillaged, for the day after the place was sacked a party of soldiers armed with clubs went through the building smashing mirrors, gorgeous screens, painted panels, and everything of a fragile kind that remained. This was in revenge for the treatment experienced by the prisoners. The palace was then burned down, and any remaining portions were levelled to the ground, for it was said to have been within its precincts that some of the captives received the grossest indignities. The sentence was sternly executed, and a monument was set up with an inscription in Chinese saying that this destruction of the imperial palace was the reward of perfidy and cruelty.

Had Lord Elgin demanded the surrender of those concerned in the outrages on the French and English captives any number of victims would doubtless have been handed over to him, consisting of wretches ignorant of the whole transaction and innocent of having taken any part in it. There was no security that the real culprits would be punished, and the satisfaction of vengeance by mere massacre would have been revolting. This was the reason assigned for the destruction of the Summer Palace at Pekin, and it was well founded. The allied troops had entered the capital through the great gate named "Tranquillity," and the place was at their mercy.

It was neither so large nor so magnificent a city as had been believed, and though, by the terms of the convention which was promptly concluded, France and England were to have representatives residing there either permanently or occasionally as they might choose, there was little advantage in that arrangement except to show that China would be open to both countries. Tien-tsin was to be open to foreign trade and foreign residents. In addition to a large indemnity, the Chinese agreed to pay compensation to the prisoners who had been maltreated and to the families of those who had died from their injuries.

At the time that the English and French troops were completing the military and diplomatic victory at Pekin, intelligence arrived at London and Paris that some serious outbreaks in Syria demanded immediate intervention. The Druses, a fierce and fanatical sect inhabiting the chain of the Libanus, had for some time previously been harassing the Maronite Christians whose villages occupied the adjacent country, and they had now made a series of attacks ending in the burning of the houses and the massacre of a large number of people accompanied by acts of horrible barbarity. Between these people and the Maronites there had been unceasing disputes, in which the Turkish authorities stationed in the villages or at Beyrout and Damascus seldom interfered and certainly never gave efficient protection to the Christians. It was now declared, and was afterwards pretty well proved, that they encouraged the Druses in their atrocities even if some of the Turkish soldiers did not take part in them. The Druses were, of course, not Christians, but their religion was not accurately known. They were a fierce remorseless tribe under the government of an emir and various chiefs, and occupying a territory as far south as the source of the Jordan, and to the north part of the Libanus and the latitude of Tripoli. They spoke Arabic, and their capital was Deir-el-Kamar in a valley on the west slope of the Libanus. It was supposed that these people were originally followers of Hakem-biamr-llah, the sixth Fatemite Caliph of Egypt, who, in the eleventh

century, established a kind of secret sect at Cairo as an offshoot of the great schism of the Ishmaelites, and that the "Assassins" were also derived from the sect established by Hakem. The Druses were said to believe in transmigration, to worship a calf (probably the Egyptian Apis) as some typical expression of a mythical idea, they had a number of convents scattered among the mountains, and also possessed a college for the study of Syriac. All the men were trained to the use of arms, and it was said that the emir could muster 40,000 at a very short notice. They were formidable enough in themselves, but as the Maronites were even more numerous it is doubtful whether the Druses would have gained all the advantage in an open conflict. They had resort to ambushes, and were joined by other wild tribes, the Kurds, and the Bedouins. Aided by the Mussulman sects and unchecked by the Turkish authorities they had wrought themselves into a frenzy against the Catholic Christians, and the result was that 151 villages were in ruins in little more than a month and above 70,000 inhabitants of the Libanus were reduced to beggary, while about 7000 perished in the massacres, besides those who were killed in attempting an organized defence. The Maronites were doubtless little less fierce and quarrelsome than the Druses, and hostilities between them had been frequent. The Christian villages were numerous, and the Maronite population amounted to above 200,000, amongst whom were many Europeans, beside those connected with the Catholic and Presbyterian missions, while many of the native families had European names, a circumstance attributed to the probability of some of the Franks in the first crusade having established themselves in the territory of the followers of the Latin Church settled in the Lebanon. It is not necessary to investigate the origin of the outrage which resulted in the savage onslaught of the Druses. It was said that some time in the month of May a Maronite monk was found murdered, and that by way of retaliation the Maronites killed several Druses on the first opportunity. At all events at the end of the month the Druses came down in force upon the villages near Beyrout, and

then attacked a large town under Mount Hermon. Instead of doing his duty by repelling the aggressors, the Turkish commandant ordered the Maronites to disarm, promising that he would protect them. They obeyed, and when they had given up their weapons he left them to their fate, the Druses rushed into the place and massacred the whole population, the Turkish soldiers making no effort to save them, but in some cases joining the assailants in the work of slaughter. For more than a month the atrocities were continued by the Druses, who, as they detested Europeans even more than they hated the Catholic Maronites, took little trouble to discriminate. Exulting at being able to carry on their ferocious excesses unchecked by the authorities who had been placed there to preserve justice and order, they succeeded in arousing the fanaticism of others, and at the beginning of July a Turkish mob in Damascus attacked and set fire to the Christian quarter of the city. In one day nearly 2000 Christians were massacred, and the French, Russian, Austrian, Belgian, Dutch, and Greek consulates were destroyed. A number of the more important Mussulman residents in Damascus made strenuous efforts to save the Christians, and gave them shelter and protection; but the Turkish governor, who had a military force under his command, remained apparently indifferent, or at least made no earnest effort to interfere, so that the brutal mob and its instigators murdered their victims with a complacency derived from the assumption that they acted under official approval.

Although the affair might have been stopped by the troops before dark on the Monday, after that hour the mob increased in numbers every minute. Late in the evening about 300 soldiers were sent to put a stop to the outrage, but many of them very shortly joined in the plundering; while others used their arms to massacre the Christians. The whole Christian quarter, which included some of the finest palaces to be found in the empire, was soon one mass of flames; and as the inmates tried to escape they were thrust back on the burning piles by the bayonets of the Turkish regular troops. One of the military chiefs who

commanded in Damascus was Osman Beg, the miscreant who but three weeks previously had delivered up at Hasbeyia upwards of 1500 Christians to be massacred by the Druses

No fewer than six times did Mr Brant, the English consul, and the Rev. Mr Robson, Irish Presbyterian missionary, at the utmost risk of their lives, go together to the Pacha Achmet, and urge him to do something to save the lives of the Christians. No, he said he could, and showed that he would, do nothing, but remained "consulting" in the castle. When the last despatches left Damascus, at 2 p.m. on the 12th of July, the burning, slaughter, murder, pillage, and other atrocities continued, and became worse than ever, for the fanatics of the place had been just then joined by a host of Bedouins, Kurds, Druses, and other scoundrels, who were only too pleased at the chance of pillage.

The hero of the time was the brave and generous chief Abd-el-Kader, who repaid with interest the good-will with which he had been treated by the French after his defeat. In his house and its court-yards in Damascus not only the European consuls but many hundreds of Christians found shelter, and he, with his Algerines, held out against the horde of wretches who sought to destroy the refugees. The English consulate in the Moslem quarter of the town had been respected, and there several hundreds were sheltered, while 3000 were in the castle. It was said that 2000 had been massacred and the Christian quarter of the city was entirely destroyed, the loss of property being £1,200,000 sterling. The Lazarists, the Sisters of Charity, and other women of Damascus were at length enabled to leave for Beyrout under the protection of an escort of the brave followers of Abd-el-Kader, who had at the beginning of the massacre sallied forth with his men and saved the lives of numbers, who were at once taken under his protection and their needs provided for. From first to last the outrages were so horrible that the reports could scarcely be much exaggerated. Lord Dufferin was on his way to Deir-el-Kamar at the time of the massacre when the number of slain was put down at from 1100 to 1200. "I travelled," he writes, "over most

of the open country before the war was over, and came to Deir-el-Kamar a few days after the massacre. Almost every house was burned, and the street crowded with dead bodies, most of them stripped and mutilated in every possible way. My road led through some of the streets my horse could not even pass, for the bodies were literally piled up. Most of those I examined had many wounds, and in each case was the right hand either entirely or nearly cut off, the poor wretch, in default of weapons, having instinctively raised his arm to parry the blow aimed at him. I saw little children of not more than three or four years old stretched on the ground, and old men with gray beards. Beyrout itself was threatened by the infuriated and victorious Druses, and the presence of an English pleasure-yacht in the harbour, with a single gun, was supposed to have had more effect in averting danger than all the troops of the Turkish pacha, who rather connived at the massacre."

If any necessity for intervention in the affairs of Turkey had never before existed it seemed to be justified at this time, and a convention of all the great powers intrusted France and England with the duty of interposing and restoring order. The admirals of the allied force had orders to disembark at Beyrout the soldiers furnished from France, and the disturbances were quickly arrested. On the 16th of July the sultan addressed a letter to the Emperor of the French, saying—

"I have at heart that your majesty should know with what grief I have learned of the events in Syria. Let your majesty be convinced that I shall employ all my powers for establishing security and order in Syria, and that I shall severely punish the guilty parties, whoever they may be, and render justice to all. In order to leave no doubt whatever of the intentions of my government I have intrusted that important mission to my minister for foreign affairs, with whose principles your majesty is acquainted."

Fuad Pacha, the minister sent by the sultan, was an honest and capable man. He carried retribution among the wretches who had been foremost in the atrocities, and caused more than one of the treacherous Turkish officials

to be executed and others of them to be degraded. When order was restored it was agreed by the representatives of the great powers meeting at Constantinople that a Christian governor of the Lebanon should be appointed in subordination to the sultan. It was nearly a year before the French troops left Syria, and Lord Palmerston wrote on the 26th of June, 1861, to Sir Henry Bulwer, saying "I am heartily glad we have got the French out of Syria, and a hard job it was to do so. The arrangement made for the future government of the Libanus will, I dare say, work sufficiently well to prevent the French from having any pretext for returning thither." By that time occurrences of nearer and apparently much greater importance than the intervention in Syria were occupying earnest attention, and the eyes of Europe had, during the whole of the previous year, been fixed on the progress of events in Italy, to which we must now briefly return.

It should be remembered as some key to the operation of the Franco-Italian war and to the events which immediately followed in Italy, that in April, 1856, a note was addressed by Count di Cavour and the Marquis di Villamarina, the Sardinian plenipotentiaries at the Paris conference, to the English and French governments, in which, after stating that they had hoped that the Congress of Paris would not separate without taking into serious consideration the state of Italy, and deliberating on the means to be adopted for the re-establishment of its political equilibrium, disturbed by the occupation of a great part of the country by foreign troops. They said that this hope had been disappointed, in consequence of the persistence of Austria in obliging the conference to be kept within the bounds of the questions marked out for discussion. They next called attention to the system of repression and violent reaction in force since 1848, to the number of political prisoners in the jails, the number of exiles, and the excited and revolutionary condition of the people. They then denounced the action of Austria in repressing the discontent of the subjects of the small Italian states, and to that end occupying the

greater part of the valley of the Po and of Central Italy, making the Adriatic an Austrian lake, converting Piacenza into a first-class fortress in contradiction to the Treaty of Vienna, holding a garrison at Parma, and preparing to deploy her forces all along the Sardinian frontier. This appeal by Sardinia against the occupation of Italy by Austrian troops was seriously received by France and England, the former, however, reserving any outspoken expression of principle which would be made to include Rome and the Pontifical States in the remonstrance against foreign occupation, Rome being then protected against insurrection by French troops. A message from the governments was sent to Naples, however, advising against the tyranny exercised over the people there; but the remonstrance was haughtily disregarded, and the result of communications was that both England and France recalled their plenipotentiaries from the Neapolitan court.

The Treaty of Villafranca, by which Austria relinquished Lombardy, and Savoy and Nice were ceded to France, had neither completed the unity of the Italian kingdom nor stayed the progress of those who had set themselves to achieve Italian freedom. The infamous Ferdinand of Naples was dead—men had nicknamed him *Bomba* because in the earlier struggle for liberty, when the people of Sicily rose against his tyranny, he gave his command in the one word "*Bombadare!*" and the town of Messina was bombarded from the citadel, with so much success in the destruction of the people and the suppression of their complaints that he afterwards repeated it in other places. We have already seen with what precise but indignant emphasis Mr. Gladstone had arraigned the government of Naples, and had dragged before the world the story of its treacheries and the secrets of its prison-houses,¹ but neither remonstrances nor warnings changed the brutal indifference of the king to the wrongs inflicted on his subjects. He continued to believe in the policy of bombardment, and should the tortured inhabitants of Naples writhe into rebellion, the guns of

¹ Vol. II. p. 250.

the fortress of St. Elmo commanded the whole city and would in a few hours reduce it to a heap of ruins. He was left to his own devices and to the gathering hatred of the people, a tyrant imprisoned as it were amidst the corrupt and cruel instruments of his oppression, unable to go beyond the reach of the guns which he was ready to turn against the subjects who detested him,—abandoned by the representatives of the western powers of Europe, who refused to recognize his right to govern by the rules of barbarism, and left a miserable example of the perverted authority by which a sovereign can undermine a throne for his successor.

The public regard had been somewhat diverted from Italy during the first part of the Crimean war, but Piedmont became one of the allies in that vast campaign, and Sardinia had a voice in the Treaty of Paris in 1856. Three years afterwards France was in the field with Victor Emmanuel against Austria, and after Magenta and Solferino, Victor Emmanuel meant, not Sardinia only, but Italy.

Again, in the front, where danger was to be found and a sword was needed, sounded the name of Garibaldi. When Rome had been abandoned by those on whom he had relied for support, he had marched out with the devoted band who answered to his appeal determined to fight his way to Venetia, and to make no compromise with the Austrians or with the troops of Bomba, but the enemy was in overwhelming force in the provinces of Northern Italy, and in the hardships and sufferings of that retreat from Rome his devoted wife Anita died, and he was desolate. Nothing could be done for Italy, and the cause for which he was willing to sacrifice his life appeared to him to have been betrayed and lost. He therefore surrendered to the carabinieri, who took him to La Marmora, then in command at Rome. Victor Emmanuel had made peace with Austria after the battle of Novara. Venice, after a noble struggle, had succumbed. There was nothing left for Garibaldi but a prison or voluntary exile. To a prison neither La Marmora nor the King of Sardinia would send the patriot who had

fought on the side of national liberty. The general received him with friendly hospitality, supplied him with funds to enable him to reach Tunis, and used some influence to support a proposition that he should receive a small pension from the government at Turin. For a time Garibaldi retired to a lonely rocky island called Caprera, off the north-east coast of Sardinia, the place which afterwards became his home. Soon afterwards he returned to America, not again to take up arms, but to earn a living. His young children were consigned to the care of faithful friends of his own childhood at Nice. In 1850 he was heard of as having settled in New York, where he made and sold candles in a small shop next door to that of another exile, his old friend and comrade General Joseph Avezzava, who had gone into trade as a tobacconist; but a seafaring life was more in accordance with Garibaldi's adventurous temper, and he soon left New York for Peru, where he obtained employment as master of a vessel trading to China. In 1854 he was once more in the United States, and took command of the *Commonwealth*, an American trader, in which he made a voyage to Shields, and while there received the present of a sword forged in Birmingham. This sword, which was presented to him while he was the guest of Mr. Joseph Cowen, formerly member for Newcastle, had a gold hilt on which was an inscription stating that it was from the people of Tyneside, friends of European freedom. But events were taking place in Europe which drew him homeward, and though he might have to wait, he felt that till the moment came when he should again strike for Italy, he must be near at hand. There are many who well remember Captain Giuseppe Garibaldi, the quiet capable commander of a steamer which for several years traded between Nice and Marseilles, and some of those who had transactions with him which brought him to London, scarcely understood, or were completely ignorant of the fact, that this unpretentious self-contained man was the same who had fought for the independence of Monte Video, and had marched into Rome at the head of his old Italian comrades of Rio Janeiro, the nucleus of the victorious legion,

which was followed by a crowd of about 2500 volunteers. This was in April, 1849, and it may be interesting to note what was said of the personal appearance of Garibaldi and his followers by one who was present at the time. "He is a man of middle height, his countenance scorched by the sun, but marked with lines of antique purity. He sat his horse as calmly and firmly as if it had been a part of him. Beneath his hat—broad-brimmed, with a narrow loop, and ornamented with a black ostrich feather—spread a forest of hair, a red beard covered all the lower part of his face. Over his red shirt was thrown an American poncho, white, lined with red, like his shirt. His staff wore the red blouse, and afterwards, the whole Italian legion adopted that colour. Behind him galloped his groom Aguyar, a stalwart negro, dressed in a black cloak, and carrying a lance with a black pennant. All who had come with him from America wore pistols and poniards of fine workmanship in their belts, and carried whips of buffalo skin in their hands."

In 1855 Garibaldi had made his home in Piedmont, or rather in the island to which he had been allowed to retire years before. Caprera had become his own, purchased, it is said, for £520, a sum which he was able to pay out of about £1600 inherited on the death of his mother. It would have been no enviable retreat to any man unaccustomed to a simple mode of living: one might even say that only a man accustomed to hardship could have long occupied the quarters which the general appropriated to himself. Some improvements were made afterwards in the small square white house and its surroundings, but Colonel Vecchi, after visiting Garibaldi there in 1861, described it and its belongings graphically enough. It was situated on a level spot, shut in on one side by great rocks, and on the other by walls, the gate in which was a movable rail, a horizontal pole such as is used to let horses in and out of a meadow. There was a path running all round it. In front, on the other side of the path, some poles were stuck in the ground to make a trellis for the vines in summer. On entering, there was a vestibule which opened on the left into the room where Garibaldi's little

daughter Teresita and Madame Deideri her guardian slept; on the right was the chamber occupied by the general. At the back a staircase led up to the roof and terrace, the short dark passage led to a small bed-room and to the kitchen. Here, on the right, was the wine-cellar, on the left, a pantry, from which the visitor passed into the secretary's room, which was also a bed-room, and the arsenal. "In August, when I first visited the house," said Colonel Vecchi, "there was only one chair, and that had no back. Now there are some new maple-wood chairs, presented by the officers and crew of the *Washington*, with the donors' names inscribed on the back, and some walnut-wood chairs belonging to Deideri. The hero's room, also, is more comfortably furnished. It contains a small plain iron bedstead, with muslin curtains hanging from a cane tester, a walnut-wood writing-table, and a chest of drawers, with a dressing glass on the top, blocking up a window that looks towards the north. Close to the bed stands a deal stool, covered with books and letters. On a cord stretched from the walls across the room are hung to dry the general's red shirts and various other garments, for he changes his clothes every time he changes his occupation. The fireplace is in the middle of the wall at the end of the room; some logs are always kept blazing in it on account of the damp, for beneath the stone floor is the cistern which receives the water from the gutters when it rains, and this causes the flags to be always slimy and wet. On each side of the fireplace are bookcases containing works on shipping, history, and military tactics; but books and bundles of papers, to tell the truth, are all around, lying on every available piece of furniture. Over the mantelpiece hangs a portrait, in water-colours, of his infant daughter Rosita who died at Monte Video. At the head of the bed in an ebony frame hangs a lock of hair of his wife Anita, the brave woman who is no more. There never was a more simple Spartan retreat chosen by a hero."

A simple retreat certainly, but not one judiciously chosen by a hero who suffered frequently from acute rheumatism; Garibaldi was never judicious in his own interests nor

even ordinarily careful of his own convenience Caprera, however, was far away from the probable calls of curious "interviewers" who would have annoyed him—far from the crowds who would have followed and shouted and put him out of countenance. There was nothing that Garibaldi disliked more than the popularity which was manifested by sight-seers—he may be said to have feared demonstrations in his honour, at all events he ran away from them, and some years later made a hurried escape from London lest he should continue to encounter them.

It was from his plain and somewhat cheerless house in the islet from which he could look out ever towards the sea that Garibaldi had been called to aid in the war. Cavour was astute enough to know that the prestige of the man who was a born leader of men, whose voice seemed to have the power of assembling brave and daring followers for any enterprise, would be valuable to a cause where the cry of "Italian freedom" was scarcely in harmony with the murmur of "French intervention." Garibaldi himself, little as he may have liked to see Italy seek an ally in Napoleon the Third, did not hesitate to offer his sword to Victor Emmanuel, to whom he vowed to be loyal, and in whom he thenceforth recognized the head of that United Italy, to secure the liberties of which, he was ready to subordinate those mystical dreams and abstract theories of a republic which had narrowed the influence and paralysed the arm of Mazzini whenever the time had come to strike.

As major-general he had taken command of the Chasseurs des Alpes, and following in the upper region a line parallel to that which led the main forces to the victories of Palestro, Magenta and Solferino, beat the Austrians at Varese and San Fermo, kept them in constant uncertainty of his daring movements in the mountains above Como, and then advanced upon Bergamo and Brescia, and pushed on to the Valtellina up to the very summit of the Stelvio Pass. It was a bitter disappointment to learn that when the national triumph was not far from accomplishment it was stopped short by the treaty which exchanged territories, and made him himself a French subject if he continued to belong to Nice, the place of his

birth. But the central portion of Italy was free. The duchies of Tuscany, Modena, Lucca, and Parma declared for Victor Emmanuel, and demanded to be annexed to the Piedmontese kingdom, the rulers of those places had fled in alarm when they found that they no longer had the support of the Austrian bayonets. One of the articles in the Convention of Villafranca stipulated for the restoration of the dukes, but by the end of the year 1859 nothing was more certain than that, not the duchies merely, but Tuscany and the Romagna also were no longer at the disposal of European diplomacy. By the admirable prudence with which, up to that time, they had made use of the freedom which they had gained, these states had vindicated their right to determine to whom their future allegiance should be given.

Garibaldi, suffering severely from rheumatic pains, went to Genoa, where he stayed with his old friend and attached comrade, Augusto Vecchi, at his house outside the city. He remained during the autumn and winter, but he found work enough to do in organizing an expedition which would only have been attempted by the man who had called for followers to march out of Rome on the desperate venture of reaching Venetia, and had found five thousand men ready to go with him to "hunger, thirst, the bare earth for a bed, the heat of the sun as a solace for fatigues, no pay, no barracks, no rations, nothing but continual alarm, forced marches, and bayonet charges." To those "who loved glory and who did not despair of Italy" he had made this appeal, and they had responded to it. He now began a new campaign by embarking a thousand men—"The Thousand" as they were called—at Genoa for Marsala. The *protégés* of the Austrians had fled and left the duchies in Central Italy free, the north was rejoicing in political liberation. It might not be possible to achieve a triumph at Venice or at Rome in face of the treaty and of the French occupation, but it might yet be a glorious deed to rescue Sicily from its tyrant, and to make of the north and the south one kingdom.

It must not be supposed, however, that Garibaldi carried revolution to Southern Italy.

His rapid preparations at Genoa were made that he might help the people of Sicily in their renewal of a conflict against the tyranny from which they had so long suffered. Ferdinand was dead, but his weak and cowardly son, Francis II, had succeeded him. It was no longer the dreaded Bomba but the despised Bombalino. The same cruelties were continued however, the party which formed the government by false witness, torture, and imprisonment continued in power. Ferdinand had been their fellow conspirator and accomplice, Francis was their follower and dupe.

"The king has now to choose between the ruin of his evil counsellors or his own. If he supports and upholds them, and places himself under their guidance, it requires not much foresight to predict that the Bourbon dynasty will cease to reign at Naples, by whatever combination, regal or republican, it may be replaced," wrote Lord John Russell to Mr. Elliot, the British minister at Naples, in July, 1859.

"I never advised this Sicilian movement, but since these brethren of ours are fighting, I deem it my duty to go to their rescue," wrote Garibaldi (to Bertani) on the day he sailed from Genoa.

The insurrection had broken out at Palermo in the first week of April, and the people had held their own against the royal troops. At Turin a revolutionary committee, including several exiles from Naples and Sicily, who had been the victims of outrages inflicted by the Neapolitan government, supported and encouraged the insurgents in the avowed determination to unite the kingdom of Sicily to the free provinces then being incorporated with Sardinia.

It was not till the 5th of May that Garibaldi sailed from Genoa. "The Thousand" had grown to two thousand before they descended upon the coast of Sicily.

From Talamona, on the Roman frontier, Garibaldi issued a proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of the Marches, Umbria, the Roman Campagna, and the Neapolitan territory to rise, so as to divide the forces of King Francis, while he carried assistance to the Sicilians against the common enemy.

"Italy and Victor Emmanuel!" he added. "That was our battle-cry when we crossed the Ticino, it will resound into the very depths of Etna." A few days later he effected a landing at Marsala, in full view of two Neapolitan frigates, assumed the title of "Dictator in Sicily in the name of Victor Emmanuel," and, bore down with his handful of men against the Neapolitan troops, of whom 25,000 were posted in and about Palermo.

By those who did not understand the influence of Garibaldi, the expedition had been regarded as a wild and almost hopeless attempt, but the people who joined him on his landing at Marsala and the numbers of volunteers who followed from various parts of Italy, soon gave him an army which, with a few field pieces, enabled him to invest Palermo. He had already beaten the royal troops at Monreale and Catalafimi, and they fled in dismay to the city, only to hold it during a brief resistance, in which they had the insurgent city itself against them. Francis for a time resorted to the only remedy he knew, and ordered the bombardment of the place from the citadel, but he could neither command nor reassure his officers, and the garrison surrendered, left the city, and were beaten along with their companions at Milazzo. The Garibaldians were then masters of the whole island with the exception of the citadel of Messina, where the king, with such of his forces as were mustered there, shut himself up, began to promise to grant a constitution to his subjects, and appealed to the great powers of Europe for help. England was the first to reply with a direct refusal; France could not mediate (said the emperor) unless the revolutionary government were first acknowledged. There was no help for Bombalino, and he deserved none.

The day before the Garibaldians, descending from the heights of Miselmeri, seized the lower town and burst open the southern gates of Palermo—to take the city after a desperate conflict—a bulletin had been issued by the Neapolitan authorities to say that Garibaldi had fled and the insurgents were returning home. When the conquerors entered the city the people received the "Dictator" with fran-

tic shouts of joy, and when he afterwards made a tour of inspection through the streets on foot, wearing his red flannel shirt, a loose coloured handkerchief round his neck, and a battered felt-hat, he was surrounded by thousands of people laughing, crying, cheering, while many women knelt asking for his blessing, and holding up their children, several of whom he stopped to kiss as he listened to the account of the losses and sufferings which the people had sustained. The aspect of the lower quarters of the city, to which the bombardment had been chiefly directed, was horrible in the extreme. The houses had been crowded from attic to cellar by those who sought shelter from the shells; and at length, before evacuating the city, the soldiers had set fire to the buildings in several places. Numbers of dead bodies were lying festering and half burned amidst the ruins.

The whole Neapolitan army was to embark for Naples, leaving Sicily in the possession of the revolutionary forces, such were the terms of the armistice made between General Lanza and Garibaldi, who, when he had taken complete possession of Palermo, organized a working cabinet for the administration of affairs, and appropriated the small sum of money found in the treasury for carrying on the public service and providing for the campaign. Cavour was playing a difficult and intricate game with marvellous skill. He had to hold a position of assumed irresponsibility for Garibaldi's expedition, although the "Dictator" had acted in the name of the king, and could scarcely have organized the liberation of Sicily without his knowledge. Cavour had taken no steps to prevent "The Thousand" leaving the port of Genoa, but was generally believed to have instructed Admiral Persano, who had the command of a Sardinian squadron, to join in enabling the expedition to replenish their stock of provisions in the Straits of Messina, and to cover the passage of fresh volunteers, under Cosenz and Medici, to follow the standard of Garibaldi. There were reasons why Cavour, without lending active encouragement to the enterprise, should welcome it as freeing Sardinia from the pressure of a serious difficulty. The court of Naples had for some time been

concerting measures with the Papal government for the organization of an army to recover possession of the revolted Papal States—a purpose favourably regarded by Austria, which had not yet become reconciled to the retention by Sardinia of her acquisitions in Northern and Central Italy. But, with the insurrection in Sicily on his hands, the King of Naples could not move a step in this direction.

As regards intervention by France, Cavour knew well enough that the cession of Savoy and Nice had placed any interruption by Napoleon to the achievement of Italian unity beyond probability, except as regarded the seizure of Venice or of Rome, and that the latter reservation would not apply to the Papal temporal possessions in the Romagna had already been made plain by the French emperor himself.

On the 6th of April Sir James Hudson had written to Lord John Russell "The deputies from Emilia and Tuscany accept the cession of Savoy and Nice as the price they pay to France for their liberation, but there ends their pact, and after that they will look to nothing and hear of nothing save Italy for the Italians." When Cavour signed the treaty of cession he said to the French minister, "*Et maintenant vous voilà nos complices!*" (And now, look you, you are our accomplices!)

The position maintained by England gave strength to the Italian cause, for nothing would have induced our government to enter into any plan for upholding or restoring the Neapolitan rule. We had long ceased to hold diplomatic intercourse with Naples, and probably no ministry would have survived the attempt to intervene for the purpose of preventing or delaying the achievement of the liberty of Italy. The other states of Europe were too much occupied with internal affairs, or were unwilling for politic reasons to uphold the demands of Austria against the emphatic declarations of England and the evident connivance of France. Retribution had again taken the form of revolution, and it was futile for Austria to denounce Garibaldi's enterprise as a fresh proof of the aggressive ambition of Sardinia, and to call upon the other powers to join with her in reducing to reason this

disturber of the European peace. But a coalition of the northern powers to curb Piedmontese ambition was actually talked of at Berlin, and the Sardinian ambassador at St. Petersburg was roundly told by Prince Gortschakoff that, if Russia's geographical position had permitted, the emperor would undoubtedly have put his forces in motion to defend the Bourbons of Naples, and would not have been stopped by the principle of non-intervention proclaimed by the western powers.

It was time that the British government should speak out plainly, and on the 27th of October, 1860, a despatch was sent from Lord John Russell to Sir James Hudson, our representative at Turin, which stated in unmistakable language not only our opinions but our intentions. By this time, however, it must be remembered that the enthusiasm aroused by the successes of Garibaldi in Sicily had fired the people of Northern Italy to accomplish the unification of the kingdom. Meanwhile the policy of the government at Turin seemed to be to let Garibaldi bear the responsibility of an insurrection the results of which might be to make Victor Emmanuel King of Italy, but with which Sardinia must for a time disavow all complicity. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the statecraft displayed on the occasion came perilously near to lying and to treachery. On the 18th of May an official gazette declared that the Sardinian government disapproved Garibaldi's expedition, and attempted to prevent its departure by such means as prudence and the laws would permit. "Europe," it went on to say, "knows that the government of the king does not conceal its solicitude for the common country, but, at the same time, it understands and respects the principles of international law, and believes its duty to be to make that principle respected in the state, for the safety of which it was responsible." These words were probably forgotten when, in the following October, Victor Emmanuel, addressing the people of Southern Italy from Ancona, spoke of Garibaldi, ("a brave warrior, devoted to Italy and to me,") as having sprung to assist the Sicilians in their revolt, and said, "they were Italians, I could not, I ought not to restrain them."

But before October, as we have said, much had happened. The Emperor of the French, who had distinctly refused to fire a shot against the insurgents who sought to overthrow the Neapolitan government, a government which had forfeited its claims by its conduct, was yet desirous or professed to be desirous of preventing any invasion of the Papal territories. In July he had written to M. de Persigny to assure Lord Palmerston that his innermost thought was a desire that Italy should obtain peace, no matter how, but without foreign intervention, and that his troops should be able to quit Rome without compromising the security of the pope. He, like the King of Sardinia, appears to have kept up an assumption of wishing to appease the suspicions of the other powers of Europe till he saw how events would turn out. Lord Palmerston as well as other members of our government mistrusted him, the pope mistrusted both him and the King of Sardinia, and in March had issued letters apostolic pronouncing the major excommunication against invaders and usurpers (not named) of certain provinces in the Pontifical States. These letters said, "The first evident signs of the hostile attacks were seen at the Paris Congress of the year 1856, when that power, among other hostile declarations, proposed to weaken the temporal power of the pope and the authority of the Holy See; but last year, when war broke out between the Emperor of Austria and the Emperor of the French and the King of Sardinia, no fraud, no sin was avoided which could excite the inhabitants of the States of the Church to sedition." These letters were issued a week after a correspondence between the pope and Victor Emmanuel, who had made overtures for negotiations, declaring that his government was ready to offer homage to the high sovereignty of the Apostolic See, and would be disposed to bear in a just proportion a diminution of the revenues, and to concur in providing for the security and independence of the Holy See. The pontiff did not, however, incline to admit that the universal suffrage which gave the revolted provinces to Sardinia was spontaneous, and intimated that the king knew perfectly well how it was that the papal

troops were hindered from re-establishing the legitimate government.

The fact appears to have been that Victor Emmanuel, foreseeing that the freedom of Italy was now becoming inevitable, desired to give the pope an opportunity of negotiating terms whereby he might maintain his high spiritual authority and receive compensation for any diminution of the temporal states of the Church. This, if it had been acceded to, would probably have been well received in Europe, but there was not much time for parley. The pope stood out, and while he was excommunicating his opponents, Garibaldi had, as it were, one foot on the ship that was to carry him and his followers to the conquest of Palermo and of Sicily, to be followed by the insurrection in Naples and the demolition of the evil Neapolitan government. At the same time the Emperor of the French, notwithstanding his views as to the occupation of the Romagna and the antagonism with which his attitude was regarded by the pope, was unwilling to take the French bayonets from Rome until forced by events to abandon the protection of the head of the Church, whose refusal practically to divide his temporal from his spiritual authority made the position of a foreign intervening force increasingly difficult.

But Garibaldi and his friends were preparing to transfer active operations to the mainland. The conviction had become general that there the only hope for constitutional freedom was in a change of dynasty, and annexation to the state that had been the representative and champion of the liberty and nationality of the peninsula. In vain the King of Naples appealed to the other powers of Europe to help him in confronting the danger which he had provoked. It was well known that the Emperor of the French had protested against Garibaldi's enterprise, and the enrolment in Northern Italy of volunteers to support it. But when appealed to by envoys from the court of Naples for assistance he declined to interfere. "The Italians," he said, "thoroughly understand that, having given the blood of my soldiers for the independence of their country, I will never fire a shot against this independence. It is this conviction which has led them

to annex Tuscany contrary to my interests, and which is urging them forward now to Naples. To save the king single-handed is past my power; I must be aided by my allies." Sardinia alone, he at the same time told them, could arrest the course of revolution, and to Sardinia he recommended them to apply.

All, however, which the Neapolitan envoys could obtain from Sardinia was a letter from the king to Garibaldi (22d July), urging him not to invade the Neapolitan continent. But to this appeal Garibaldi (27th July) courteously responded, that much as he should like to do so, he could not obey his majesty's injunctions. He was called for by the people of Naples, whom he had tried in vain to restrain. "If he should now hesitate," he added, "he should endanger the cause of Italy. When his task was accomplished of emancipating the Neapolitan people from tyranny, he would lay down his sword at his majesty's feet, and obey his majesty for the remainder of his lifetime."

On the 6th of August Garibaldi had issued a proclamation that he intended to accomplish for the Neapolitan states that liberty which had been achieved for Sicily. This announcement increased the terror of the Neapolitan government, for it was everywhere received with pleasure. The people were ready to welcome the liberator, the army had become disaffected, the officers were timid, the navy could not be depended on. Francis II himself was incapable, and had lost the bully in the coward. The young queen, his wife, seemed to be the only person possessing a dauntless temper, and she afterwards went out to encourage the troops in the fortress, and to induce the gunners in the citadel of Gaeta to hold out to the last. Of course such advice was useless, and though her determination contrasted favourably with the poltroonery of many of those by whom she was surrounded, it was the effort of a stubborn desire to keep a nation in subjection, and that nation had already risen and was casting off its shackles. On the 19th of August Garibaldi disembarked on the mainland at Melito with about 4000 men, and his force was augmented by a small body of his volunteers who had crossed the Straits of

Messina some days before, and had been joined by about 1500 Calabrians.

With his usual astounding audacity he was ready to attack the Neapolitan troops with a mere handful of followers, and his assaults were mostly so rapid and unexpected that he was able to drive them before him. He struck quickly and he struck hard. He had comparatively little of the military knowledge which enables generals to take the field and to prepare for and sustain a prolonged conflict, but he was an able tactician in his own way. He would stand on some eminence, for a long time, attentively examining through his glass the evolutions or the position of the enemy, then suddenly decide, give a few rapid orders for the disposition of his regiments and the plan of an attack, and without fear or hesitation swoop down upon the weak point of his antagonist's forces with irresistible vigour and scatter the foe like chaff. "Guerilla warfare" it may have been, but it was successful, and its success depended mainly on the amazing faculty of Garibaldi as a leader—his absolute fearlessness, his self-possession, and the wonderful influence of his voice, his smile, his lion-face, that in battle seemed itself to smite the enemy with fear and to encourage his own men to deeds of valour and endurance as conspicuous as his own. The whole of the insurgent force under his command just before his descent upon Calabria was said to have been 27,000, of whom 13,000 were Italians, 7000 Sicilians, and the remainder English, French, Poles, Hungarians, and Russians. The republican members of oppressed nationalities naturally turned to the movement being made for the complete liberation of Italy, and many hands were ready to draw a sword against the representative tyranny of Naples. That there were Frenchmen among them was not very surprising, for just as Victor Hugo had retired to Guernsey and remained in voluntary exile rather than receive any favour at the hands of "Napoleon the Little," the "man of December," there were many other ardent republicans, or, at all events, irreconcilable haters of the Napoleonic dynasty and the Napoleonic tradition—men of education, ability, and courage who persisted in declaring that, notwithstand-

ing the enterprise, the apparent prosperity, and the splendour of imperial government—the empire still meant degradation and bondage to France.

In England the cause of "free and united Italy" had never ceased to number enthusiastic supporters, and now that Garibaldi was moving down upon the stronghold of the hated government of Naples, Englishmen, and Englishwomen also, made ready to give him practical aid. There was soon an English brigade ready to fight in the ranks of the insurgents, and several ladies prepared to act as nurses or almoners of the money which they themselves devoted to the relief of the insurgents. No very large or regular English contingent joined the Garibaldians till a later period, when they could do little more than assist in the triumphal entry into Naples, for success followed success with startling rapidity; but a number of Englishmen were aiding the struggle from the first, and Colonel Dunne was in command of their brigade. Not only money but supplies of arms were sent from England, and the subscribers of Garibaldi's fund at Liverpool and elsewhere, after sending out some consignments, bought a vessel of their own, the *Queen of England*, which on the 17th of August arrived at Messina with 24,000 rifles, 12,000 Colt's revolvers, a Whitworth 84-pounder, a Whitworth 6-inch bore, and twelve 12-pounders.

Among the earliest of the volunteers—those who followed Garibaldi from Genoa to Palermo on board the *Washington*—was Captain, afterwards Colonel Peard, who had been engaged in the former campaign for Italian freedom. Colonel Peard was for a long time a very prominent character both in English and foreign newspapers, and strange were the stories told of him. He had been represented as a gloomy misanthrope, who, possessing extraordinary skill as a marksman, attended the marches of Garibaldi for the pleasure of "stalking" the officers of the enemy, or rather of bringing them down from a distance with a kind of grim pleasure, such as may be felt by the sportsman who prides himself on his long-range shooting. It was even said that Peard made a notch in the

stock of his rifle for every victim who fell before his unerring aim. This was during the campaign in Northern Italy, and he wrote to England indignantly repudiating such representations. That he was an unusually good shot was certain, and it is likely that those followers of Garibaldi who could use a rifle effectually were frequently of service either in preventing a *reconnaissance* or in neutralizing the danger from artillery placed in position.

The most remarkable thing in relation to Peard was his general likeness to Garibaldi. His long hair, beard tinged with white, and the contour of his face gave him a certain resemblance to his chief, so that he was often mistaken for him, and Garibaldi himself would join in the cheers which on two or three occasions greeted Peard, but were intended for himself. Several stories were told not only of the skill of "Garibaldi's Englishman," but of his cool and determined courage.

Garibaldi was well supported in his rapid seizure of Palermo and his subsequent operations in Calabria by his comrades General Medici, who had entered and held Messina with his division, and General Cosenz, who crossed the straits with his men and landed at Reggio, in spite of the not very effective fire of some Neapolitan war steamers. These two generals and Generals Bixio and Sartori were prominent figures in the campaign.

No sooner had Garibaldi landed his small force at Melito than he was ready to push onward. The next day they were on the way along the coast to Reggio, which was occupied by a large body of Neapolitan troops, who retreated almost without resistance, seeking safety at San Giovanni. The town of Reggio was abandoned, the fort only remaining in the hands of a few soldiers, who could not hold it long. Cosenz had now come up and joined his chief. The attack was short, sharp, and decisive. The officer in command was mortally wounded during the rapid firing, and the place surrendered, leaving in the hands of the invaders 500 stands of arms, many guns, and much ammunition and supplies. Garibaldi immediately began an advance towards the troops who had retreated to San Giovanni, and came upon them so quickly and skilfully that they

were hemmed in. So certain was he that they would surrender that he forbade his men to open fire upon them; and sure enough a flag of truce was seen coming from the royal lines, and a cry, not for the king, but for Garibaldi,—for Italy (*Viva Garibaldi! Viva Italia!*), arose from the ranks. A few minutes and Garibaldi himself was among them, and they wanted no other chief. They were Italians probably pressed into military service, and were all,—two thousand of them,—ready and glad to lay down their arms and return to their homes. Similar defections followed as the invaders marched onward. Regiment after regiment either revolted and surrendered in favour of Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel, or openly joined in the insurrection which they had been sent to quell. The tyrannical government was doomed, the memories of cruelties and oppressions against which Mr Gladstone had protested in words that burned, now rang in the voices of the victorious liberators and gave their arms new power to smite. Yet the king would not abdicate. His army was melting away, his ministry resigned. He lingered helplessly in Naples while the army of the dictator and the avenger was advancing unresisted on the capital. He had the tenacity as well as the perfidy of the Bourbons. He might yet reach his last stronghold, the fortress of Gaeta, and there rally a force that would be sufficient to hold out till he could get help to save his kingdom. For Gaeta he embarked with his regular army of about 50,000 men on the 6th of September, and two days afterwards Garibaldi, with a number of his followers, entered Naples by railway from Salerno, and was received by the people with almost frantic demonstrations of welcome.

But now came the crisis. Garibaldi was the sword of Italian liberty, and he had startled and dazzled Europe by his swift achievements. While he could be used by Cavour and the government of Sardinia for the purpose of adding the insurgent states to the new Italian kingdom he might be secretly encouraged, even though participation in his attempts was politically denied, and his authority was dis-

avowed. But these attempts had resulted in a series of successes more brilliant and more complete than could have been expected by any but simple and determined enthusiasts like himself, and the disavowals had grown fainter the king had already become a participator. Probably any other minister than Cavour would have been dazed, and even that resolute and crafty politician needed all his coolness to organize the daring combination by which swift statesmanship was to avert the dangers that would follow swift generalship if the triumph of Naples were permitted to be only the prelude to a rush for the recovery of Venetia and a march upon Rome. Garibaldi himself had little doubt that he would be able to effect both these objects, and that all Italy, or all true Italians, would aid him. The danger which Cavour had reason to dread was, not that the "dictator" should fail, but that he should succeed. It does not appear that Garibaldi contemplated carrying his victorious bands to Venice, but he was fired with the glorious ambition of realizing the intention (which on the 10th of September he communicated to the English ambassador, Mr. Henry Elliot) to push on to Rome and thence to proclaim a United Italy, the crown of which he would offer to King Victor Emmanuel, upon whom would then devolve the task of the liberation of Venetia.

Had the people of Naples, when they were rid of their bombarding king, turned to Sardina for help, affairs would have had a different aspect, and it was known that Cavour had secret agents at work to promote this result, but Garibaldi had scarcely delivered Palermo before he was at Reggio, and his progress was already a quick march, during which, after each decisive conflict, the populations and no small part of the opposing army swelled the ranks of his adherents. What was to prevent his attempting to carry out his expressed intention of driving the foreigners out of Italy, the French from Rome, the Austrians from Venetia? The consequences would have been of tremendous importance in any case, but an attack by Garibaldi upon the Quadrilateral with a view to seize Venice would have given Austria the excuse, and even the right

by international law, to renew a war, by which they might hope again to seize upon the provinces that had been added to the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel. On the other hand, any attempt to take possession of the capital by an insurgent chief who had been at once disowned and acknowledged by the Sardinian government would end in a collision with France. In either event the very object which both Cavour and Garibaldi had at heart, widely as they differed as to the means to be employed to obtain it, would be imperilled. Instead of being united into a free kingdom and taking a great place in Europe, Italy would find the established governments against her and the work already accomplished would be undone. Such were Cavour's views, and that he was sincere was proved by the risk which he was ready to incur that he might prevent what he believed would be a fatal disaster.

To keep Garibaldi from Rome it was necessary to occupy the Roman States with the Sardinian troops in such a manner that while the hostility of France would not be aroused, the insurrection which had already begun in Umbria and the Marches would receive such apparent support from Victor Emmanuel as to satisfy Garibaldi and prevent him from interfering unless he should be summoned to assist the royal forces. It was a bold and subtle scheme, but circumstances were favourable to its successful adoption. The Papal government had unconsciously played into Cavour's hands by gathering an irregular force of paid troops (among whom was an Irish contingent) for the purpose of recovering the territories which it had already lost and holding in check the insurgent elements in the provinces already on the brink of revolt. The commander of the Papal troops was the exiled French general Lamoricière, the former captor of Abd-el-Kader. In the revolution of 1848 Lamoricière, riding amidst the insurgents in the uniform of a national guard, had proclaimed the abdication of Louis Philippe and the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, but his horse was shot under him and he himself was wounded and narrowly escaped being killed by the mob. The provisional govern-

ment offered him the post of minister of war, which he refused. He afterwards acted under Cavaignac in the insurrection of June, when he fought against the mob at the Bastille and elsewhere. He had offered no opposition to the election of Louis Napoleon to the presidency of the French Republic, but afterwards, on returning from a mission to Russia and resuming his seat in the legislative assembly, became a violent opponent of the president and his supporters. On the night of the *coup d'état* he was among those who were arrested, and was carried to Ham, whence he was soon conducted to Cologne by the police. Until 1860 he had lived in Brussels, when Monsignor Merode, one of the pope's household, who had been a soldier, invited him to become commander of the Papal troops. There can be little doubt that Garibaldi and his legions would have made short work of these forces, and that he would have raised the enthusiasm of the people on his progress. It was therefore necessary to take immediate measures without waiting for the consent of France or the opinion of the rest of Europe. Cavour was equal to the occasion. With one hand he directed action with the other he conducted diplomacy. The people of Umbria and the Marches were ready for insurrection for the avowed purpose of becoming a part of the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel. By promoting their desire Cavour could not be suspected of acting in opposition to the purpose of those who sought the unification and the freedom of Italy. Garibaldi had himself avowed his loyalty to Victor Emmanuel, and would be bound to recognize the claims of the sovereign to take the initiative in supporting the disaffected provinces against a mercenary army, the formation of which had been disapproved by the Emperor of the French himself.

On the 7th of September Cavour sent to Cardinal Antonelli an ultimatum, calling for the immediate disarmament of the troops levied by the pope. He stated that their existence was a continual menace to the peace of Italy, and told the Papal government that, unless its forces were at once disbanded, Sardinia would feel herself justified in preventing any movement they might make for the

purpose of repressing the manifestations of national feeling.

The demand could scarcely be regarded as more than a merely formal observance before the commencement of hostilities, for only twenty-four hours were allowed for an answer, and, as might have been anticipated, the answer was a direct refusal to comply with his demands. Any other result would have disappointed the astute minister. He had, as it were, compelled the Papal government to a hostile attitude, he had then to justify his own attitude to the governments of Europe, and for this purpose addressed a circular to the diplomatic representatives of Sardinia at the various courts, arguing the subject with almost incomparable subtlety and ability. He did not shrink from declaring that, so long as the question of Venetia remained unsolved, Europe could enjoy no solid and sincere peace; but he emphatically stated it to be the intention of the Sardinian government not to meddle with that question for the present, but to let time and circumstance bring about its solution. He referred to the misdeeds which had brought the Neapolitan dynasty to ruin by a "prodigious revolution that had filled Europe with astonishment, by the almost providential manner in which it had been accomplished, and had excited its admiration for the illustrious warrior whose glorious exploits recall all that poetry and history can relate." He pointed out the advantage to Europe and to the interests of order by the establishment of an Italian kingdom, which would rob "revolutionary passions of a theatre, where previously most insane enterprises had chances, if not of success, at least of exciting the sympathies of all generously minded men." The only barrier to this result, he said, was the separation of the north and south of the peninsula by provinces which were in a deplorable state. To repress all participation in the great national movement, the Papal government had not only made an unjustifiable use of the spiritual power, but had formed for the purpose an army, "consisting almost exclusively of strangers, not only to the Roman States, but to the whole of Italy." Sympathizing with their oppressed countrymen, the

Italians of other states were bent upon putting an end to this state of things by force and violent measures. "If the government of Sardinia remained passive amid this universal emotion it would place itself in opposition to the nation. The generous outburst which the events of Naples and of Sicily had produced in the masses would degenerate at once into anarchy and disorder. Were he to suffer this, the king would be wanting in his duties towards the Italians and towards Europe. In fulfilment of his obligation to prevent the national movement from so degenerating he had addressed his summons to the court of Rome to disband its mercenaries, and, on this being refused, had ordered his troops to enter Umbria and the Marches, to re-establish order there, and to leave the populations a free field for the manifestation of their sentiments."

In conclusion he declared that Rome and the surrounding territory should be scrupulously respected, and adroitly professed his confidence "that the spectacle of the unanimity of the patriotic sentiments which had burst forth throughout the whole of Italy, would remind the Sovereign Pontiff that he had some years before been the sublime inspirer of this great national movement."

There was not an hour to lose; but it was necessary at least to communicate with the French emperor before taking an extreme step, and Farini, the Sardinian minister, had already given some hint of Cavour's intentions. The emperor was at Chambéry on his way through his newly acquired territory, and General Cialdini sought him there. The conversation was grave, the emperor could not countenance the course which it was proposed to pursue, but he left it to Sardinia to undertake, at her own risk, a proceeding which she might consider was necessary for her security and for the safety of Italy. This was enough for Cavour. Napoleon III. was known to have entertained the opinion that the real and legitimate authority of the pope would not be diminished by the loss of the territory now in revolt. Let Rome itself be inviolably preserved as a residence for the Sovereign Pontiff and France would not interpose.

It was well that the other governments of

Europe (though with the exception of England they expressed disapproval) did not move.

It has been truly said by a chronicler of the event¹ that the other European powers could not but regard with disfavour the arguments of Count Cavour's circular, based as they were on the right of the people to depose their hereditary sovereign, and to choose for themselves by whom they should be governed. But in what direction could they move to stay the course of events in Italy? One of two results was by this time inevitable: the triumph of the extreme revolutionary party, with the consequent dangers to Italy and to Europe, or the establishment of orderly government under a monarch whose interests would be identical with their own in arresting the spread of revolutionary doctrines. If success attended the movement of the Sardinian army, it could scarcely be doubtful which of these alternatives would be most acceptable to the courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin.

At any rate remonstrance was of little avail. The army of Victor Emmanuel emulated the followers of Garibaldi himself by the rapidity and decision with which they took possession of the Papal States. General Fanti, the commander-in-chief, had concentrated his forces on the frontiers by the 10th of September; General Cialdini commanded the division which was to operate in the Marches, and General Della Rocca that destined for Umbria. Two days afterwards Cialdini took the fortress of Pesaro and 1200 men of the garrison. Fano and Urbino were next taken by assault, and meanwhile General Della Rocca had invested Perugia, which its garrison of 1700 men surrendered without much resistance. So the campaign went on *l'armoricidre*, with an army of between eight and nine thousand men, fell back on Loretto, intending to find safety in the citadel of Ancona. The Italian commanders joined their forces, hemmed him in till he was obliged to give them battle, and defeated him in an obstinate engagement, after which he left the field followed by a few horsemen and entered the fortress. This was on the 18th, and next day all that were left

¹ Sir Theodore Martin.

of his army laid down their arms, and not a soldier of the Papal forces remained in Umbria and the Marches beyond the few who were shut up in Ancona. That place was immediately invested, and bombarded both by sea and land. On the 28th of the month it surrendered, the garrison becoming prisoners of war. In this brief campaign the Papal government lost nearly all its war material, while from 17,000 to 18,000 of their troops, with all their generals, were made prisoners of war.

Garibaldi had taken Naples. It was necessary to prevent him from completing the work alone by the capture of Gaeta, which would have left him free to make an attempt on Venetia. For a short time the troops of Francis II. had made a stand on the Volturno, where the Garibaldians won a brilliant victory. Before any attempt could be made upon Capua and Gaeta the Piedmontese troops had taken possession of the Marches, had beaten Lamoricière, and were now ready by another rapid movement to march with King Victor Emmanuel to Naples, and to endorse the campaign of Garibaldi by reducing Capua and Gaeta, and so completing the union of Northern and Southern Italy in one kingdom. It was a master stroke of policy, and though some of the means adopted by Cavour, such as the employment of secret agents both in Italy and in Hungary, and the manner in which he had played fast and loose with the heroic leader who had saved Italy for the king, must be deplored, the interposition between Garibaldi and Rome, and the prevention of a march upon Venetia, were absolutely necessary for the preservation of the country and the fulfilment of its struggles for liberty and a place among nations. But there was still one important, if not the greatest, element in the ultimate success of this policy which Cavour had not counted on. Not only Italy, but all Europe, had been astonished by the rapid and brilliant successes of the leader who carried all before him on his victorious march to liberty, and whose fervour and simplicity of purpose had roused the country, and served to make insurgents into soldiers and soldiers into veterans during a few months' campaign; but Garibaldi was

more of a patriot and more truly heroic than either Italy or the rest of Europe had suspected. Apart from the abstract theories of republican freedom which he had learned from Mazzini—apart from the poetical but vague, confused ideas of the relations of national and social life to which he appeared to give occasional expression somewhat after the manner of Victor Hugo—one might almost say, notwithstanding remarkable episodes in his own social life, Garibaldi was a man who loved righteousness and thought of himself last or not at all. He was no dreamer, and his practical faculty for hard work, which in his case circumstances had so often translated to mean fighting, carried him out of the region of plots and conspiracies into the open field of bold and determined enterprise against the foes of Italy, who alone were foes to himself. His crowning glory was at Naples, for it was an act, not only of splendid loyalty in which he handed another kingdom to his sovereign, but an act of self-renunciation.

The Piedmontese troops had quickly crossed the Neapolitan frontier when the troops of Francis II. which had just been severely defeated by Garibaldi on the Volturno, made a sudden rally, and with a courage which, if it had been developed earlier, might at least have deferred the solution of the Italian question, attacked the leading columns of the advancing forces of Victor Emmanuel on the heights of Macerone. The Piedmontese drove them back with considerable loss, and they were compelled to retreat, leaving a large body of troops to occupy Capua. The engagement was on the 21st of October, and on the 26th Victor Emmanuel, advancing at the head of his troops, was met on the line of the Volturno by Garibaldi. An account in the *Journal des Débats*, written by an eye-witness says, "The officers of the king and those of Garibaldi shouted, 'Viva Victor Emmanuel!'" Garibaldi made a step in advance, raised his cap, and added in a voice which trembled with emotion, 'King of Italy!' Victor Emmanuel raised his hand to his cap, and then stretched out his hand to Garibaldi, and with equal emotion replied, 'I thank you'"

This grasp of the hands was the signal of an unexpressed compact by which the result of the achievements in Southern Italy were confirmed to the king. Another account of the meeting says

"Garibaldi and the king, still holding each other's hand, followed the troops for about a quarter of an hour. Their suites had mingled together, and followed at a short distance behind them. Passing a group of officers, Garibaldi saluted them. Among them were Farini, minister of war, and General Fanti. The king and Garibaldi were conversing. His majesty was at the head of 30,000 men, and before reaching Teano he halted, and ordered a portion of his army to file off in presence of Garibaldi, that every one might observe the good feeling which existed between him and the chieftain. He then reviewed Bixio's brigade, which was posted a little beyond Calvi. He was received with the enthusiastic and unanimous shout of "Long live the King of Italy!" Garibaldi had 7000 men, divided between different positions. The king remained at Teano, Garibaldi returned to Calvi to give orders. At Teano the people began shouting, "Evviva Garibaldi!" The latter stopped them, and said, "Cry 'Evviva il Rè d'Italia, Vittorio Emanuele!'" pointing to the king. The cry was raised, and after it again "Evviva Garibaldi!" on which the king said, "You are right; it is he who is king here."

Into Naples the general and the sovereign went together in triumph, and on that occasion another English legion of Garibaldians, a force chiefly recruited in London, was conspicuous. They had but recently arrived and were too late to take any active part in the fighting, but their will was good, and some of their countrymen had helped to bear the brunt of the campaign. The procession through the streets was a singular spectacle, many of the houses were decorated with flags, drapery, and evergreens, and the equestrian statues of the Bourbons had been covered up with sheets. There was a touch of Italian humour there. It was a wet day, but the reception of the king was enthusiastic, especially at the cathedral, where he and Garibaldi with their suites went to hear the *Te Deum*, and where the

vast crowd, in defiance of decorum, burst into cries of "Viva il Re Galantuomo!" and so crowded around their elected sovereign that way could scarcely be made for him to reach the royal seat. Garibaldi followed, and the enthusiasm reached a pitch which almost endangered the safety of the popular hero, the people pressing about him, seeking to embrace him, to touch him, to kiss his hands. Reference has already been made to Garibaldi's striking appearance. Here is another picture of him as he appeared at that time -

"Garibaldi was a middle-sized man and not of an athletic build, though gifted with uncommon strength and surprising agility. He looked to the greatest advantage on horseback, as he sat on the saddle with such perfect ease and yet with such calm serenity as if he were grown to it, having had, though originally a sailor, the benefit of a long experience in taming the wild mustangs of the Pampas. But his chief beauty was the head and the unique dignity with which it rose on the shoulders. The features were cast in the old classic mould, the forehead was high and broad, a perpendicular line from the roots of the hair to the eyebrows. His mass of tawny hair and full red beard gave the countenance its peculiar lion-like character. The brow was open, genial, sunny; the eyes dark gray, deep, shining with a steady reddish light; the nose, mouth, and chin exquisitely chiselled, the countenance habitually at rest, but at sight of those dear to him beaming with a caressing smile, revealing all the innate strength and grace of his loving nature."

A *plebiscite* gave Victor Emmanuel the sovereignty of the Two Sicilies, and Garibaldi resigned the dictatorship, bade an affectionate farewell to his comrades, and in an address to the brave men who had rallied round him, in which he specially referred to the English and the Hungarian contingents (the latter under General Türr), spoke with enthusiasm of Italy, and referred in no obscure manner to the probability of the country being made altogether free, and of his meeting a host of his companions in arms in the following year. He then quietly retired to Caprera after being received with honour by the royal staff and having

his title of general confirmed, which in his case meant a special and distinctive military rank. All pecuniary grants or other emoluments he declined to accept, and it was said that on resigning his dictatorship he was possessed of just £30, with which he retired to his primitive island to live on the produce of his farm. The opinions of the French, Russian, and Prussian governments had, of course, not supported the action of Victor Emmanuel and of Count Cavour, and (perhaps to save appearances) Napoleon III had recalled his representative from the court of Turin. There could be little doubt what England would say, if she spoke at all, but many statesmen abroad and some at home were much opposed to any word being said that would seem to favour the intervention of Sardinia in what they were pleased to assume were foreign states, or to her accepting the allegiance of those states after they had abandoned their previous rulers. Doubtless the case of Italy was peculiar, and perhaps the *Times* was right in saying that the only actual justification for upholding the action of Victor Emmanuel would be that which had supported the assumptions of William of Orange in regard to England. The English government referred to this example as a precedent when the events in Italy had, so to speak, been justified by results. We might have issued a despatch earlier, but that Lord Palmerston was jealous of France and had just succeeded in obtaining a vote for nine millions for British defences, whereof two millions only, could be at once asked for by Mr Gladstone, who reluctantly consented to abide by the vote. There was a suspicion that Victor Emmanuel might allow Sardinia itself to follow Savoy and Nice to buy the support of France, or that he might join Garibaldi in invading Venetia. Cavour hastened to give, through Sir James Hudson, the strongest assurances that Garibaldi would not be suffered to attack Venetia, and that, if that attack were ever made, it would be by an Italian army, and when events were ripe for the movement. Never, moreover, he added, would he be accessory to bringing the French again into Italy, and so to making his country the slave of France. As for the surrender of

Sardinia to France, it was a proposal which no Italian dared to entertain.

Then (on the 27th of October) a despatch was sent to Sir J. Hudson by Lord John Russell saying —

“Sir,—It appears that the late proceedings of the King of Sardinia have been strongly disapproved of by several of the principal courts of Europe. The Emperor of the French, on hearing of the invasion of the Papal States by the army of General Cialdini, withdrew his minister from Turin, expressing at the same time the opinion of the imperial government in condemnation of the invasion of the Roman territory.

“The Emperor of Russia has, we are told, declared in strong terms his indignation at the entrance of the army of the King of Sardinia into the Neapolitan territory, and has withdrawn his entire mission from Turin.

“The Prince Regent of Prussia has also thought it necessary to convey to Sardinia a sense of his displeasure, but he has not thought it necessary to remove the Prussian minister from Turin.

“After these diplomatic acts it would scarcely be just to Italy, or respectful to the other great powers of Europe, were the government of her majesty any longer to withhold the expression of their opinions.

“In so doing, however, her majesty's government have no intention to raise a dispute upon the reasons which have been given, in the name of the King of Sardinia, for the invasion of the Roman and Neapolitan states. Whether or no the pope was justified in defending his authority by means of foreign levies, whether the King of the Two Sicilies, while still maintaining his flag at Capua and Gaeta, can be said to have abdicated—are not the arguments upon which her majesty's government propose to dilate.

“The large questions which appear to them to be at issue are these. Were the people of Italy justified in asking the assistance of the King of Sardinia to relieve them from governments with which they are discontented, and was the King of Sardinia justified in furnishing the assistance of his arms to the people of the Roman and Neapolitan states?

"There appear to have been two motives which have induced the people of the Roman and Neapolitan states to have joined willingly in the subversion of their governments. The first of these was, that the governments of the Pope and the King of the Two Sicilies provided so ill for the administration of justice, the protection of personal liberty, and the general welfare of their people, that their subjects looked forward to the overthrow of their rulers as a necessary preliminary to all improvements in their condition.

"The second motive was, that a conviction had spread since the year 1849 that the only manner in which Italians could secure their independence of foreign control was by forming one strong government for the whole of Italy.

"The struggle of Charles Albert in 1848, and the sympathy which the present King of Sardinia has shown for the Italian cause, have naturally caused the association of the name of Victor Emmanuel with the single authority under which the Italians aspire to live.

"Looking at the question in this view, her majesty's government must admit that the Italians themselves are the best judges of their own interests.

"That eminent jurist Vattel, when discussing the lawfulness of the assistance given by the United Provinces to the Prince of Orange when he invaded England and overthrown the throne of James II, says

"The authority of the Prince of Orange had doubtless an influence on the deliberation of the States-general, but it did not lead them to the commission of an act of injustice, for when a people, from good reasons, take up arms against an oppressor, it is but an act of justice and generosity to assist brave men in the defence of their liberties."

"Therefore, according to Vattel, the question resolves itself into this. Did the people of Naples and of the Roman States take up arms against their governments for good reasons?

"Upon this grave matter her majesty's government hold that the people in question are themselves the best judges of their own affairs. Her majesty's government do

not feel justified in declaring that the people of Southern Italy had not good reasons for throwing off their allegiance to their former governments; her majesty's government cannot, therefore, pretend to blame the King of Sardinia for assisting them. There remains, however, a question of fact. It is asserted by the partisans of the fallen governments that the people of the Roman States were attached to the pope, and the people of the Kingdom of Naples to the dynasty of Francis II., but that Sardinian agents and foreign adventurers have by force and intrigue subverted the thrones of those sovereigns. It is difficult, however, to believe, after the astounding events that have been seen, that the Pope and the King of the Two Sicilies possessed the love of their people. How was it, one must ask, that the pope found it impossible to levy a Roman army, and that he was forced to rely almost entirely upon foreign mercenaries? How did it happen again that Garibaldi conquered nearly all Sicily with 2000 men, and marched from Reggio to Naples with 5000? How but from the universal disaffection of the people of the Two Sicilies?

"Neither can it be said that this testimony of the popular will was capricious or causeless. Forty years ago the Neapolitan people made an attempt regularly and temperately to reform their government under the reigning dynasty. The powers of Europe assembled at Laybach resolved, with the exception of England, to put down this attempt by force. It was put down, and a large foreign army of occupation was left in the Two Sicilies to maintain social order. In 1848 the Neapolitan people again attempted to secure liberty under the Bourbon dynasty, but their best patriots atoned, by an imprisonment of ten years, for the offence of endeavouring to free their country. What wonder, then, that in 1860 the Neapolitan mistrust and resentment should throw off the Bourbons, as in 1688 England had thrown off the Stuarts?

"It must be admitted, undoubtedly, that the severance of the ties which bind together a sovereign and his subjects is in itself a misfortune. Notions of allegiance become confused, the succession to the throne is disputed,

adverse parties threaten the peace of society, rights and pretensions are opposed to each other and mar the harmony of the state Yet it must be acknowledged, on the other hand, that the Italian revolution has been conducted with singular temper and forbearance The subversion of existing power has not been followed, as is too often the case, by an outburst of popular vengeance The extreme views of democrats have nowhere prevailed Public opinion has checked the excesses of the public triumph The venerated forms of constitutional monarchy have been associated with the name of a prince who represents an ancient and glorious dynasty Such have been the causes and concomitant circumstances of the revolution of Italy Her majesty's government can see no sufficient ground for the severe censure with which Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia have visited the acts of the King of Sardinia Her majesty's government will turn their eyes rather to the gratifying prospect of a people building up the edifice of their liberties, and consolidating the work of their independence, amid the sympathies and good wishes of Europe "

It need scarcely be said that this despatch moved the gratitude both of Cavour and of Garibaldi, "who," as Earl Russell said in his subsequent account of it, "with the magnanimity of great men, instead of attributing to themselves the whole merit of rescuing Italy from her centuries of servitude and depression, and securing to her the blessings of independence and freedom, were ever willing to acknowledge, with gratitude, the efforts made by British statesmen to help on the good work " It may be mentioned that several gentlemen in Milan combined to send to Earl Russell a token of their appreciation in the shape of a beautiful marble statue, the work of Carl Romano, representing Young Italy holding in her hands a diadem embossed with the arms of the various Italian states thenceforward to be united in one kingdom

The death of Cavour, and a change of ministry which brought the cunning Rattazzi into power, proved disastrous to Garibaldi He had been elected to the Italian parliament as deputy for Naples, and on his recovery from

an illness which followed his retirement to Caprera he appeared in the assembly and after some passages of words, in which he was no match for his opponents, retired from the contest, and allowed a reconciliation, or rather an expedient truce, to be effected Rattazzi, crafty, designing, but not highly capable, nor possessing the confidence of either party, seems to have imagined he could follow the policy of Cavour, and to gain the support of the revolutionary party, or "the party of action," allowed it to be understood that he would supply a million francs for an expedition to take Venice from the Austrians

It need scarcely be said that this proposal was seized upon with alacrity by Garibaldi, who not unnaturally assumed that he might again raise volunteers for an enterprise in which he could count on the connivance, if not on the direct assistance of the government But the attempt to make history repeat itself was too hazardous It had been already distinctly declared by Victor Emmanuel that no attempt should be made against the Austrians at Venetia except by regular Italian troops, and in order to avert the suspicion of promoting the enrolment of volunteers for such a purpose, it was necessary to take decided measures to prevent Garibaldi from calling upon men to follow him It would have been well if the general had submitted, but it was highly improbable that he would be satisfied to obey without bitterly complaining of having been deceived and betrayed He abandoned the attack on Venetia, but at the same time proclaimed his disappointment, and at the instigation of the "party of action" landed in Sicily, and there raised a small undisciplined force He had attended a rifle meeting at Palermo, where Prince Humbert, the eldest son of Victor Emmanuel, was present, and where Pallavicini, who had for years been an officer of the Piedmontese, was in command of the Papal troops There he openly announced his intention of organizing a force for the purpose of taking Rome from the French who occupied it Of course this avowal should at once have been denounced as illegal It would have been monstrous for the king, who had acquired dominion over a whole territory, and whose

authority had been recognized and established, to sanction the attempt of a subject to levy troops or to commence a war, but it was almost as monstrous to permit any initiatory steps to be taken. No positive command was sent to Garibaldi to cease at once from any preparation for hostilities, and it was not till Rattazzi saw to what a fatal termination his former indirect encouragement was likely to lead, that the government found itself compelled to resort to force to prevent a calamity which would never have threatened but for the weakness and duplicity of the minister. At any sacrifice of feeling, and even at the expense of appearing dishonourable, it was essential that the followers of the "liberator" should not be suffered to come into conflict with the French troops. Garibaldi had crossed to Calabria, where he expected to raise a force large enough to march on Rome and expel the French garrison. Only a few weeks earlier, Victor Emmanuel had been expressing his gratitude to Napoleon III for "a careful act of kindness" in sending a French fleet to Naples for his protection and for "sympathy for the cause of Italy." Prince Napoleon, too, had visited the king at Naples and had afterwards been to Sicily, where the troops at Messina had marched past his hotel and shouts were raised by the people of "Long live the defender of Italy! Long live France!" Shortly before that day 35,000 Italians had sent a memorial to the English government asking for its influence in inducing the French to relinquish the occupation of Rome. It was not till he reached Aspromonte that Garibaldi found himself opposed by the royal troops—a battalion of Bersaglieri. Several officers of the army had thrown up their commissions rather than obey orders to fight against the chief who had done so much for Italy. It was necessary to take immediate measures, for the people were becoming excited and were clamouring against France. At the same time the true friends of Italian liberty saw how deplorable had been the error into which Garibaldi had fallen. Opinions were everywhere conflicting, but while Russia came in with an offer of "moral support" to Victor Emmanuel in the cause of order, Kossuth, the

Hungarian patriot, wrote a letter to the Italian journals strongly disapproving the attitude assumed by his brother patriot, and exhorting the Hungarians not to lend their aid to a movement which, by bringing Italy into collision with France, would tend to rivet afresh the manacles from which the people had been freed. But the mischief had been done so far as injury to Garibaldi himself was concerned. Chialini had stipulated that he should be allowed to choose the troops who were to be sent against his former friend and comrade, and he intrusted the capture of the general to Pallavicini and his Bersaglieri or sharpshooters. It was believed that Garibaldi would lead his men to the mountains of the Tyrol rather than submit. As the regular troops advanced it became evident that they were in force, and that they had been so disposed as to endeavour to prevent his retreat, but it was equally certain that he had no intention of giving them battle. From the first moment while he was looking at them through his glass he repeatedly gave orders to his men not to fire, and the order was repeated by his officers and by sound of trumpet all down the line. The Bersaglieri, however, commenced firing, and Garibaldi himself was wounded in the thigh by a spent ball, and more seriously in the ankle by a bullet which struck with full force. He stood erect for a moment, shouted "Long live Italy!" again called out "Do not fire," and then was carried to a short distance, where he lay beneath some trees and began to smoke a cigar vigorously till his foot could be attended to by the surgeon. His son, Menotti, was brought in also with a wound in his leg, and several others were injured. In one part of the line the Garibaldians had returned the fire of the troops and a skirmish took place, which was, however, quickly ended. Friends, old comrades, relatives met as the two forces approached. It was a scene of regret and of mutual and sorrowful reproaches. Pallavicini came bareheaded and with every token of respect to the place where the wounded chief lay. For a very short time people wondered what would be done with Garibaldi. What *could* be done with him? He was carried to Spezzia to the

fort of Varigliano, only to be released after a nominal imprisonment. In a few days it was possible to remove him to Caprera, where the sympathies of his countrymen and of thousands of others in England, France, and Europe, reached him. Our concern took a practical shape, and Mr Partridge, an English surgeon, was sent to Italy to attend him and to extract the ball from his foot, a task which was difficult and tedious. He eventually recovered, however, and though he still suffered from rheumatism and from the results of his wound, was able to visit London in 1864 at the invitation of the Duke of Sutherland and a number of friends who desired to give him fresh assurances of the sympathy and admiration of the English people. The people, that is to say the largest proportion of the population, were eager to show him honour. His appearance in the streets became a public triumph, the enthusiasm was tremendous, and though for a time a number of the leaders of society kept critically aloof, they were in a minority, and either from a dislike to appearing singular, or because they were unable to withstand the influence of the common excitement, became even more exuberant in their praises and more exacting in their hospitalities than those who had first received the "hero" whose picture was in every shop window. Garibaldi was so overwhelmed by a popularity, the violent demonstrations of which he had neither courted nor desired, that his health began to suffer, and it was found necessary to enable him to escape from his titled and aristocratic admirers who would have killed him with receptions, dinners, and deputations. After a short stay, therefore, he re-embarked in the Duke of Sutherland's yacht and went back to the farm in his solitary island, grateful for all the sympathy of which he had been the object, but glad to be once more in a position to remember it at a safe distance.

Garibaldi's day was done, so far as actively effective service of his country was concerned. It might have been better if the "Sword of Italy" had not been again unsheathed. Deeds heroic in themselves lose their force and value if they are the consequence of perverse or mistaken enthusiasm. The attempt to march

on Rome had been a grievous error, which was obscured if not obliterated in the pain and the pity that were felt not only in Italy but throughout Europe at the event at Aspromonte. It has been truly said that had Garibaldi been wrecked on the voyage after his crowning glory at Naples, or had he reached Caprera with an unshaken determination never to revisit the mainland, his achievements would have gone down to posterity as a myth hardly second to the deeds of the ancient demigods, but he was elected a deputy, met opponents in parliament, quarrelled and even squabbled with those for whom he was no match in what is sometimes called debate, and persisted in the opinion that he could somewhere and somehow repeat the triumphs that had only been possible and *could* only be possible once in a lifetime. The very simplicity and unselfishness of the man,—qualities which had wrought wonders,—made him the tool of ill advisers and led him to attempts that ended in humiliation and defeat.

In 1864 the seat of the Italian government was removed to Florence, and as the idea of obtaining Rome seemed to have been abandoned, France agreed to withdraw the garrison. In 1866 the war between Prussia and Austria, of which we shall have a little to say presently, gave Garibaldi an opportunity of manifesting his undying hostility to the tyrants of Italy, and as the soldier of the king he headed a force of several thousand volunteers and ineffectually endeavoured to force his way into the Southern Tyrol. He was kept at bay by the Austrian rifles, and after defeat at Custozza was compelled to fall back, sick and wounded, and to return once more to Caprera. His joy when the war ended, and one of its results was the liberation of Venetia and its reunion with Italy, was probably little affected by the fact that he had been unable to take a leading part in the achievement. He was too high-minded and therefore had too little self-consciousness for that, but he was too easily ensnared in the toils laid by Rattazzi, who, returning to power in 1867, again attempted to imitate Cavour's subtle sagacity by an exercise of easily detected cunning. Cavour had, at great risk, surmounted the difficulty of at once promoting

and appearing to restrain an insurrection. He had made an edge-tool of Garibaldi, and but for his own energy and adroitness his own hand would have been seriously wounded and Italy maimed. As it was, Garibaldi, first secretly encouraged and then ostentatiously checked, had added Southern to Northern Italy and united the kingdom for Victor Emmanuel. Cavour stopped short at Venetia and at Rome. Rattazzi, now that Venetia had fallen again into the lap of Italy, began to repeat the tactics which had before brought himself as well as Garibaldi to grief, and the victim of Aspromonte was again fired with ready enthusiasm at the cry of "Rome for Italy,"—was again caught in the net which cunning folly had spread for him. Rome had been relieved of the French garrison and was supposed to be comparatively defenceless. If the minister could only excite an attempt to seize upon the capital, and could at the same time appear to be strenuously opposing it, he might achieve the desire of the extreme party, and either deceive Napoleon III or so awaken his sympathies for the Italian cause as to prevent his effectual interference. This was Rattazzi's absurd attempt to imitate Cavour. There was no difficulty in raising volunteers, and arms were ready to be distributed. Menotti Garibaldi was on the borders of the diminished Papal States enlisting men. Garibaldi himself was at Genoa almost as soon as he heard that the farce of 1862 was to be forgotten in a repetition of the original drama of 1860. He went from Genoa to Florence, his addresses to the people were ardent and so imprudent as to be almost inexcusable if he remembered with whom he had to deal. The government, dissembling still in the eye of France, condemned his language, and affecting to be shocked at his attitude ordered his arrest and his removal to Caprera, where government cruisers lay off shore to watch him and prevent his escape till the time came for the blow to be actually struck against Rome. Then he was allowed to get off quite easily, to land at Leghorn, and to join the force mustered on the Papal frontier. It was too late—the drama ended in a pitiful fiasco—in a wretched tragedy rather. When Garibaldi advanced with his followers he

found himself opposed not only to the much larger forces of the Papal army, but to French battalions sent for the rescue and protection of the pope and commanded by De Failly. All was over. Wounded alike in body and in soul and sick at heart, the hero went once more to his solitary island like a broken eagle to its eyrie, and again after three years saw Rome,—to restore which he would have given his life,—taken after a brief struggle, by the Italian army and made the true capital of United Italy, while he had no hand in the achievement, and the French emperor who had so long prevented it was rushing on his fate at Sedan.

Reference has already been made to an Irish brigade formed for the protection of the Papal territory, and in this association the name of Mr. Pope Hennessey will occur to some readers. Mr. Pope Hennessey, who, with Sir George Bowyer, was an ardent supporter of the Papal authority in Italy, had occupied the office of a civil clerk in the council office, and was afterwards returned for King's County. As an Irish Roman Catholic of the extreme school the Ultramontanists, as men of his way of thinking were then called—he had been conspicuous in the formation of the Irish Brigade, which irreverent jesters had nicknamed "the Pope's Brass Band," and he was of course opposed to the course taken by the government in relation to Italian independence, since he sympathized with the King of Naples and regarded Garibaldi as a bandit and Victor Emmanuel as a robber. At all events he had the courage of his convictions, for in a well-arranged and well-delivered speech, which lasted two hours and a half, he denounced the conduct of the government, and delivered opinions which were directly opposed to those of the great majority of the house. As he was then only twenty-seven years old this was an achievement, and though he had very few supporters he was listened to with something like interest, or at all events without interruption; but when Mr. Layard rose to reply, the house rapidly filled, and it was evident from the cheering which accompanied his retorts, as well as the remarks of Mr. Edwin James and

Sir Robert Peel, that neither Mr. Hennessey nor Sir George Bowyer could bring censure upon the foreign policy of the government in Italian affairs. In such a debate Mr Gladstone naturally felt that he could not sit silent, and indeed he was entitled to some reply, if only for the reason that Lord Derby in the House of Lords had condemned the policy of the government towards France and Italy, which he said placed on the people an amount of taxation "absolutely unprecedented in time of peace, and only made more intolerable by the financial freaks of the chancellor of the exchequer." In a speech, fervid, eloquent, and almost passionate, Mr Gladstone replied to Mr Hennessey's accusations, and having commented upon the breach of faith committed by the old King of Naples towards the people in reference to the promised constitution of May, 1848, characterized the reign of that monarch as built up by, and founded upon, a denial of justice and a violation of all law. That king's son, who had succeeded him, had thrown away a splendid opportunity for impressing a glorious name upon the pages of history. No one had marred a brilliant fortune more completely than the miserable and unhappy Francis II. But sad as were the records of Neapolitan rule, the ecclesiastical authorities of the States of the Church were still more fruitful of oppression and injustice. The manner in which the inhabitants of these States had been handed over once to the military government of Austria was such, that had the people borne it they would have been no better than worms fit to be trodden under foot. By documentary evidence Mr Gladstone proved the atrocities which had been committed in the States of the Church and in the territory of the Duke of Modena, and he concluded by declaring that the consolidation of Italy would be a boon not only to the Italians themselves, but also to every power in Europe.

To the not altogether new imputation of Lord Derby, only a practical answer was necessary, and the reply was forthcoming in the successive budgets, which, even in a time of difficulty and trial, were directed as much as possible to diminish pressure of taxation on articles of necessary consumption.

Mr. Hennessey was not without supporters who condemned both Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel, but in the House of Commons they were few, and a tempest of applause greeted Mr. Gladstone's reply. Referring to the assertions put forward, he said Sir George Bowyer and Mr. Hennessey had called upon the house to lament the foreign policy of the government, which they alleged was founded on injustice and could not prosper, and they also said that the cause which we favoured in Italy was the persecution of righteous governments. The member for Dundalk had asserted that a revolution which the people of England looked upon with wonder was the result of a wicked conspiracy carried on by an unprincipled king and a cunning minister, and that the people of Naples, governed by benignant laws wisely administered, were devoted to their sovereign. As to the courage "that miserable monarch," Francis II., was said to have manifested during the siege of Gaeta, Mr Gladstone said, "It is all very well to claim consideration for him on account of his courage, but I confess I feel much more admiration for the courage of the hon member for Dundalk (Sir G Bowyer) and the hon member for King's County (Mr Pope Hennessey); for I think I would rather live in a stout and well-built casemate listening to the whizzing of bullets and the bursting of shells, than come before a free assembly to vindicate such a cause as that which these honourable gentlemen have espoused."

Both these gentlemen returned to the charge a year later, however (in April, 1862), when Sir George Bowyer violently attacked the policy of the government, which he said had set up Victor Emmanuel as a French viceroy—made France the dominant power in Italy, and broken the power of Austria, but had not secured what was called the unity of Italy. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies still existed, while that of Italy had only been organized by France and England. He declared that we had not made Rome the capital of Italy—and that Rome never would be the capital of Italy.

This was such an extraordinary statement,

in face of what was then actually occurring, that Mr Layard was able to say in reply that there were no Piedmontese troops in the Marches, Umbria, or the Legations—that if the people wished to return to their former allegiance there was nothing to prevent them—and with regard to Rome, the question was not whether King Victor Emmanuel wanted it, but whether the Romans wanted *him*.

Mr Gladstone, pointing out the extraordinary credulity and the equally extraordinary power of paradox displayed by Sir George Bowyer, said “To take a particular instance, there is the downfall of the late kingdom of the Two Sicilies. My hon. and learned friend was so kind as to ascribe to me some infinitesimal share in removing from the world the sorrow and iniquity which once oppressed that unhappy country. I should take it as a favour if the charge were made truly, but I claim or assume no such office. Here is a country which my hon. and learned friend says is, with a few miserable exceptions amongst the middle classes, fondly attached to the expelled dynasty—and what happens there? An adventurer, Garibaldi, clothed in a red shirt, and some volunteers also clothed in red shirts, land at a point in the peninsula, march through Calabria, face a sovereign with a well-disciplined army of 80,000 men, and a fleet probably the best in Italy, and that sovereign disappears before them like a mockery king of snow! And yet such is the power of paradox that my hon. and learned friend still argues for the affectionate loyalty of the Neapolitans, as if such results could have been achieved anywhere save where the people were alienated from the throne.” Sir George Bowyer had declared or predicted that the Italians would never have the city of Rome for their capital. He (Mr. Gladstone) did not believe in that prediction. Sir George required the house to believe that the people of Rome were perfectly satisfied; but there were some 20,000 French troops kept there for some purpose which Sir G. Bowyer had not explained. Speaking as an individual, he could not but regret the continuance of that occupation and he most earnestly hoped, for the sake of the name and fame of France, for the

sake of humanity and the peace of Europe, it might soon be done away. With respect to the temporal government of the Papacy—one of the questions involved in the discussion—Mr. Gladstone, in a powerful argument, urged the impolicy as well as the injustice of prolonging it.

Lord Palmerston closed the debate by declaring that the government had acted consistently with their avowed desire to see Italy liberated from tyrannical oppressors, and that this policy had represented the feeling of the country. He complimented Sir George Bowyer on his loyalty to the church of which he was a member, but affirmed that the government would be willing to abide by the verdict of the nation.

The first year of the decade, the events of which we are now considering, is memorable for the commencement of that tremendous conflict which it was thought would separate the United States of America into two independent republics, and the social as well as the political effects produced in this country by the war in America were attended with great anxiety and fraught with no inconsiderable danger. The anxiety was of two kinds, the painful impression produced by the prospect of a long and sanguinary struggle between people who had formed one great nation—speaking the same language, possessing the same civilization, and in the main derived from the same stock as ourselves; and the fear (which for a time proved to be well grounded) that our commercial and international relations to either or to both belligerents would be injured and imperilled. The danger lay in the ignorance of the great majority of people here as to the real grounds of a strife which appeared to be so sudden and overwhelming; and in the erroneous impression which many of the most enlightened and sagacious of our public men had formed of its probable issue. In a word, England, because of her true and natural sympathy with the people of the United States, was divided into partisans of the North or of the South, according to the sentiments or the misapprehensions by which opinions were guided, at

the very time when the near and peculiar relation that we bore to the combatants most demanded the exercise of a practically disinterested neutrality, which as a nation we earnestly and successfully strove to preserve

There was and continued to be a great deal of confusion in the representations current in England with regard to the original causes of the war and the reasons for its continuance, nor would it be easy within the limits of these pages to trace the real history of its beginning, and the varied conditions and vicissitudes under which it was pursued. That the first hostilities by the South and the secession of South Carolina were in immediate relation to the apparently inevitable opposition of the Northern States to the maintenance of slavery was obvious enough, but several endeavours were made by the United States government to induce the slave-holding states to remain loyal to the Union, and among the propositions were suggestions to adopt a boundary line beyond which slavery should never be interfered with. When the "Republican" party, which was regarded as the anti-slavery party, carried their candidate for the presidency, it was still admitted that force would not or should not be employed to restore the Union. Mr Seward, who became secretary of state, had declared that if the Union were restored by force it would not be worth having. Mr Abraham Lincoln, however, in his inaugural address, stated his intention of recovering and keeping the property of the United States, and as he did not mention that he would do so by the force of arms, much trouble was taken by several eminent men in and out of office to represent that the message was truly pacific. It would appear that a considerable number of those who read the message in this way—and among them Mr Seward—professed not to believe in the reality of the secession, but thought that the temporary demonstrations of revolt would cease when the whole question came to be argued and a compromise was effected. Otherwise it is difficult to see how the property of the Union could be either recovered or preserved without recourse to force. South Carolina having announced her resumption of separate indepen-

dence as a sovereign state, had been followed by Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, and Mr Jefferson Davis, who had formerly been secretary of war in the United States government, was elected, in a meeting at Charleston, and proclaimed first president of these "Confederated States." Then, after having adopted a constitution similar to that of the United States government, the Confederates or "Seceders" took possession of all the property of the Federal government within their reach, including all the military posts except two or three forts. In Texas a force of 2000 regular troops under General Twiggs surrendered to the state militia, and Major Anderson, commanding the Federal garrison of Fort Moultrie, in the port of Charleston, blew up the post which he could no longer hold, and removed the garrison to Fort Sumter.

All this had taken place during the presidency of Mr. Buchanan, who preceded Mr. Lincoln, and who was said to be closely allied to the interests of the slaveowners. At any rate some of his ministers were in favour of the Confederacy, and he was obliged to dismiss them. One of them, Mr Floyd, afterwards became a violent partisan of the South, and commanded a brigade in Western Virginia, and another went to preside over the Confederate senate.

These were convincing signs that the question of slaveholding and slave traffic were the primary reasons for secession, but for a proper understanding of the attitude of the Federal government, it will be necessary to remember that at the time of the actual commencement of hostilities and afterwards, Mr Abraham Lincoln declared that he did not go to war to put an end to slavery, nor even to decide whether in certain states slavery should or should not exist, or whether a certain number of slaves should be permitted, but that he called upon the Northern States to arm solely to preserve the Union, which it was their duty to maintain.

So far then we may see a little of what was the position of affairs in 1861, but whatever may have been the assumed causes or the expressed objects of the combatants the

slave question was that which had really to be settled. The advances in civil liberty made by the Northern States, where the "peculiar institution" of holding negroes in perpetual bondage had been long abandoned, made the perpetuation of slavery in neighbouring territories under the same government impossible, and the negro who could escape over the border was concealed or protected by the "abolitionists." After the commencement of the war such fugitives were enfranchised by the law which was passed against the recapture of, or claim of property in, any one dwelling within the boundaries of the free states.

The cry for abolition of negro slavery was in the air of the Northern States, and there were not wanting either true narratives, passionate appeals, fictional representations, or clear, indisputable evidence to show what were the actual as well as the possible cruelties and degradations to which the human chattel was liable under the irresponsible authority of an owner, or the irregular tyranny of an overseer. Slavery could not have existed in any form likely to have been acceptable to either party, and, indeed, the most vigorous party—those who had retained the "grit" and persistency of the early founders of America—would not have rested with any compromise. Their forefathers, like ours, had regarded the institution as at least a permissible one, even when they did not rely on a convenient interpretation of Scripture for its support, but these people had abandoned the belief that negroes were the children of Ham, or that the system of slavery as it was practised, or might easily be practised, was of divine institution. To them it was a thing evil and odious—a system which had become dangerous to the existence of the republic. Whatever may have been Mr Seward's opinion of the means to be taken to abolish it—and though in 1861 he may have regarded the secession of the slave-owning states as only a temporary demonstration—he had, as early as 1858, declared in a speech in New York state that the antagonism between freedom and slavery was "an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces;" and the "irrepressible conflict" be-

came one of those significant phrases which are conveniently used to express settled convictions. But it is necessary to note that Mr. Seward apparently held the opinion that a compromise might be made by which slavery should be suffered gradually to die out, or should by degrees be superseded by free labour, and should not be perpetuated in future generations by what were called the slave-breeding states. Even before the date of the speech just quoted he had said, in addressing the senate at Washington, "All parties in this country that have tolerated the extension of slavery, except one, have perished for that error already, and that last one—the Democratic party—is hurrying on irretrievably to the same fate!"

There was nothing in the attitude of the state of South Carolina inconsistent with previous demonstrations. In 1848, when the senate at Washington had approved of a petition from the people of New Mexico to exclude domestic slavery from that country, the assembly of South Carolina passed resolutions denying the power of Congress to prohibit the introduction of slavery into any territory acquired by treaty or by the arms of all the states. The question was not likely to become the cause of a national conflict while the Democratic party was in power, for the Democrats of America may be said to have represented the Conservative party, and the Republicans the Whigs or Liberals. Near the end of the year 1853 a meeting of English ladies was held at Stafford House to agree upon a memorial to the ladies of the United States, which said, "A common origin, a common faith, and we sincerely believe a common cause, urge us at the present moment to address you on the subject of that negro slavery which still prevails so extensively, and even under kindly disposed masters, with such frightful results, in many of the vast regions of the Western World." The address was read by the Duchess of Sutherland, and was sent; but the answer received from Mrs. Tyler, the wife of the ex-president, was resentful. It roundly told the duchess that she might find fitting objects for her sympathy in London, in Ireland, or on her own Highland estates; and

said, "Leave it to the women of the South to alleviate the sufferings of their dependants, while you take care of your own. The negro of the South lives sumptuously in comparison with 100,000 of your white population in London." This reply, of course, did not touch the other side of the negro question, and, in fact, did not touch the question of slavery at all. It indicated, perhaps, that a large proportion of the people of the Northern States did not care much for the negroes, as they very plainly showed when they came in contact with them, and it seemed to imply that at that time emancipation was not regarded as a desirable question to bring into prominence. Evidences were not wanting that it might soon become a difficult, if not a dangerous one.

The Republicans appear to have taken up the slave question as one which would have to be fought out with determination, and were ready to demand that the whole force of the government should be exerted to prevent the extension or the perpetuation of slavery in any of the states of the Union. The Democrats, on the other hand, were equally ready to defend "the institution," and the result was that while the United States government, in conjunction with Great Britain, was expending a large amount of money and losing many men in the work of suppressing the African slave-trade—and the only portions of the civilized world where that traffic was tolerated were the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico—runaway slaves, in their endeavour to escape from the Southern States to the borders, were recaptured and severely punished. Even at Charleston the abolitionists were wrought to a pitch of excitement by the arrest of fugitives, and their relinquishment to those who claimed them as their property. This was in accordance with the Fugitive Slave Bill passed by Congress in 1850, permitting owners to follow runaway slaves into free states, and making any assistance given to them in their flight, or any opposition to their arrest, illegal and punishable. At the same time the "free soil" party—(who, like the slaveholders, were fond of the word "freedom" in relation to themselves)—agreed to reject the testimony of slaves in courts of

justice. This had been the condition of affairs in those states which did not repudiate the bill by their own state laws, until the secession of the Southern States, and the first losses of the Federals after the commencement of the war—when Abraham Lincoln, who was then president, issued a proclamation declaring the freedom of all fugitive slaves entering the Federal States.

The demands for complete emancipation had not been altogether silenced since the days when England had paid so heavily for the freedom of the negroes in her West Indian possessions. In France and in America anti-slavery societies were earnestly at work, but all that could be done was to insist on the active suppression of the traffic in Africa. Unhappily the slave-dealers and their agents, the man-stealers, found the trade sufficiently profitable to tempt them to run great risks, and horrible discoveries were sometimes made of the sufferings of the wretched creatures, who were battened down in fast-sailing craft, that a quick run might be made to escape the British, French, or American cruisers. In 1840 the societies held a conference, the result of which was that the American government endeavoured to establish a negro colony, which they called Liberia, on the West Coast of Africa, to which slaves who had obtained their freedom might be sent. We cannot here follow the obvious causes of the failure of this attempt to form a self-sustaining colony of freed slaves. England had a station at Sierra Leone for the reception of negroes rescued from intercepted slave ships. It was believed that many of the slaves bought in Africa were not only taken to Cuba and Porto Rico, but were smuggled through Texas to the Southern States of America, but apart from that, those states retained in bondage the negroes at work on the plantations or otherwise employed, and comparatively few of them or their offspring obtained their freedom. The number of the negro slave population in the South in 1840 was reckoned at about two millions, but these figures were uncertain, or perhaps did not include the quadroons or mixed race of negroes and whites, numbers of whom were kept in slavery even though, in many instances, the

signs of their negro descent had been almost obliterated, or at least were not conspicuous

The anti-slavery societies had done much, and the Quaker community had been forward in the effort to abolish from the land what they believed to be an accursed thing, but, as we have seen, other powerful agencies contributed to give a quick incentive to the movement, which in 1859 had aroused not only the interests but the passions of either side. The question had become, at the same time, a political and a religious one. Slaves who succeeded in escaping from the plantations found protectors in the free states, who aided and comforted them even at the risk of incurring punishment by the law, or the lawless revenge of those who looked upon them much as horse or cattle stealers would have been regarded in some other communities. The fugitives often had dreadful stories to tell of the cruelties practised by overseers, the evidences of the truth of what they said, were to be seen upon their scarred and seared bodies, and were often corroborated by witnesses who had themselves visited Southern plantations, or possessed indubitable testimony of the treatment of which the slaves were frequently the victims. It may be conceded that comparatively few instances of cruelty and atrocity would have been sufficient, in the excited state of feeling, to raise a passionate outcry against the system of slavery and a demand for its abolition, but the examples were too numerous to be regarded as exceedingly rare or as altogether exceptional. It was known that men, women, and children were sold at auction like beasts, that they were often treated like brutes, that men and even women were flogged and punished in a revolting manner, that women who were not negroes, but who were partly of negro blood, might be flogged or worse. Not only in cries, speeches, songs were these things denounced, but anti-slavery tracts, essays, stories, were circulated in great numbers. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's story, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, sent a thrill of pain and of indignation not only through the Northern States, but through England, through other nations of Europe. Of course we know now that it was a "story," that all that was in it

was not fact in the sense of its having happened in relation to persons such as were there depicted, but there was nothing in it that might not have happened without interference by law. The system of slavery in the South made such incidents possible, many of them probable. It was known that they had happened and were happening. The character of Uncle Tom was not the biography of any one man. It has been explained that the first suggestion of it reached Mrs. Stowe while she was in the Walnut Hills, Ohio. The coloured cook, whose husband was a slave in Kentucky, used to go to Mrs. Stowe to ask her to write to him. The poor woman told her mistress that this man's master trusted him to go alone and unwatched to Cincinnati to market his farm produce. This, according to the laws of Ohio, gave the man his freedom, since if any master brought or sent his slave into Ohio he became free *de facto*. But she said her husband had given his word as a Christian to his master that he would not take advantage of the law—his master promising him his freedom. Whether he ever got it is not recorded. It was some four or five years after, when the fugitive slave law made Mrs. Stowe desirous of showing what slavery was, that she conceived the plan of writing the history of a faithful Christian slave. After she had begun the story she obtained, at the Anti-slavery Rooms in Boston, the autobiography of Josiah Henson, and introduced some of its most striking incidents into the story. Josiah Henson, an old negro, was in England in 1879 or 1880, and was introduced as the Uncle Tom of Mrs. Stowe's story. Doubtless *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had an immense effect in increasing the public feeling against slavery; but it was not alone books or stories or public meetings which were working upon the popular imagination or the general sense of right and justice. In 1859 "abolition" had taken a startling and practical form—the form of an enthusiasm which, by some, was not unnaturally regarded as fanaticism, as displayed by John Brown and his sons and followers at Harper's Ferry.

John Brown, or as he was usually called, "Old John Brown," had been a prominent character before the struggle between the

abolitionists and the supporters of slavery broke out into systematic reprisals. He had been the victim of one of the raids made by the border ruffians of Missouri during the time that the country was disturbed by bands of robbers and scoundrels, who made political excitement and party opposition the pretext for committing all kinds of atrocities. He was the son of an Ohio farmer, and himself made a considerable competence by farming and by trading in wool. While on his land in Kansas his homestead and farm buildings were burned, his property stolen, and it was said that two of his children were killed. Probably it was known at that time that he held strong opinions on slavery, though it appears that he had previously taken no prominent part in public affairs, but afterwards, and when he was about sixty years of age, he became a determined abolitionist, and with his six sons devoted himself to efforts to liberate the slaves. He became what his opponents called a fanatic or a monomaniac, but his friends regarded him as an enthusiast. He with his sons organized a band of about five-and-twenty, most of whom, it was said, were New Englanders, and all well armed. Several times these men, under "Old Brown's" guidance, had penetrated far into the interior of Missouri and liberated from jail men who had been apprehended on a charge of assisting slaves to escape, or on some other allegation connected with attempting to free the negroes, which would probably have cost the accused persons their lives after a trial by "Judge Lynch." For a very small amount of practical sympathy with an escaped slave, either in speech or action, men had been seized and roughly used, and afterwards tarred and feathered, or set astride upon a sharp rail beneath which their feet were tied together, and for active participation in the escape of a fugitive, or opposition to his recapture, they were liable to be tried by lynch-law and hanged or severely maltreated. When John Brown and his followers paid a return visit to Missouri they made reprisals by setting free numbers of slaves, and occasionally had a fight, in which some of their opponents were killed or their property damaged. It should be remembered, however, that their

antagonists were the people who strove to force slavery upon the state of Kansas by raising a civil war. An agreement was come to which for a time caused a cessation of hostilities, and Brown settled down again to his farm, until a party of Missourians in pursuit of a runaway negro, under a pretence of looking for "their property," forced their way into the houses of some of the people of Kansas without legal authority, and committed several outrages. They had not long returned to their homes when Old Brown, his sons, and followers were among them, retaliating by carrying off negroes and horses and making other reprisals upon their property. A bold and skilful rider, a man of iron constitution and iron determination, Brown became a determined assailant, and eventually devoted himself entirely to the rescue of negroes. His sons lost their lives during the repeated struggles in which they were engaged. The name of the leader of the Kansas band was known all over America, and his foes had offered a reward for his head. He and his followers, however, contrived to inflict repeated defeats on their opponents, who, of course, often outnumbered them, but were beaten by the skilful strategy of the man who afterwards said he was always ready to give his life for the cause which he had adopted with the intensity and fervour of a strong religious conviction. It was said that a committee of five called on him on one occasion and informed him that he must leave the territory in three days or die—that they would come to his house with a sufficient force at the end of that time, and if they found him still there they would hang him. The old man thanked them for the notice, saying very coolly, "You will find me here then, gentlemen." Before the next sun rose the five members of that committee were in the other world. Whether Brown killed them or not is unknown, but it is certain, had they lived, that they would have killed him, and no man knew that better than he. On one occasion a certain Henry Clay Pate started out from Westport, Missouri, with a party of thirty-three men, full of boastings and promises to catch "Old Brown" and take him a prisoner to Missouri, his only fear being that

he would not be able to find him. Brown was very easily found, however, for with sixteen men he went out to meet Pate, and after a short fight at Black Jack, near the Santa Fé Road, in which a few were killed and wounded, Pate and his party surrendered to "Old Brown," with the exception of a Wyandot Indian by the name of Long, and a notorious murderer named Coleman. These two men, being well mounted, made their escape.

Upon another occasion a body of some 220 men were raised and equipped in Jackson county, and started into Kansas, under the command of General Whitfield, to attack and capture Brown, who, being always vigilant and wary, was possessed of secret means of intelligence, and had made full preparation to meet the Missourians. He was encamped with 160 men at a chosen point near the Santa Fé Road, which he knew his enemies would pass. He had fifty men with Sharpe's rifles, which would kill at half a mile, and which could be loaded at the breech and fired with great rapidity. His men he had concealed in a ravine, where they lay on the ground, and commanded the prairie for a mile before them. The residue of the party he had concealed in the timber, ready at the proper moment for an attack on the flank of those who might reach the ravine alive. Colonel Sumner, with a squad of dragoons, came down from Fort Leavenworth and prevented the fight, disbanding both parties, after which the colonel was heard to remark that his interposition was a fortunate event for the Missourians, as the arrangements and preparation made by Brown would have ensured their destruction.

It was at Harper's Ferry, a singularly beautiful spot at the entrance of the Alleghanies, where the great rivers the Potomac and the Shenandoah form a junction, that the event occurred which terminated Brown's career, and may be said to have precipitated the struggle which only ended with the close of the American war. To Harper's Ferry went the farmers of Western Virginia when they had to enter the lower world, and thither also went the Maryland and Lower Virginian slaveholders when they wanted to pass westwards or to seek a cool temperature in summer.

It is just within the Virginian frontier, and precisely where Maryland is narrowest, so that Pennsylvania could be reached in a few hours. Thither "Old Brown" went in 1857 or 1858, after having buried his sons and defeated his enemies in Kansas, and seen the soil there safe from the intrusion of slavery, and helped the Missouri people in getting rid of what remained of it in their territory. It appears that he believed it to be the duty of his life to go wherever he could most effectually repeat this kind of effort. So he went to Harper's Ferry, whence, being close to Pennsylvania, where the free blacks were in considerable numbers, he could operate at once upon Maryland and Virginia. Had he wished to raise a servile war he would have gone down into the cotton states; but, as he afterwards declared, he had no desire to kindle such horrors. He wished to free the slaves without bloodshed—that is, by running them off. For a year he lived, with two or three coadjutors, at a farm near Harper's Ferry, maturing his schemes, and collecting arms and other resources for holding the ground while the negroes ran.

It was in the autumn of 1858 that he and his two surviving sons made their appearance at the place under the name of Smith. Brown's farm was on the Maryland side of the Potomac, and, the better to conceal his real objects, he pretended to make investigations for the discovery of minerals. He chose for his lieutenant a man named Cook, who belonged to the neighbourhood, and they selected for their confederates, men who, like themselves, had taken a prominent part in defending the soil of Kansas against slaveholding aggression. With the free negroes they originally formed a band of not more than twenty-two persons, but their numbers were ultimately increased by volunteers, and by slaves whom they seized on neighbouring plantations, but who voluntarily joined them. On the night of Sunday the 16th of October, 1859, the watchmen at Harper's Ferry Bridge were seized by a body of insurgents, who were headed by Brown and Cook. A party under Cook then entered Maryland, and arrested at their own houses Colonel Washington and Mr. Allstadt, two

influential slaveholders, and these gentlemen they afterwards confined as prisoners in the Armoury at Harper's Ferry. Cook, at the head of the captured negroes, and accompanied by two white men, marched in the early morning up the mountain road in the direction of Pennsylvania, probably intending to incite the slaves of Maryland to rebellion. Old Brown, on the other hand, returned to the town, took possession of the Armoury, and stationed bodies of armed men at various points, so that when the inhabitants arose the next morning they found, greatly to their surprise, that their town was in a state of siege, and that the trains had been stopped and the telegraphic wires broken. A species of guerilla warfare then commenced between the insurgents and the townspeople, and in this way several lives were sacrificed. In the course of the day troops arrived from the neighbouring towns of Charleston, Shepherdstown, and Martinsburgh, but before the arrival of these troops the insurgents had entrenched themselves in the Armoury grounds, which they prepared to defend. In the meanwhile the news of these events had reached Washington and Baltimore, and had created some consternation in those cities, and in fact throughout the United States. Colonel Lee was immediately despatched by the war department at Washington to take command of the troops, and to suppress the insurrection. He, together with a party of soldiers and marines from Baltimore, reached Harper's Ferry in the course of the Monday night, and at once caused a number of the troops to surround the engine-house, in which the insurgents had determined to make their final stand. Owing to the absence of windows from the building, and the impossibility of taking accurate aim through the holes which had been pierced through the walls and doors, the besieged could do but little mischief, while the besiegers, on their side, were afraid to use cannon lest they should injure the prisoners who were kept in confinement. Under these circumstances Colonel Lee at first refrained from an attack, but sent an officer with a flag of truce to demand of the enemy an unconditional surrender; but John Brown refused these

terms, and required that he should be permitted to march out with his "men and arms, taking the prisoners with them, that they should proceed unpursued to the second toll-gate, when they would free their prisoners, the soldiers would then be permitted to pursue them, and they would fight if they could not escape." This proposition was, of course, rejected, and Colonel Lee at once gave the signal for making the attack. The door was battered down, an entrance was forced, and after a brief but sanguinary struggle all the surviving insurgents were made prisoners. John Brown was found to be severely wounded, but was expected to recover; one of his sons received a mortal wound. The prisoners were removed to Charleston jail, to await their trial on the double charge of murder and high treason.

It was said that, in an interview with Governor Wise, Brown made a full confession, stating that the whole plot was well contrived and arranged as far back as 1856, and that he had reason to expect assistance of from 3000 to 5000 men—that he looked for aid from every state. The search of his house led to the discovery of a large number of rifles, pistols, and swords, and a great quantity of ammunition, together with various documents, one of which appointed Brown commander-in-chief and specified the rank of his followers, while another purported to be a provisional constitution for the United States—abolishing slavery, among other changes. In the fight six citizens and fifteen insurgents were killed, and several on both sides wounded.

Brown was put upon his trial at Charleston on the 27th, ten days after he was taken prisoner, and notwithstanding that appeals were made on account of his physical condition, a postponement was refused. He was taken into court on a bed, as he was severely wounded in four places, and was unable to sit up without assistance, to listen to his arraignment. A Virginian counsel had been appointed by the court for his defence, but though he declared that he could have no confidence in this arrangement, considering the excited state of the public mind in Charleston and the hostility exhibited towards him, he was

not granted two days' delay to enable him to procure legal aid from the Free States. The consequence was that the members of the Massachusetts and Ohio bar whom he employed did not make their appearance in court until all the evidence for the prosecution was in, and they were compelled to enter upon their duties without consultation with the prisoner, without any accurate knowledge of the facts, and little or none of the Virginian criminal code. On the Saturday night they had been without sleep for two nights—partly spent in travelling, partly in study—and pressed for an adjournment until Monday morning to enable them to recover from complete physical exhaustion. The prosecution fiercely opposed it, on the ground that all the women in Virginia "were harassed by alarm and anxiety as long as the trial lasted," and that the jurymen wanted to get home to their wives. The summing up was accordingly commenced after nightfall, and the prisoner's counsel only escaped having to address the jury through the extreme lateness of the hour.

When, at the commencement of the trial, Brown was asked whether he had counsel, he addressed the court, saying —

"Virginians, I did not ask for any quarter at the time I was taken. I did not ask to have my life spared. The Governor of the State of Virginia tendered me his assurance that I should have a fair trial, but under no circumstances whatever will I be able to have a fair trial. If you seek my blood you can have it at any moment without this mockery of a trial. I have had no counsel—I have not been able to advise with any one. I know nothing about the feelings of my fellow-prisoners, and am utterly unable to attend in any way to my own defence. My memory don't serve me—my health is insufficient, although improving. There are mitigating circumstances that I would urge in our favour, if a fair trial is to be allowed us; but if we are to be forced to put up with a mere form of trial—a trial for execution—you might spare yourselves that trouble. I am ready for my fate—I do not ask a trial. I beg for no mockery of a trial—no insult—nothing but that which conscience gives, or cowardice would drive you to practise. I ask

again to be excused from the mockery of a trial. I do not even know what the special design of this examination is. I do not know what is to be the benefit of it to the commonwealth. I have now little further to ask, other than that I may not be foolishly insulted only as cowardly barbarians insult those who fall into their power."

The Democrats made strenuous efforts to show that Mr. Seward and the Republican party were implicated in Brown's attempt, but such a charge could not be sustained. At the same time men of influence and of pronounced opinions did not hesitate to declare sympathy with the prisoner, whose name was already becoming a watchword.

"As to the plot itself," wrote William Lloyd Garrison, "it is evident that few or none were privy to it, except the little band directly engaged in it; for though Captain Brown had many to sympathize with him in different parts of the country, in view of his terrible bereavements, perils, and sufferings in Kansas, in defence of the freedom of that territory against border ruffian invasion, and were disposed to contribute not only to relieve his necessities, but also to facilitate the escape of slaves through his instrumentality to Canada, still an enterprise so wild and futile as this could not have received any countenance in that direction.

"As to Captain Brown, all who know him personally are united in the conviction that a more honest, conscientious, truthful, brave, disinterested man (however misguided or unfortunate) does not exist; that he possesses a deeply religious nature, powerfully wrought upon by the trials through which he has passed, and he sincerely believes himself to have been raised up by God to deliver the oppressed in this country in the way he had chosen, as did Moses in relation to the deliverance of the captive Israelites; that when he says he aims to be guided by the golden rule, it is no cant from his lips, but a vital application of it to his own soul, 'remembering those that are in bonds as bound with them;' that when he affirms that he had no other motive for his conduct at Harper Ferry except to break the chains of the oppressed, by the

shedding of the least possible amount of human blood, he speaks 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,' and that if he shall (as he will speedily, beyond a peradventure) be put to death he will not die ignobly, but as a martyr to his sympathy for a suffering race, and in defence of the sacred and inalienable rights of man, and will, therefore, deserve to be held in grateful and honourable remembrance to the latest posterity by all those who glory in the deeds of a Wallace, a Tell, or a Washington. It will be a terrible, losing day for all slavery when John Brown and his associates are brought to the gallows. It will be sowing seed broadcast for a harvest of retribution. Their blood will cry trumpet-tongued from the ground, and that cry will be responded to by tens of thousands in a manner that shall cause the knees of the Southern slavemongers to smite together as did those of Belshazzar of old."

The Rev Mr Beecher, brother of Mrs Harriet Beecher Stowe, said —

"An old, honest, industrious man peacefully went to settle with his family in the west. His lot was cast in Kansas. A great slave state adjoining the territory marches her armed men in among the peaceful settlers to dragoon them to uphold slavery by force of arms. They cross the boundary and subvert the laws, and commence a civil war. They pollute the ballot-box and carry destruction among the harvests and death among the quiet cultivators of the soil. There were no marines, no militia, sent to oppose them. There were forces there, but they acted on their side—on the side of the wrong-doers, the invaders. It was here that Brown learned his first lesson on the slavery system—here that old man endured his first sufferings in the death of his first-born, who was dragged manacled across the country by the slavery-men in the heat of a broiling sun, and afterwards beaten by inhuman officers. Another son was shot down by them. Revolving the indignation in his mind against the system that would tolerate and countenance such cruelty and bloodshed, he is goaded by his own feelings to a mad but fixed determination to oppose it to the end of his life. And now,

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as he is in the depressing, the most trying circumstances, no one can fail to discover in this same old man a manly, straightforward, independent soul, which rises high above all those among whom he is at present, however insane he may be. I shrink from the folly of the bloody fray in which he was engaged, I shrink further from the bloody fray which will follow it but while I do, I feel that by and by, when people will read the record of the whole tragic scene, they will wonder at and admire the bearing of the old man who, through all his misfortunes, woes, and suffering, maintained a dignity and independence, and a sentiment which only shines in full brilliancy when contrasted with the conduct of his accusers, who possess their reason."

Brown was sentenced to death, and several of the others concerned in the insurrection were sentenced at the same time.

When the verdict was pronounced Brown sat up in his bed and addressing the court, said —

"I have, may it please the court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted—of a design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri, and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moving them through the country, and finally leaving them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again on a larger scale. That was all I intended to do. I never did intend murder or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion or to make insurrection. I have another objection, and that is that it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved—for I admire the truthfulness and candour of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case—had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it

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would have been all right, and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment. This court acknowledges, too, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed, which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament, which teaches me that all things whatsoever that I would that men should do to me I should do even so to them. It teaches me further to remember them that are in bonds as bound with me. I endeavour to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, on behalf of his despised poor is no wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country, whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say let it be done. Let me say one word further. I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention and what was not. I never had any design against the liberty of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason or excite slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind. Let me say something also in regard to the statements made by some of those who were connected with me. I fear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me, but the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. No one but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part at their own expense. A number of them I never saw and never had a word of conversation with till the day they came to me, and that was for the purpose I have stated. Now I have done."

Mr Chilton, one of his counsel, proposed to stay judgment on the ground of errors in the

indictment and in the verdict, but without effect. The laws of the state of Virginia would not allow the governor to pardon a person convicted of treason to the commonwealth except with the consent of the General Assembly declared by resolution. The legislature did not interpose, and it was believed that even if the governor had been disposed to commute the punishment and spare Brown's life, public feeling in Virginia would have been too strong to allow him to do so.

Brown maintained the same unyielding and courageous bearing to the last. While he was in prison a Quaker lady wrote to him a letter of sympathy—telling him that though those who were non-resistants could not approve of bloodshed, yet they knew that he was animated by the most generous and philanthropic motives, that thousands prayed for him every day; that posterity would do him justice. He wrote a calm reply, declaring that he had acted under a conviction that a sword was put into his hand for the work he had to do, and God continued it so long as he saw best, and then kindly took it from him. He concluded by saying: "I always loved my Quaker friends, and I commend to their kind regard my poor bereaved, widowed wife, and my daughter and daughters-in-law, whose husbands fell at my side. One is a mother, and the other likely to become so soon. They, as well as my own sorrow-stricken daughter, are left very poor, and have much greater need of sympathy than I, who, through infinite grace and the kindness of strangers, am 'joyful in all my tribulations.' Dear sister, write them at North Elba, Essex Co., N.Y., to comfort their sad hearts. Direct to Mary A. Brown, wife of John Brown. There is also another—a widow, wife of Thompson, who fell with my poor boys in the affair at Harper's Ferry, at the same place. I do not feel conscious of guilt in taking up arms; and had it been in behalf of the rich and powerful, the intelligent, the great—as men count greatness—of those who form enactments to suit themselves and corrupt others, or some of their friends, that I interfered, suffered, sacrificed, and fell, it would have been doing very well. But enough of this. These light afflictions,

which endure for a moment, shall work out for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory I would be very grateful for another letter from you My wounds are healing Farewell God will surely attend to his own cause in the best possible way and time, and he will not forget the work of his own hand ”

On the 2d of December, 1859, Brown was executed at Charleston He maintained the same confident and cheerful spirit to the end Even his interview with his wife on the previous day did not shake him They were both composed even at the moment of parting, after they had spoken of the education of their children and the death of his two sons, whose bodies the wife had endeavoured to recover He was conveyed to the scaffold in a wagon containing a pine box, on which he sat In the box was an oak coffin An attempt at a rescue by armed bands of men from the free states had been suspected The town was filled with strangers and with soldiers The execution was the occasion of a military display in front of the jail and afterwards at the scaffold, where the men were marched and countermarched for ten minutes, during which the condemned man had to stand with the cap drawn over his face and the rope round his neck. Nothing shook his fortitude or broke the calm of his demeanour Among his last utterances were kindly words to the jailer and the sheriff

Brown was hanged, and whatever may be thought of it otherwise, it was a mistake—the deed itself and the manner of it It was reported that the rope to be used at the execution was publicly exhibited at the sheriff's office, and was made of South Carolina cotton—a fact which was mentioned with exultation, with the words “No Northern hemp shall help to punish our felons” This story may have been an invention, but there can be no doubt of the defiant and threatening attitude assumed on the occasion In some of the Northern States there were significant counter demonstrations minute guns were fired, flags hung half-mast high, and sympathy meetings were held In the legislative assembly at Boston motions for adjournment were

made in the senate and in the house of representatives, and though the proposal was not carried, strong language was used What Mr Garrison had said became of great significance afterwards Though some trivial or contemptuous verses about the execution of John Brown were sung by numbers of the Southerners, the time came, when the tide of success had turned, that the Federal troops marched to a kind of chant, poor enough in composition, but with a refrain to which the name of the chief insurgent of Harper's Ferry gave an intensity of meaning as it spoke of his death and immortality By that time, however, the war, which on the part of the north was declared to have been for the prevention of disunion, was distinctly directed to the immediate and complete extinction of slavery in all the states

The Harper's Ferry insurrection has occupied much of our attention, but it will serve better than detailed reference to subsequent events, to indicate the conditions underlying the merely superficial aspects of the two parties, and the violent antagonism which so quickly led to the attempted disintegration of the republic

The states of Arkansas and Mississippi soon joined the Confederation, but the border slave states were uncertain Mr Buchanan, the president who preceded Mr. Lincoln, was, as we have seen, divided in his opinions, inclining, it was believed, towards Southern demands, and though he stopped short of any actual encouragement to secession, he gladly supported the proposal of Virginia to come to some sort of compromise The terms presented for acceptance were ineffectual, and indeed no compromise was probable. The free states could not without dishonour stoop to the alternatives by which an agreement could have been arrived at, for the South had apparently determined in any case to use every effort to establish an independent government. By the end of May, 1861, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina had followed South Carolina. The complete confederation of seceded states was then formed, and though at the beginning of the year many

cautious Northern politicians would have consented to let all the slave states go if they could have secured the permanent cohesion of the Federation, which would still have numbered twenty millions on the right bank of the Ohio,—and the secessionist leaders would then have been ready to adopt the proposition, and had even endeavoured to press the border states to decide one way or the other,—there was no longer much expectation of any arbitration but that of the sword. Mr Jefferson Davis and his colleagues had in fact determined to commence a war, expecting that no slave-owning state would side with the North. The Confederate General Beauregard, commanding at Charleston, was ordered to attack Fort Sumter, the garrison capitulated, and the effect was that there went through the North an immediate resolve to put down secession as rebellion. Mr Lincoln, in pursuance of this distinct declaration, called upon the states to provide 75,000 men. It was then that Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee seceded from the Union, and that Kentucky and Missouri refused to comply with the requisition for providing troops. Delaware remained neutral, but in Maryland, and particularly in Baltimore, an insurrection was only prevented by the military force which had been rapidly collected to defend the seat of government at Washington.

Jefferson Davis, who had been elected President of the "Confederate" States, was a man of considerable distinction—the son of a Kentucky planter who had removed to the state of Mississippi. Young Davis, after finishing his education, went to the United States Military College at West Point, where he graduated in 1828, when he was twenty years of age, and was appointed brevet second lieutenant. For seven years he continued his military duties, the active service being mostly against the Indians who fought under the renowned chief *Black Hawk*. In 1835 he resigned his commission, and became a cotton planter in Mississippi. In 1843 he began to take an active interest in political affairs, and became an influential member of the Democratic party. He was elected to Congress in 1845, and at

once took a prominent part in its discussions, especially on military affairs. On the breaking out of war with Mexico in 1846 Mr. Davis was elected colonel of the 1st Regiment of Mississippi Volunteers, which he led to the Rio Grand to reinforce General Taylor. He at once became one of the foremost officers engaged in the campaign, and not only bore a part in the fighting which caused the commander to speak in complimentary terms of his coolness and gallantry, but, as one of the commissioners employed in drawing up the terms for the capitulation of Monterey, displayed judgment and ability. Mr. Davis was consistent in his political views. (On the expiration of his term of service after the Mexican war, President Polk offered him a commission as brigadier-general of volunteers, which he declined on the ground that the constitution reserved the appointment of the officers of militia to the respective states themselves, and that consequently such an appointment by the federal executive was a violation of the rights of the states. In 1847 he was again returned to the senate as one of the representatives of Mississippi, and was chosen chairman of the committee on military affairs. He was a zealous supporter of state rights, of the institution of slavery, and of the demands of the slave states; but he was defeated as a candidate for the governorship of Mississippi. When General Pierce became president in 1853 Mr. Davis was appointed secretary of war, a post which he held till the election of Mr Buchanan to the presidency in 1857. During this time he had introduced remarkable improvements in the war department, and in the discipline and organization of the army. In 1857 he retired from office, and was again elected to Congress, in which he would have continued till 1863 but for the election of Mr Lincoln in 1860, and the secession of the slave states. There was probably no man in the country who could have been chosen for the President of the Confederacy with a better reputation for energy and ability than Colonel Jefferson Davis. This was shown by the promptitude with which he took the reins of the government, together with the activity he displayed in successfully carrying

on the conflict during many months in such a manner that, to the eye of Europe, the disunion of the States seemed almost inevitable—a disunion the probability of which had been foreseen by President Jefferson more than half a century before Mr Davis (who, like many Americans, was named after him) undertook the arduous and dangerous task of guiding the Confederation, and directing the revolt against the Union

On the other side, the man who had been elected President of the United States, and who, after the declaration of the Confederates, had announced decisively that he would treat the attempts of the secessionists as rebellion, was equally able to hold his own, though he had passed through an entirely different training and experience Abraham Lincoln, or "honest old Abe," as many of his rather familiarly admiring countrymen called him, afforded a very striking example not only of the mental and physical characteristics of the active and able American, but of the comparative facility with which, in America, such men may direct their ambition into channels which lead to political influence and to official honours The biography of Mr Lincoln is simple enough, but it exhibits a very remarkable instance of the untiring perseverance and tenacity which usually lead to great results, and these united to singular sagacity and penetration were precisely the qualities which he needed at a time when it was necessary not only to persist in opposition to what appeared to many to be a successful revolution, but to control the impatience and indiscretion of his own supporters Perhaps the designation "honest" expressed the most important qualification of the man in such a crisis It was above everything essential that the president should be one who could be trusted not to be led either by mere party considerations or by personal interests, and Abraham Lincoln was a man of undoubted integrity, of calm strength of character, and with that peculiar dry but genial humour which has in itself a powerful influence "Abe" Lincoln's sayings became aphorisms, and his pithy quaint replies to importunate or im-

pertinent questioners, his brief retorts and his weighty epigrammatic hints, had an extraordinary effect, sometimes greater, perhaps, than the simple earnest statements by which he declared his policy or defended his conclusions. Mr Lincoln was about a year younger than Mr Jefferson Davis, and was also born in Kentucky (in 1809), where his father's family, having left Virginia some thirty years before, had settled to frontier life His grandfather had been killed in a sudden attack made upon the settlers by the Indians, and his father, who was the youngest of the family, was early initiated into the hardships of border enterprise But a man who was poor and who owned no slaves, farming land held on an uncertain tenure, had little chance against the wealthy planters with their negro labourers, and when Abraham was about seven years old the family removed to Spencer County in Indiana, where the boy, who had about a year's schooling, began to work In 1818, when he was nine years old, his mother died, but her place was in a great measure supplied by a good and kind stepmother The boy had a rough life, but he grew to it, grew to be six feet four inches in height before he was nineteen years old, and with a powerful frame inured to exertion, and with muscles hardened by rail-splitting, timber-hewing, and working the canal flat-boats In 1830 his father again migrated and went to Cole's County, Illinois, where he died in the following year. Just before they removed, a man who was about to start a flat-boat expedition engaged young Lincoln with a companion and his half brother among the hands, but it happened that when the time arrived no boat made its appearance, so Lincoln and his comrades set about building one for themselves, and succeeded so well that they made a journey to New Orleans and back This led to the engagement of Abraham as a clerk at New Salem at a salary of fifteen dollars a week, and to his having to make his way among the "regulators" of the town by wrestling, running, and even offering to engage in a boxing match with their best man. His physical powers, no less than his evident coolness and ability, induced these rough companions

to elect him as their captain on the breaking out of the *Black Hawk* war, and this was the beginning of his public career, since he afterwards, when he was twenty-three years old, became a candidate for representing the state of Illinois. He was not at first successful, but was returned two years afterwards, and was then earning his living as a surveyor, and studying law in the intervals of his daily work. He must have used his time assiduously, for in 1836 he received a licence to practise, and in the following year his business so increased that he took up his residence at Springfield, for which he was four times elected as the representative. In 1844 Mr. Lincoln re-entered the political arena after two years' retirement from public business, but he did not take a seat in the legislature till 1846, when he was elected for Illinois by an enormous majority. He took a prominent part in the discussions on the Mexican war and against the extension of slavery, and on the termination of Congress and the dissolution of the Whig party joined the Anti-Nebraskians, who afterwards came to be called Republicans, and were opposed to any repeal of the Missouri compromise by which slavery had been limited to the country south of 36° 30', an area which Mr. Lincoln endeavoured to contract by advocating the adoption of a limit still further south. For three years Mr. Lincoln took no prominent part in public affairs, till he appeared as the supporter of General Scott in 1852, but in 1854 he was called upon to oppose a territorial bill which, it was believed, was intended to promote the extension of slavery, and then a definite Republican party was formed in Illinois and he became one of its leaders. Mr. Lincoln's personal appearance was remarkable, and was well described by a writer of his biography soon after he had been elected president "He stands six feet four, it is said, in his stockings. His head is well set upon his shoulders and would be a pleasing study for a phrenologist. His black hair, thin and wiry, is sprinkled here and there with gray. His forehead is good, his eyes dark gray, and when lighted up with emotion, small as they are, flash forth the fire that lives in the soul. His

nose is long and slightly aquiline, and his nostrils are cut on that peculiar model which Napoleon praised in his favourite generals. His complexion is that of an Octoroon, his face is cut into innumerable angles, and in each there seems to lurk the genius of humour. His frame is gaunt, his arms long, and his lower limbs proportioned to his gigantic height. As a speaker he exhibits readiness, preciseness, and fluency of ideas rather than of language, for his enunciation is for the most part slow and emphatic, and he impresses his hearers with seriousness or convulses them with merriment, according to the requirements of the occasion."

The state of public feeling in England with regard to the American war, was of a very diversified and changeable character. The large body of people in this country really knew very little about the constitution of the United States, and though there was a general expression of abhorrence against slavery, and a sense that it could never have our support or countenance, there was a general hesitation to accept the conclusion that the war would in its main result put an end to it.

We have already noted that at the commencement of the conflict, the president, Mr. Lincoln, had distinctly declared that he would prosecute hostilities, not for the question either of the existence or the limitation of negro slavery, but for the purpose of maintaining the Union against what he regarded as unwarrantable rebellion. This representation, when superficially - or perhaps even when more earnestly - regarded in England, was not at first likely to carry complete conviction with it. Other states of Europe might entirely agree with the president's conclusions, but it was argued that rebellion against constituted authority had actually made of the United States an independent nation,—that England could scarcely determine to exclude so-called rebellion from any subsequent acknowledgment, if it had been justly commenced and carried to successful issues against tyranny or oppression. On the other hand there was a peculiar kind of sympathy with the Southern States for some fanciful reason, not

easy to determine apart from the fact of their having protested against the control of the North, but apparently associated with a notion that the South represented the aristocracy of the country. There was a curious vague romantic notion floating in the brains of a good many people, such as is sometimes half expressed in favour of Charles the First's Cavaliers in comparison with the "Round-heads," without any apparent notion that the aristocracy was to be found on both sides, or that whether it was or not, the justice or necessity of the case must determine our practical acknowledgments of the results of success on either side.

It is not necessary to insist that fanciful notions had any ultimate influence on the opinion of the English people, for that opinion was afterwards almost entirely in strong accord with the Northern cause, but for a time the grounds of the conflict were not understood to be such as to enlist great sympathies on either side, and during a large part of the time that the war lasted, the Federal government, or at all events its officials, showed a threatening and antagonistic temper towards England, which arose, in all probability, from the fact that people in America no more understood us or believed that we were anxious to act in sympathy and good faith, than we believed they were in reality desirous of doing the same by us. As it often happens among members of the same family, there was a petty exhibition of pride and temper on both sides, which gave much offence and might have led to very serious consequences, which were, however, happily averted by the common sense which belonged to both parties.

Perhaps at the period of which we are speaking (1861), few people in this country were better acquainted with the actual situation in America than Mr. Bright, and though he has been (not altogether unreasonably) accused of "cracking up" American institutions, it will be worth while to turn for a moment to his representations when he addressed some of his townsmen at Rochdale.

"Eighty-five years ago," said Mr. Bright, "at the time when some of our oldest townsmen were very little children, there were, on the

North American continent, colonies, mainly of Englishmen, containing about three millions of souls. These colonies we have seen a year ago constituting the United States of North America, and comprising a population of no less than thirty millions of souls. We know that in agriculture and manufactures, with the exception of this kingdom, there is no country in the world which in these arts may be placed in advance of the United States. With regard to inventions, I believe, within the last thirty years, we have received more useful inventions from the United States than from all the other countries of the earth. In that country there are probably ten times as many miles of telegraph as there are in this country, and there are at least five or six times as many miles of railway. The tonnage of its shipping is at least equal to ours if it does not exceed ours. The prisons of that country, for even in countries the most favoured, prisons are needful, have been models for other nations of the earth, and many European governments have sent missions at different times to inquire into the admirable system of education so universally adopted in their free schools throughout the Northern States.

If I were to speak of that country in a religious aspect I should say that, considering the short space of time to which their history goes back, there is nothing on the face of the earth besides, and never has been, to equal the magnificent arrangement of churches and ministers, and of all the appliances which are thought necessary for a nation to teach Christianity and morality to its people. Besides all this, when I state that for many years past the annual public expenditure of the government of that country has been somewhere between £10,000,000 and £15,000,000, I need not perhaps say further, that there has always existed amongst all the population an amount of comfort and prosperity and abounding plenty such as I believe no other country in the world, in any age, has enjoyed.

This is a very fine, but a very true picture, yet it has another side to which I must advert. There has been one great feature in that country, one great contrast, which has been pointed to by all who have commented on the United States as a feature of danger, as a con-

trast calculated to give pain. There has been in that country the utmost liberty to the white man, and bondage and degradation to the black man. Now rely upon it, that wherever Christianity lives and flourishes there must grow up from it, necessarily, a conscience hostile to any oppression and to any wrong, and therefore, from the hour when the United States' constitution was formed, so long has it left there this great evil—then comparatively small, but now so great—it left there seeds of that which an American statesman has so happily described as that 'irrepressible conflict' of which now the whole world is the witness. It has been a common thing for men disposed to carp at the United States to point to this blot on their fair fame, and to compare it with the boasted declaration of freedom in their deed and Declaration of Independence. But we must recollect who sowed this seed of trouble, and how and by whom it has been cherished. I should like to read to you a paragraph from the instructions understood to have been given to the Virginian delegates to Congress, in the month of August, 1774, by Mr. Jefferson, who was perhaps the ablest man the United States had produced up to that time, and who was then actively engaged in its affairs, and who afterwards for two periods filled the office of president. He represented one of these very slave states, the State of Virginia, and he says—

'For the most trifling reasons, and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to avoid all further importations from Africa. Yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibition, and by imposing duties which might amount to prohibition, have hitherto been defeated by his majesty's negative, thus preferring the immediate advantage of a few British corsairs to the lasting interests of the American States, and to the rights of human nature, deeply wounded by this infamous practice.'

I read this merely to show that two years before the declaration of independence was signed, Mr. Jefferson, acting on behalf of those he represented in Virginia, wrote that protest against the course of the English government, which prevented the colonists from abolishing the slave trade preparatory to the abolition of slavery itself. Well, the United States' constitution left the slave question for every state to manage for itself. It was a question too difficult to settle then, and apparently every man had the hope and belief that in a few years slavery itself would become extinct. Then there happened a great event in the annals of manufactures and commerce. It was discovered that in those states the article which we in this country now so much depend on, could be produced of the best quality necessary for manufacture, and at a moderate price. From that day to this the growth of cotton has increased there, and its consumption has increased here, and a value which no man dreamed of when Jefferson wrote that paper has been given to the slave and to slave industry. Thus it has grown up to that gigantic institution which now threatens either its own overthrow or the overthrow of that which is a million times more valuable, the United States of America.

The crisis which has now arrived was inevitable. I say that the conscience of the North, never satisfied with the institution of slavery, was constantly urging some men forward to take a more extreme view of the question, and there grew up naturally a section, it may not have been a very numerous one, in favour of the abolition of slavery. A great and powerful party resolved at least upon a restraint and a control of slavery, so that it should not extend beyond the states and the area which it now occupies. But if we look at the government of the United States almost ever since the formation of the union, we shall find the southern power has been mostly dominant there. If we take thirty-six years after the formation of the present constitution, I think about 1787, we shall find that for thirty-two of these years every president was a southern man; and if we take the period from 1828 until 1860 we

shall find that in every election for president the South voted in the majority

We know what an election is in the United States for President of the Republic. There is a most extensive suffrage, and there is the ballot-box. The members of the House of Representatives are elected by the same suffrage, and generally they are elected at the same time. It is thus, therefore, almost inevitable that the House of Representatives is in accord in public policy with the president for the time being. Every four years there springs from the vote created by the whole people a president over that great nation. I think the world offers no finer spectacle than this, it offers no higher dignity, and there is no greater object of ambition on the political stage on which men are permitted to move.

You may point if you will to hereditary rulers, to crowns coming down through successive generations of the same family, to thrones based on prescription or on conquest, to sceptres wielded over veteran legions and subject realms, but to my mind there is nothing so worthy of reverence and obedience, and nothing more sacred, than the authority of the freely chosen by the majority of a great and free people, and if there be on earth and amongst men any right divine to govern, surely it rests with a ruler so chosen and appointed.

Last year the ceremony of this great election was gone through, and the South, which had been so long successful, found itself defeated. That defeat was followed instantly by secession, and insurrection, and war. In the multitude of articles which have been before us in the newspapers within the last few months I have no doubt you have seen it stated, as I have seen it, that this question was very much like that upon which the colonies originally revolted against the crown of England. It is amazing how little some newspaper writers know, or how little they think you know. When the war of Independence was begun in America, ninety years ago, there were no representatives there at all. The question then was, whether a ministry in Downing Street, and a corrupt and borough-mongering parliament, should continue to impose taxes

upon three millions of English subjects, who had left their native shores and established themselves in North America. But now the question is not the want of representation, because, as is perfectly notorious, the South is not only represented, but is represented in excess, for, in distributing the number of representatives, which is done every ten years, three out of every five slaves are counted as freemen, and the number of representatives from the slave states is consequently so much greater than if the freemen, the white men only, were counted. From this cause the southern states have twenty members more in the House of Representatives than they would have if the members were apportioned on the same principle as in the northern free states. Therefore you will see at once that there is no comparison between the state of things when the colonies revolted and the state of things now, when this wicked insurrection has broken out."

Probably few thoughtful people would now refuse their assent to these serious representations, or would deny their importance, but at the time they were uttered, or just before it, Mr Bright, Mr Cobden, and others who thought with them, appeared to be in a minority, and were not believed to represent the popular feeling in England. The attitude of the Federal government towards this country was that of suspicion, and soon became exasperating. The supposed hostility of the English people had been met by offensive demonstrations in the Northern States, and though the governments on both sides carefully abstained from endorsing any such breach of international courtesy as would produce a decided quarrel, the correspondence which went on between them showed great irritation under the reserve of diplomatic phraseology. A very large proportion of the people of England held firmly to the conviction that the Northern States had right and justice on their side in refusing those demands of the South which had for their object the perpetuation of negro slavery. It was perhaps a misfortune that the Federal government should have adopted the determination to preserve the constitution, by destroying the source from

which the constant danger of disruption had emanated, only when it was discovered that a war was inevitable in which each side must put out its strength. The assurance that the first effort to suppress rebellion was independent of the question which had all along been the cause of antagonistic legislation between individual states, and of the violent hostility of the two political parties, missed the true issue of the conflict, and gave the subsequent proclamations of freedom to the negroes the appearance of a desire to raise a servile insurrection in the South for the purpose of retaliation, or as a desperate expedient for retrieving the failures which at first seemed to attend almost every attempt of the Federal forces. By that time, however, the hopes which some Northern statesmen had entertained, that the Confederate revolt could be suppressed before it had grown beyond a domestic insurrection, had been frustrated. The struggle had technically assumed proportions even beyond those of a civil war. By blockading Charleston with sunken stone-ships, and afterwards announcing a blockade of Southern ports, the Federals had acknowledged the Confederates as belligerents. They may not have kept this consequence in view under the stress of circumstances which demanded prompt and extreme measures, but they could scarcely expect that the observances of international law would be dispensed with in their case, and though the proclamation of the British government that thenceforth the Southern States of America must be regarded as a belligerent power, and ~~strict~~ neutrality must be exercised, increased the angry feeling to a pitch that led to extravagant menace, deliberate politicians on both sides, and a considerable majority in this country, felt that no other course could reasonably be adopted.

We may look for a moment at some of the conditions which had exercised an influence on public feeling in England, and they will in some degree serve to explain the differences of opinion which prevailed during the first year of the struggle between the disunited states.

The fugitive slave question had been em-

phasized by the fact that escaped negroes were assisted by the abolitionists to find a refuge in Canada, where they were safe from demands for their restoration on the authority of "state laws." In 1861 the case of John Anderson became very prominent as an example of the liberty to be attained by seeking an asylum in Canada, and at the same time illustrated with remarkable effect the evil of slavery. Anderson, a negro slave, but not without some admixture of white blood, had been brought up in the state of Missouri, where he eventually married a slave girl, from whom and from his child he was separated by being sold into a distant part of the country as though he had been a mere beast of burden, but with even less care for his wellbeing. In the year 1853, however, he escaped from the plantation to which he was sent and reappeared in the neighbourhood where his wife still lived, only to be discovered by Seneca P. Digges, a planter, who had not the slightest claim on the fugitive, but who, in order to uphold the great institution of slavery, at once volunteered a man hunt for the good of the cause, and went on Anderson's track with four slaves to help him. After having hunted their game till he became desperate, they at last came up with him, and in an evil moment Digges closed with the runaway, who, in the defence of life and liberty, stabbed his antagonist and mortally wounded him, afterwards escaping to Canada, where he lived the life of a quiet and industrious man, although his wife and child were not redeemed from the bondage which he had long been anxious to terminate, by saving a sufficient sum to purchase their freedom. Anderson was claimed by the United States government on a charge of murdering Digges, and on his trial in December, 1859, it was urged on behalf of the prisoner that he was entitled to the writ on which he was brought before the court, and, upon the return of the writ, to have the matter charged against him inquired into, that the evidence was not sufficient to put him upon trial for the crime of murder, assuming that he was entitled to the protection of British law, that a charge under the treaty should be first laid in the States, while there

was no evidence that any charge had been laid against the prisoner, that if even the court were bound to administer the law of Missouri, the evidence did not show that Missouri had power to pass such a law, inasmuch as she was but a municipality in relation to other governments, and the law was against natural justice, and that the word "murder" mentioned in the treaty meant murder according to the laws of both countries, and if not, that, both by treaty and statute, the crime and its criminality were to be determined by the laws of Canada

Anderson was brought before the Court of Common Pleas at Toronto on a writ of habeas corpus, issued by Chief-justice Draper on the 9th of April, 1861, though his extradition to the Missouri authorities had been ordered. The English court, however, granted a writ of habeas corpus on an affidavit that Anderson was illegally detained at Toronto, and the only question which it considered was whether it had jurisdiction to issue such a writ into the province of Canada. The further question of this authority was prevented, however, and the whole case was happily concluded without a prolonged discussion of the interpretation of the extradition treaty, by the issue of the writ by the Canadian Court of Common Pleas on the very day that the writ of the English court arrived at Toronto, and by the discharge of the prisoner by Chief-justice Draper for technical informality in the warrant of commitment

Chief-justice Draper, after hearing the evidence, said that it was doubtful whether the case could be decided in that term if judgment were to be given upon all the points, but that he would give the prisoner the benefit of a speedy discharge if they came to an opinion in his favour on the technical point as to the insufficiency of the commitment. An order was given for the prisoner to be brought up on the following Saturday, and when the day arrived Anderson was discharged, on the grounds that the warrant of commitment was not issued in conformity with the statute—1st, Because it did not contain a charge of murder but only of felonious homicide, whereas treaty and statute do not authorize surren-

der or committal for any homicide not expressed to be murder. 2d, That it was not expressed to be for the purpose of surrender, but only until the prisoner should be discharged by due course of law, whereas the statute requires both. No judgment was given upon the merits of the case itself. Chief-justice Draper declared that he did not see any way to the conclusion that the court could hold the case not to be within the treaty, and the act so clearly not to be murder, that there would be nothing for a jury to try, but that the court could dispose of it as a true question of law, for if there was a question of fact to be tried, he apprehended the accused must be surrendered, as such question could only be tried in the country where the fact arose. These and other similar questions were of too serious a character to be decided upon impulse or in haste, and he did not scruple to say that so long as the prisoner sustained prejudice by the delay, he desired to defer pronouncing an opinion on them. He was reluctant, on the one hand, where the accuser did not make it indispensable, to declare that each individual of the assumed number of four millions of slaves in the Southern States might commit assassination in aid of his escape on any part of his route to that province, and find impunity and shelter on his arrival there. He was reluctant, on the other hand, to admit that Great Britain had entered into treaty obligations to surrender a fugitive slave, who, as his sole means of obtaining his liberty, had shed the blood of the merciless taskmaster who held him in bondage.

This was, in fact, a back way out of a difficult position. When the case had first come before the Canadian courts, the chief-justice had construed the extradition treaty in a manner more vigorous than English lawyers believed was justifiable, by representing that as by the law homicide committed in resistance to lawful authority was murder, and that as the authority by which Digges attempted to capture Anderson was unquestionably lawful by the laws of Missouri, where the struggle took place, Anderson, though morally justified in the eye of the English law, was nevertheless guilty of the crime of murder. Happily

this legally fine-drawn distinction was not brought forward for final argument, or the extradition treaty might or should have suffered. By an adroit use of a technical objection the case was put to an end by the release of the prisoner, and everybody, except perhaps the extreme pro-slavery party, breathed more freely.

Comparatively few people in England understood that the demand for the relinquishment of Anderson as an escaped slave was made by a government controlled by Southern influence. Scarcely anybody here knew much about the working of the separate state laws in America, or the changes that would probably follow the accession to power of a strong Northern party. For some years our governments had been irritated by the overbearing tone frequently assumed by the ministers at Washington in their representations regarding England, their denunciation of English claims in Central America, and other subjects of correspondence. These things were remembered as against the government of the United States, without much distinction being made between the parties of which that government might be formed, and consequently when the representatives of the North, the antagonists of slavery, came into power, and not unreasonably looked for the sympathy and moral support of Great Britain, they had some excuse for being disappointed at finding that, on the whole, Great Britain seemed inclined to turn to them a very cold shoulder.

The truth was that half the people in England did not regard the war as one directed against slavery, but as an effort to prevent the Southern States from breaking the union. The South was the aggressor, no doubt, but there were strong surmises that it had been driven into hostilities by the same overbearing temper which had so often been displayed towards this country. Nobody seemed to reflect that these arrogant messages were sent to this country by a government favourable to Southern and not to Northern views, and as to the suppression of slavery, had not President Lincoln, in entering upon the duties of his office, said "I have no purpose, direct or indirect, to interfere with the institution of

slavery in the United States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Where was there any sign of the abolition of slavery in this declaration. Even better informed people seemed to think that the best thing the North could do was to let the Southern States go, and to take their peculiar institution with them. It was a not uncommon opinion that the Union would be broken up into various territories, under distinct and independent governments, like the countries of Europe. Another impression was that the Mississippi pretty accurately divided the free from the slaveholding states. In addition to these errors, which a reasonable amount of reflection or inquiry would have corrected, there existed a notion that the people of the Northern States were rather a crafty huckstering set, with a turn for double-dealing or talent for taking advantage. The movements of the government were therefore viewed with caution, if not with suspicion, when it came to be understood that the Northern cause was represented. Certainly there was little attempt on the part of the American cabinet to propitiate opinion in England.

When it was seen that very little sympathy could be counted on from this country, the United States government showed much asperity, although their accusations and the temper which they displayed fell far short of the animosity towards England openly avowed by the people in New York and elsewhere. Very little pains were taken on either side to restrain or to suppress expressions of feeling which were as bitter as they were ill founded, and unfortunately the policy adopted by the American government tended still more to excite the expressions of dissatisfaction with which the prosecution of the war was regarded here. Of course it was a serious misfortune that the supply of cotton should have been entirely suspended, and that the mills of Lancashire and Cheshire should be idle, the manufacturing population reduced to want, and the whole of a great staple trade paralysed, but in addition to this the American legislature had adopted a system of rigid protection which by the so-called "Morrill" Tariff

Bill almost prohibited the importation of foreign goods into America

Our trade with the Southern States, it was felt, would have been comparatively unrestricted if those states had been able to legislate for themselves. In 1860 England had sent twenty millions of exports to America, and this amount of merchandise was now to be practically excluded, or to be taxed with duties which would be prohibitory. Birmingham expected to lose £3,800,000 of her cutlery trade, South Staffordshire was in dismay. Early in March, 1861, the *Times* said

"The period between the election of the new president and the surrender of office by the old is a sort of interregnum, in which it may be said all legislative and executive activity is paralysed. But, though unable to do anything for the cause of the Union, the senate and the congress have employed the interregnum to strike a second blow at the commerce, the finance, and the general prosperity of the country infinitely more fatal than any abstraction of territory or diminution of population. They employed the last weeks of what is probably the last session of the last congress of the United States of America in undoing all the progress that has been made in the direction of free-trade, and in manacling their country once more in the fetters of a protection amounting to prohibition.

The conduct of congress on the Tariff Bill has much changed the tone of public feeling with reference to the Secessionists, and none here, even those whose sympathies are with the Northern States, attempt to justify the course which the Protectionists in congress have pursued. In Manchester the proposed increase of duties on cotton goods in the United States is causing great attention. In Newcastle it is considered that it will be impossible to do business with the United States on the terms set out in the tariff, while the business with the Southern States is described as satisfactory. In Sheffield considerable apprehension is felt as to the effect of the new tariff on the steel trade. In Wolverhampton the anticipation that the tariff has become law darkens the already gloomy prospects of the iron trade. When it is remembered that

all this ill-will and disruption of international ties and sympathies, which were becoming closer every day, and which America never needed more than now, is to be effected for no better object than that of protracting the sickly existence of an artificial manufacturing system raised and nurtured at the expense of the shipping and trade of the country, and by levying an odious tribute from all classes not concerned in manufactures, we cannot but wonder at the madness of democracy and its utter inability to apprehend and retain the most obvious principles of economical science. Protection was quite as much a cause of the disruption of the Union as slavery. In that respect it has done its worst, but it is destined, if we mistake not, to be the fruitful mother of other disruptions. What interest have the great agricultural Western States, for instance, in being made tributaries to the ironmasters of Pennsylvania or the cotton-spinners of Lowell? They will desire, as the South have desired, a direct trade with England, and the peculiar position of Canada, with its facilities of communication by lake, river, and railway, will show them the readiest means of obtaining a direct trade by a fresh separation, possibly by an amalgamation with our own colonies.

These topics are so obvious that we forbear to insist upon them, but we beg to point out, for the comfort of our own countrymen and the warning of the government of the United States, that in attempting to exclude at one blow twenty millions of exports from their territory they have undertaken a task quite beyond their power. They may, indeed, destroy their own customs revenue, they may ruin the shipping, and cripple the commerce of the towns on the Atlantic seaboard, but they cannot prevent English manufacturers from permeating the United States from one end to the other. A glance at the map is sufficient to show this. The Southern Confederacy will, of course, desire no better than to make Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans dépôts of English manufactures, to be smuggled across the long and imperceptible frontier which separates them from the United States. Nay, it is quite possible that the

great city of New York may prefer to declare itself a free port, and to become the *dépôt* of an enormous illicit traffic, rather than see its wharves rotting, its streets deserted, and its harbour empty, because a suicidal policy has driven commerce to the inferior harbours of the South. The indented coasts of the Northern States give ample opportunity for smuggling, and, what is still more important, the frontier between Canada and the Union is virtually traced by the stream of the St Lawrence and the centre of the great Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron. It is a region which might have been created for the express purpose of punishing the presumptuous folly of seeking to erect the barrier of prohibition between nations which have long enjoyed the mutual benefits of commercial intercourse. The smuggler will redress the errors of the statesman, as he has so often done before."

These representations were not calculated to allay public excitement or to increase popular feeling in favour of the North, but there were numbers of thoughtful and influential men who never wavered in their conviction that the Northern cause was worthy of the sympathy of this country. This was the view held by Mr Bright, Mr Cobden, Mr John Stuart Mill, Mr Milner Gibson, Mr Villiers, and Mr W E Forster, who represented a considerable phalanx of opinion, and on the whole the government maintained a quiet but friendly disposition, while, as we have noted, the people of the manufacturing districts, where the loss of trade was most severely felt, were still staunch in their belief that the war was a righteous one on the part of the Federal States, who had not commenced hostilities till their opponents had struck the first blow for the dissolution of the Union. Most of the unfavourable opinions expressed here, and the indiscreet manifestations made by some of those opposed to the action of the Federals, were repeated with exaggerations in America, and produced corresponding exasperation, not unaccompanied by threats. The governments of both countries had in effect to disavow and repudiate the insufferable demonstrations of ignorant partisans assuming to represent the sentiments of the majority.

The Federal government, however, was as capacious as the people were extravagantly testy, and the temper with which it persisted in regarding every expression of opinion in England was strikingly manifested by the complaints and remonstrances that were made when our government determined to recognize the South as a belligerent power, and to proclaim a strict neutrality. The Confederates had taken Fort Sumter. A vessel which, in view of the possibility of the revolt, the Federal government had sent with reinforcements, had been fired at from an island in the harbour, and then the Confederates bombarded the fort from batteries which they had erected on the mainland for the purpose. The garrison left it because they had no means of resistance, and the Confederates took possession. President Lincoln replied by his call for 75,000 men as volunteers to join the Federal forces for the purpose of re-establishing the Union.

Jefferson Davis then declared his intention to issue letters of marque, and called for 150,000 volunteers. The Southern ports were immediately placed under blockade.

The president's call for troops was enthusiastically responded to by the legislatures of the free states, New York tendering 30,000 men, instead of the 13,000 demanded, and 3,000,000 dollars. The governors of the border slave states—Kentucky, North Carolina, and Missouri—refused to respond to the president's call, North Carolina going so far as to seize all the Federal forts within her borders. Virginia declared for the secession, and closed Norfolk harbour by sinking vessels at its mouth, so as to prevent the Federal ships of war going out; and the captain of one of the ships threatened to lay the town in ruins if the obstructions were not removed. The Federal commissioners at Harper's Ferry, being pressed by 1000 Virginians, destroyed the armoury, arsenal, manufactory building, and 15,000 stands of arms. They then retired into Pennsylvania, with the loss of three men. Troops were arriving at Washington from all points; a Massachusetts regiment, when passing through Baltimore, had been attacked by the mob, and many persons were wounded and some killed. The Federal

government proclaimed that Southern privateers would be treated as pirates, and that no more arms or provisions were to be sent south. The feeling throughout the North appeared to be most enthusiastically and unanimously in favour of energetic measures against the seceders.

All these events occurred in April, and in May Lord John Russell announced to Parliament that, after taking the opinion of the law officers of the crown, the government had determined to recognize the American Confederacy as a belligerent power. The proclamation of the blockade of all ports in the seceded states meant not only war, but a war of recognized belligerent powers. The Confederates were then on the footing of regular antagonists, for it could not be maintained that a nation would blockade its own ports. Accordingly a proclamation was issued which, after noticing the fact that hostilities had unhappily commenced between the government of the United States of America and certain states "styling themselves the Confederate States of the South," strictly charged and commanded "all the loving subjects of her majesty to observe a strict neutrality in and during the aforesaid hostilities, and to abstain from violating or contravening the laws and statutes of the realm in that behalf, or the law of nations in relation thereto, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril." The proclamation next set forth *in extenso* the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819, which prohibits British subjects from engaging in the naval or military service of any foreign prince, potentate, colony, &c, without the leave and license of her majesty, from equipping or fitting out vessels for the service of any such foreign prince, potentate, colony, &c, and from adding to or increasing the warlike force of any ship or vessel of war, cruiser, or other armed vessel belonging to a foreign power which may enter the ports of this country. In order that none of her majesty's subjects might render themselves liable to the penalties imposed by the statute, the proclamation strictly commanded that no person or persons whatsoever should commit any act, matter, or thing contrary to the provisions of the said statute upon pain

of the several penalties imposed (fine and imprisonment and the confiscation of the vessels and warlike stores) and of her majesty's "high displeasure." The proclamation warned British subjects that if, in violation of their duty, they entered into the service of either of the contending parties on board a ship of war or transport, or served on board any privateer bearing letters of marque, or broke or endeavoured to break any blockade "lawfully or actually established," they would do so at their own peril, and would in no wise obtain any protection for or against any liabilities or penal consequences, but would, on the contrary, incur her majesty's high displeasure by such misconduct. There was also the usual warning against carrying officers, soldiers, despatches, arms, military stores or materials, or any article or articles considered to be contraband of war according to the law or modern usage of nations. These words were (perhaps purposely) ambiguous, because important articles which, in former contests, were of innocent use, had by the application of science become formidable implements of modern warfare, for instance, coal and the component parts of steam-engines, which never had been declared by any competent tribunal to be contraband of war.

This proclamation was definite and emphatic enough, but the North immediately resented our having recognized the position of the South as a belligerent power. It was interpreted into a hasty determination to assist and encourage rebels. Yet the law of the matter was clear, the friends of the Northern States and of the Federal government in this country were anxious that the proclamation should be issued, if only for the reason that until the South was treated as a belligerent power no nation in Europe could properly recognize the blockade of the ports of Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans. Had it been a mere closure of the ports any offender could only have been dealt with in American waters, but the proclamation of a blockade gave power to pursue an offender into the open sea. In effect the announcement of a blockade meant war instead of suppression of revolt, and our recognition of it and conse-

quent neutrality was the only proper course, and the best course for the interests of the Federal government. But our declaration of this neutrality was by implication treated as an offence throughout the long correspondence that ensued.

It required some care to prevent the controversy being distorted into an actual quarrel, for the Federals appeared to regard England as a watchful enemy, waiting to do the Union an ill-turn, or to aid in preventing its restoration. As a matter of fact the Emperor of the French, who had in his mind the ill-fated scheme for intervention in Mexico, all but openly recognized and sided with the South, and would have had us join him in interfering to secure the demands for a separation from the Union. Neither Lord Palmerston nor Lord John Russell would listen to such a proposal for a moment. Many 'advisers' were strongly in favour of our interposing to secure the independence of the Confederacy, but the government utterly refused to entertain such a notion. They knew very well what were the motives of the Federals, and they respected them, though the sudden and complete successes which followed the first prompt action of the Confederates caused them to think, as the majority of people thought, that the South would ultimately become a separate nation.

The second call for 23,000 men for the regular army, and 18,000 seamen, was made by President Lincoln immediately after the blockade; but the Confederates were equally determined, and seemed for a time to be masters of the situation. Their repeated successes had the effect of increasing the number of their admirers here, and of emphasizing the feeling of distrust and indifference towards the North, which had already been augmented by the invectives which were uttered against England by the populace in New York and many of the ill-regulated recruits of the Federal army.

Much was said on the part both of the North and the South to keep public opinion here in a ferment. Both claimed to act in accordance with right and justice. Mr Jefferson Davis stigmatized as unconstitutional the

proclamation of Mr Lincoln calling for 75,000 volunteers, and excused his own appeal for recruits to form a Confederate army by saying to his ministry —

"Deprived of the aid of congress at the moment, I was under the necessity of confirming my action to a call on the States for volunteers for the common defence. I deemed it proper further to issue a proclamation inviting application from persons disposed to aid our defence in private armed vessels on the high seas, to the end that preparations might be made for the immediate issue of letters of marque and reprisal, which you alone, under the constitution, have power to grant. I entertain no doubt you will concur with me in the opinion that, in the absence of a fleet of public vessels, it will be eminently expedient to supply their place by private armed vessels, so happily styled by the publicists of the United States 'the militia of the sea,' and so often and justly relied on by them as an efficient and admirable instrument of defensive warfare. I earnestly recommend the immediate passage of a law authorizing me to accept the numerous proposals already received."

He then went on to denounce the proclamation of a blockade, and concluded by saying —

"We feel that our cause is just and holy, we protest solemnly in the face of mankind that we desire peace at any sacrifice save that of honour and independence; we seek no conquest, no aggrandisement, no concession of any kind from the States with which we were lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone, that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, this we must, resist to the direst extremity. The moment that this pretension is abandoned the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be mutually beneficial."

At about the same time Mr. C. M. Clay, the minister of the United States in St. Petersburg, addressed a long letter to the *Times*, in which he endeavoured to correct some of the erroneous impressions which he believed to be prevalent in this country.

"What are we fighting for?" he inquired, and replying to the question declared, "We, the people of the United States of America (to use the language of our Constitution), are fighting to maintain our nationality, and the principles of liberty upon which it was founded—that nationality which Great Britain has pledged herself, both by past comity and the sacred obligations of treaty, to respect—those great principles of liberty, that all power is derived from the consent of the governed, trial by jury, freedom of speech, and the press, that 'without law there is no liberty'—which we inherited from Great Britain herself, and which, having been found to lie at the base of all progress and civilization, we desire to perpetuate for ourselves and the future of all the nations. The so-called 'Confederate States of America' rebel against us—against our nationality, and against all the principles of its structure. Citizens of the United States—of the one government (not of the Confederate States, as they would have the world believe, but of 'us the people'), they propose, not by common legal consent, but by arms, to sever our nation into separate independencies. Claiming to 'be let alone,' they conspire against us, seize by force our forts, stores, and arms, appropriate to themselves our mints, moneys, and vessels at sea, capture our armies, and threaten even the Capitol at Washington."

Mr Clay contended that the word "secession" was used to cover up treason and to delude the nations, and that the idea of "state sovereignty" was utterly delusive. The American nation had given up the old "confederation" to avoid just such complications as had occurred. The states were by the constitution deprived of all the rights of independent sovereigns, and the national government acted not through state organizations, but directly upon the citizens of the states themselves—to that highest of power, the right of life and death. The states could not keep an army or navy, or even repel invasion, except when necessity did not allow time for national action, could make no treaty, nor coin money, nor exercise any of the first great essential powers of "sovereignty." In a word, they could no more

"secede" from the Union than Scotland or Ireland could secede from England.

The Confederates, he declared, had overthrown the constitutions of the "Confederate States" themselves, refusing, in every case, to refer their new usurpations to the votes of the people, thus making themselves doubly traitors to both the states and the nation. The despotic rulers over 4,000,000 of enslaved Africans, they presumed to extend over the North, the white races of all nations, the same despotism by ignoring the political rights of all but their own class, by restrictions upon the popular franchise, by the suppression of the freedom of speech and of the press, by the terrorism of "lynch-law," or tyrannical enactments, backed by standing armies, to crush out the independence of thought, the ineradicable instincts of world-wide humanity—with the atrocious dogma that negro slavery was the only basis of real conservatism and progressive civilization, and that the true solution of the contest of all time between labour and capital was that capital should own the labourer, whether white or black.

Mr Clay confidently asserted that the Federals could subdue the revolted states. The whole seven revolted states (2,173,000) had not as much white population as the single state of New York (3,851,563) by 1,500,000 people. If all the slave states were to make common cause they had only 8,907,894 whites, with 4,000,000 slaves, while the Union had about 20,000,000 of homogeneous people, as powerful in peace and war as the world had seen. Intelligent, hardy, and "many-sided," their late apparent lethargy and weakness was the self-possession of conscious strength. When they had made up their minds that force was necessary they moved upon Washington with such speed, numbers, and steadiness as had not been surpassed in history. They had the money (at a lower rate of interest than ever before), the men, and the command of the sea and the internal waters. The North could blockade the Confederates by sea and invade them by land, and close up the rebellion in a single year if "let alone."

They did not propose to "subjugate" the revolted states, but to put down simply the

rebel citizens,—to go to the rescue of the loyal Unionists of all the states,—to carry safety, peace, and liberty to the union-loving people of the South, who would of themselves (the tyranny overthrown) send back their representatives to congress, and the Union would be “reconstructed” without a change of a letter in the constitution of the United States. Did England subjugate Ireland and Scotland? Were the united kingdoms less homogeneous than of old, before the wars against rebellion? So would the United States rise from the smoke of battle with renewed stability and power.

Then followed some questions to the British public, followed by appeals which, though doubtless meant in all sincerity, were not in the best form for impressing the national sentiment. They began well enough by saying, “We overthrow that political element in America which has all through our history been the studied denouncer and real hater of the British nation, while we have been always from the beginning the friends of England. Because, though under different forms of government, we had common sympathies and a common cause, and therefore a common interest. England was the conservator of liberty in Europe—the Old World, we are in the New. If ‘the Confederate States’ are right, then is England wrong. If slavery must be extended in America, then must England restore it in the West Indies, blot out the most glorious page of her history, and call back her freed men into chains! Let her say to the martyrs of freedom from the nations who have sought refuge and a magnanimous defence on her shores, Return to your scaffold and your prison-house, England is no more England!”

Arguing on the ground of England’s material interests, Mr. Clay said “We are her best consumer, no tariff will materially affect that fact. We are the best consumer of England, not because we are cotton-growers or cotton-spinners, agriculturists or manufacturers, but because we are producers and manufacturers, and have money to spend. It is not the South, as is urged, but the North, who are the best consumers of English com-

merce. The free white labourer and capitalist does now, and always will, consume more than the white master and the slave.

“Can England,” he continued, “afford to offend the great nation which will still be ‘the United States of America,’ even should we lose part of the South? Twenty millions of people to-day, with or without the slave states, in twenty years we will be forty millions! In another half-century we will be one hundred millions! We will rest upon the Potomac, and on the west banks of the Mississippi river, upon the Gulf of Mexico. Our railroads will run 4000 miles upon a single parallel, binding our empire, which must master the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. Is England so secure in the future against home revolt or foreign ambition as to venture, now in our need, to plant the seeds of revenge in all our future? If Ireland, or Scotland, or Wales shall attempt to secede from that beneficent government of the United Kingdom which now lightens their taxation and gives them security and respect at home and abroad, shall we enter into a piratical war with our race and ally, and capture and sell in our ports the property and endanger the lives of peaceable citizens of the British Empire all over the world? I enter not into the discussion of details. England, then, is our natural ally. Will she ignore our aspirations? If she is just, she ought not. If she is honourable and magnanimous, she cannot. If she is wise, she will not.”

This conclusion was by no means happy. It struck a wrong note in relation to the general impression then prevalent, partly because of the repeated defeats of the Federals which almost immediately followed the confident declaration that the South would be easily subdued.

An opinion prevailed in the North that privateers would be able to sell their prizes in British ports. Letters were issued from our foreign office interdicting the armed ships and privateers either of the United States or the “so-styled Confederate States of North America” from carrying prizes made by them into the ports, harbours, roadsteads, or waters of the United Kingdom or of any of our colo-

nies or possessions abroad France also held to her laws, which only allowed privateers with prizes to remain in her ports for twenty-four hours, and did not permit them to sell or dispose of prizes or cargoes

On the 17th or 18th of June (1861), both armies were in motion, and the Federals were repulsed by the Confederates, whose station they had attacked at Fort Bethel

We need not follow the various episodes of that terrible fratricidal war, nor the dread details of slaughter, the accounts of which sickened the hearts of those who read them, and left more than half the families in America to mourn their dead During the early part of the conflict the Federals suffered repeated defeats, which seemed at first to justify the opinion held here that the Northern levies were no match, as soldiers, for the Southern force The Confederate ranks were largely filled by men accustomed to out-door sports and who had leisure for learning the use of arms, and, moreover, they composed the militia of the Southern States, to whom drill and military exercises were a frequent recreation The Federals, on the other hand, were to a great extent men taken from store or office,—men engaged in trade and town life They did not at first estimate what they had to do, and it was not till the misfortunes they had sustained called out the pertinacity and determination which they afterwards displayed, that they began to reverse the disasters of the first campaigns, and to follow up the subsequent successes until the Union was restored and slavery abolished In July, 1861, the Federals attempted to advance upon Richmond in Virginia, which had become the Southern or Confederate capital, and at a place called Bull Run, or Manassas Junction, they suffered a severe defeat, almost at the very beginning of hostilities On their side about 18,000 men were engaged, the greater part of them being raw recruits under the command of General M'Dowall Two of the regiments whose term of service had expired a few hours before insisted on being discharged, and fell to the rear at the commencement of the action The conduct of the Federal troops was not very admirable, and they were en-

tirely broken and scattered, their defeat ending in flight They returned to Washington with a loss of 19 officers and 462 men killed, and 64 officers and 947 men wounded, while the Confederate loss was comparatively trifling The appearance of the fugitive regiments in the streets of the capital created intense excitement, and it was feared that the Confederates, following up the advantage, would march thither This, however, they were not able to accomplish It may be said that this defeat had the effect of intensifying the determination of the Federal government From that time for three years President Lincoln and his colleagues repeatedly called out fresh levies, and announced their determination to devote all the resources of the country to the maintenance of the Union and the reclamation of the rebellious states The victory of the Confederates was received in England, if not with general satisfaction, with something too much like noisy applause, in which was mingled admiration for the victors and a certain disdain for the vanquished The brave little army of the South had beaten the larger forces that had been called together to force them to obedience The side which it was supposed had been most ready to "bounce," and had used threatening language and offensive innuendo towards England had shown the white-feather This was the view which was most loudly, and, as it appeared, most generally expressed, and such comments took a tone that had in it something of exultation Happily the Federal government in America had in Mr Lincoln a chief of penetrating sagacity and plain common sense, and our own ministers were equally able to distinguish between a temporary ebullition of popular opinion and the duties that belonged to the administration of the affairs of the country Both Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell firmly resisted any suggestion that would have led to our interposition on behalf of Confederate independence

At the same time there was great exasperation of feeling on each side, for in America the abuse of England was both loud and deep In the early part of November (1861), an

event occurred which at first seemed likely to lead to more serious consequences than the mere interchange of invective during a time of ignorant excitement

The Confederate leaders, encouraged, doubtless, by their recognition as the government of a belligerent power, had appointed two commissioners to represent them,—one at the English and the other at the French court

Mr Mason was accredited to England, and Mr Shidell to France, and they were accompanied by their secretaries, Mr M'Farland and Mr Eustis. Mr W L Yancey had already been in Europe as the advocate of the doctrine of state sovereignty, and Mr Thurlow Weed was then, or soon afterwards, in London for the purpose of representing the case of the North before public opinion here, as Mr Clay had already endeavoured to do

Mr Shidell, the envoy accredited to Paris, was a Southern lawyer, and Mr Mason was said to be the author of the fugitive slave law, which had been so effectual in arousing the opposition of the Abolitionists in the border states. They were sent to Europe to endeavour to obtain the official recognition of the French and English courts, and had run the blockade from Charleston to Cardenas in Cuba in the Confederate steamer *Nashville*, escaping the Federal vessels which were on the look-out to prevent them from reaching a neutral port. The Federals knew well enough of the intention to send these gentlemen and their secretaries to Europe, and understood their purpose in coming hither, but, notwithstanding the vigilance of the watch kept on Charleston they contrived to reach the Havana and to take their passage on board the English mail-steamer *Trent*. It happened, however, that the United States sloop of war, the *San Jacinto*, was returning from the African coast, and her commander, Captain Wilkes, heard that the Confederate envoys were endeavouring to embark for Europe. Wilkes was one of those hot-headed indiscreet men who are not to be depended on when judgment is required, and he probably thought it would be a fine stroke of patriotism to "beard the British lion," as his admirers afterwards phrased it when ex-

tolling his exploit. At all events he fell in with the *Trent* on the afternoon of the 8th of November, and without showing any colours hove to ahead. The *Trent* hoisted her ensign, but it was not responded to, and as she went nearer, the stranger fired a round shot across her bows and showed American colours. The engines of the *Trent* were slowed, and she was still approaching when the other vessel fired a shell close across her bows. She then stopped, and an officer with an armed guard of marines boarded her and demanded a list of the passengers, which demand being refused, the officer said he had orders to arrest Mr Mason, Mr Shidell, Mr M'Farland, and Mr Eustis, and that he had sure information of their being passengers in the *Trent*. The commander of the *Trent* declining to satisfy him whether such passengers were on board or not, Mr Shidell stepped forward and announced that the four persons named were then standing before him under British protection, and that if they were taken on board the *San Jacinto* they must be taken *vi et armis*. The commander of the *Trent* and Commander Williams, who was on board, protested against the demands of the captain of the *San Jacinto* as an act of piracy which they had no means of resisting, as the American vessel was on their port beam, 200 yards off, her ship's company at quarters, ports open, and tampions out. Remonstrance was unavailing. The commissioners and their secretaries were forcibly carried off, such necessary luggage as they required being sent to them, and it was then demanded that the commander of the *Trent* should go on board the *San Jacinto*. This he positively refused to do unless he should be forcibly compelled, and the demand was not insisted on. The ships then parted company, and the *Trent* proceeded on her voyage to St Thomas.

When the intelligence reached England it produced immense excitement. The act of Captain Wilkes was clearly illegal, and it was regarded as an outrage, a deliberate insult to the country. A cabinet council was held and despatches were prepared, the conciliatory form of which was to some extent determined by the advice of Prince Albert, whose draft

of the representations to be made to the Federal government was one of the latest duties with which he was occupied shortly before his death. The despatch said that the seizure on board the *Trent* was an act of violence, a breach of international law, and an insult to the British flag; but it went on—"Her majesty's government, bearing in mind the friendly relations which have long subsisted between Great Britain and the United States, are willing to believe that the United States naval officer who committed this aggression was not acting in compliance with any authority from his government, or that, if he conceived himself to be so authorized, he greatly misunderstood the instructions which he had received. For the government of the United States must be fully aware that the British government could not allow such an affront to the national honour to pass without full reparation, and her majesty's government are unwilling to believe that it could be the deliberate intention of the government of the United States unnecessarily to force into discussion between the two governments a question of so grave a character, and with regard to which the whole British nation would be sure to entertain such unanimity of feeling.

"Her majesty's government therefore trust that, when this matter shall have been brought under the consideration of the United States, that government will of its own accord offer to the British government such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation, namely, the liberation of the four gentlemen and their delivery to your lordship, in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed."

The proceeding of Captain Wilkes was regarded here as a deliberate affront to Great Britain, sanctioned if not directed by the Federal government in America, and the temper displayed on the other side gave some justification of this opinion and of the bitter resentment which accompanied it.

Mr Seward, the secretary of state of the Federal government, was fond of discussing and orating, and in his reply to the despatch insisted on arguing the question before con-

senting to liberate the prisoners. He asked, Were the persons named and their supposed despatches contraband of war? Might Captain Wilkes lawfully stop and search the *Trent* for these contraband persons and despatches? Did he exercise the right in a lawful and proper manner? Having found the contraband persons on board, and in presumed possession of the contraband despatches, had he a right to capture their persons? Did he exercise that right of capture in a manner observed and recognized by the law of nations? This was grave trifling, but Mr Seward answered all the questions in the affirmative, admitting, however, two special difficulties against his case, namely, the want of specific instructions to the commander of the *San Jacinto* by his government, and his permitting the *Trent* to proceed on her voyage after he had satisfied himself that she was carrying contraband of war. On these grounds Mr Seward was ready to agree to the release of the prisoners. This kind of concession was irritating, and it was still believed that Captain Wilkes had acted under the direct or implied sanction of his government.

It was afterwards reported that General Scott, who was in Paris, had declared that instructions had been given to Capt Wilkes by his government, and whether this report was true or not, it is quite certain that the captain of the *San Jacinto* was made a hero at two or three mass meetings, and what was worse, the secretary of the navy had commended his action, and he had received a vote of thanks from the House of Representatives at Washington.

Our legal authorities declared that a breach of international law had been committed. Another despatch had been sent to Lord Lyons that if at the end of seven days no answer was given to the representations of our government, or if any other answer was given than that of compliance with their demands, he was to leave Washington with all the members of his legation, bringing with him the archives of the legation, and to come immediately to London. There was a very painful impression here, even among many who were in sympathy with the Northern States, that

the Federal government was taking a course calculated to provoke hostilities on the part of England, and that the demonstrations against this country made by a strong and turbulent party in America might carry the ministry there to acts of aggression or defiance which must lead to farther complications. To thoughtful men on both sides war between Britain and the Federal States would be scarcely less horrible or less fratricidal than the conflict already going on between North and South, and, though with perhaps too suggestive promptitude, it was decided to despatch troops to the number of 8000 to Canada, and it was argued that this step was necessary to show that we were in earnest in our representations,—a great load of anxiety was felt to have been removed when Mr Seward's reply was received, in a long and rather circumlocutory despatch, containing the satisfactory declaration that Captain Wilkes had acted without authority, and that the four persons taken from the *Trent* should "be cheerfully liberated."

The conclusion was an equitable one, and it should not be forgotten that the concession had to be made at a most critical juncture, when the Federal reverses had made the position of the government extremely difficult, and the popular ferment against England for her supposed sympathy and support of the Confederates was almost uncontrollable.

Whatever may have been the mistaken estimate of English feeling on the part of American agitators, it could not be denied that the prompt declaration of neutrality by our government had secured the Northern States against a probable French intervention on behalf of the South, while other states of Europe had followed our example. The foreign envoys at Washington were now, in obedience to their governments, earnest in their representations to Mr Seward that he could not consistently with international law refuse to comply with the demands made by Great Britain.

Even before the prompt declaration sent by the Emperor of the French to Washington, M. Mercier, the French minister, had spoken to Mr Seward in the same sense. On the

23d of December Lord Lyons wrote to Earl Russell "M. Mercier went, of his own accord, to Mr Seward the day before yesterday, and expressed strongly his own conviction that the choice lay only between a compliance with the demands of England and war. He begged Mr Seward to dismiss all idea of assistance from France, and not to be led away by the vulgar notion that the emperor would gladly see England embroiled with the United States in order to pursue his own plans in Europe without opposition."

This was a curiously worded communication when it is read side by side with an intimation by Lord Palmerston to the queen that he had been credibly informed that General Scott, while in Paris, had let it be understood that he was commissioned to propose to France to join the Northern States against England, in which event the French province of Canada would be restored to the empire. "General Scott," added the jaunty premier, "will probably find himself much mistaken as to the success of his overtures, for the French government is more disposed towards the South than the North, and is probably thinking more about cotton than about Canada." Whatever truth or falsehood there may have been in the rumour about General Scott, Lord Palmerston was right in his conclusion. General Scott may have been a political Captain Wilkes, assuming an authority for which he had no warrant, and this seems probable from the attitude preserved towards England by President Abraham Lincoln. He, as well as other sagacious leaders in the Northern States, must have seen that the British government was acting loyally in declaring the South to be a belligerent and announcing complete neutrality. We needed cotton as much as France did. A whole manufacturing industry in England was paralysed—a whole population in deep distress for the want of it, and, in addition to this, the Southern States would have maintained free-trade with England, and the North had imposed duties many of which were almost prohibitive in relation to English commerce. Mr Lincoln recognized this, and with his clear good sense also saw that to persist in supporting the action of Captain

Wilkes would be inconsistent. The claim of right of search in free ports had been abandoned in all civilized states, and the United States governments had been specially active in abolishing it. "This is the very thing the British captains used to do," said Mr. Lincoln. "They claimed the right of searching American ships and carrying men out of them. That was the cause of the war of 1812. Now we cannot abandon our own principles. We shall have to give these men up, and apologize for what we have done."

Happily the terms of the despatches from England were, as Mr. Seward said, courteous and friendly, not dictatorial nor menacing, and the task of reconciling his government to a pacific course was therefore the easier. The commissioners and the secretaries were liberated, and were sent to this country in a British man-of-war. It was no long time since international courtesies had been exchanged—the eldest son of the queen had been welcomed with enthusiasm in the States, and England was grateful. In the despatch itself the real horror which would be felt at the approach of hostilities between the two countries was suggested. But though this feeling was general, there was still a strong party on each side which maintained a hostile attitude by respectively abusing England and speaking with dislike, if not with contempt, of the Northern States of America, while certain newspapers on both sides accentuated the invective and helped to maintain the ill-feeling.

Sir Stafford Northcote had been one of the longest if not one of the most effective speakers against the budget of 1861, and though he had apparently not forgotten that he was once private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, and always spoke of the chancellor of the exchequer as "my right honourable friend," he persisted in contending that the calculations for the financial year would be fallacious. On this occasion Sir Stafford Northcote may be said to have first come prominently to the front and to have achieved decided success as a parliamentary speaker, though he was already known as an authority in figures, for he had sat, as it were, at the feet of the great Gama-

hel of finance. Mr. Disraeli said that the chief credit of the debate on the opposition side belonged to Sir Stafford Northcote, and doubtless the attack on the budget was sharp and the arguments against it were carefully arranged, but we have seen how the measure passed, and the paper duties were abandoned in spite of the forebodings of those who deplored the tendency to remove all taxes on cheap newspapers, and who, not having altered their views as Mr. Gladstone had altered his, still regarded such imposts as necessary, or at least desirable, for "preventing the circulation of bad matter," a result, by the by, which the old oppressive taxes on cheap publications had never effected, as could be shown by turning to the files (if any exist) of many scandalous periodicals issued between the years 1830 and 1850. When the budget for 1862 was brought forward both Mr. Disraeli and Sir Stafford Northcote were ready to renew the attack. That budget, though not so elaborate as the preceding one, was, like some of its predecessors, a remarkable exposition of the resources of the country and of a scheme for providing an adequate revenue notwithstanding adverse circumstances and an expenditure, some items of which, like the sum spent for fortifications, had not been approved by the chancellor of the exchequer.

The civil war in America had already begun to make its effects felt. In the first quarter of the year our exports to the States had diminished from £21,667,000 to £9,058,000, being a difference of no less than £12,609,000. There had been great distress, enforced idleness, and a consequent enormous loss of production. The harvest of 1861 had been deficient in quantity, and the winter of 1860 had been one of such severity that the distress in London and our large towns strained the provisions of the poor-law beyond their ordinary limits, and at last, so far as London was concerned, almost caused a break-down in the system, which had to be largely supplemented by private charity and public subscription. All these causes operated to diminish the revenue, and yet so successful had been the financial operations of the previous year and the working of the commercial treaty with

France, that the revenue showed an increase of £2,000,000. While our trade with the United States had seriously diminished, that with France had increased in a single year from £2,190,000 to £6,910,000. Unfortunately there had been a nearly corresponding increase of expenditure. The chancellor of the exchequer announced that the real expenditure of the past year was much greater than the estimate by means of supplementary grants in 1861 and 1862, principally in reference to the despatch of troops to Canada and a small amount to China; so that the actual expenditure of the past year was £70,878,000. The total expenditure of the year 1860-61 was £72,504,000. The revenue of the past year was £69,670,000. This was a decrease, taking into account circumstances connected with the financial year, of £809,000. This must be considered satisfactory, when it was remembered that in 1861-62 they had parted with three items of revenue—by reducing the income-tax 1*d* in the pound, making £850,000, the paper duty, involving a loss on the last six months of the financial year of £665,000, while no malt credit had been taken up, as was the case in 1860-61 to the extent of £1,122,000. It was not a fact that the revenue was declining. In the customs, on the first three quarters of last year there was an increase of £468,000, but in the last quarter there had been a decrease of £100,000. Yet although the gross revenue had fallen off by £609,000, the customs had exceeded the estimate by £464,000, the stamps by £130,000, taxes by £10,000, the income-tax by £15,000, and the miscellaneous by £81,000. In the excise there had been a falling-off amounting to £456,000, there had been a loss on spirits, hops, and paper. With regard to the estimates, that of the China indemnity, which had been placed at £750,000 had only realized £478,000 up to September, but when the two quarters due in March were paid there would be a gross receipt of £658,000. There were other deductions which would make the whole sum actually received this year from this source only £266,000. The total estimate of expenditure was £70,040,000, the estimated total revenue would be £70,190,000. There

was no prospect of the remission of taxes, but rather of heavy expenditure which would make additional taxation necessary. The total result of the treaty of commerce, including the increase in foreign and colonial exports, showed an amount of £10,000,000. The government had determined to do without a surplus, and to impose no new taxes, reserving to themselves the privilege of taking the necessary steps to meet any contingency which might arise. There could be no remission of taxes, but the burden of the country would be lighter by £600,000 or £700,000. Demands had been made on the government by various interests, to which Mr Gladstone referred, but it was proposed to make some changes in other matters. The increased sobriety of the people and a diminished power of consumption had caused some falling off in the estimated amount derived from the spirit duties, and it was not proposed to touch them. The sugar duties being classified duties were unequal in their pressure; but the difficulties of removing this classification were so great that no change could be effected without a complete inquiry into the subject, and he would consequently be prepared to assent to a committee for the purpose. With regard to the malt credits, no case for a change had been made out, and an alteration would deprive the revenue of £1,300,000 a year. The minor duties on exports and imports, while entailing an amount of labour in collection which gave them a claim to repeal, yet amounted to £182,000, and with a surplus of £150,000 it was not possible to deal with them, besides which they afforded a means to the Board of Trade of obtaining valuable statistical information. But he was willing to grant an inquiry into the subject. With regard to the wine duties, there was a favourable increase in the trade; but on the whole it was determined to retain what was called the alcoholic test, but altering and modifying it by reducing the four scales to two, admitting all wines from 18 to 26 degrees of alcohol at a duty of 1*s*, while from 26 to 42 the scale would be raised from 2*s* 5*d*. to 2*s* 6*d*., and above 45 an additional duty of 3*d*. on every additional rise of strength. This would yield

a net gain of £15,000 a-year to the revenue. Coming to the hop duties the chancellor of the exchequer announced that it was not possible to surrender duties which yielded £300,000 a-year on the average. He proposed, however, to do something in the way of commutation by readjusting the system of brewers' licenses and including in them a charge for the hop duty, while, at the same time, relief would be given to smaller brewers in respect of the charge for their licenses. The result of this plan would be to secure to the revenue nearly as much duty as now, while it would cause a complete free trade in home and foreign hops. The customs and excise duty on hops would be repealed from next September; and it was also proposed, as regarded private brewers, to exempt from license all brewing carried on by the labouring classes. By this financial operation there would be a loss to the revenue of £45,000.

These being the proposals of the government, Mr Gladstone reviewed the financial results of the past three years. He pointed out that it was an error to suppose that the public expenditure was still growing, for that of 1861 was less than that of 1860, while in the year ensuing there was a decrease in the estimates of over £700,000. Putting aside new items of expenditure which had never been included in the estimates before, the actual diminution was £1,700,000. But the level of our expenditure still demanded attention, for it was a higher level than could be borne with comfort and satisfaction by the people, or than was compatible with a sound condition of finance. The growth of expenditure was partly owing to the growing wants of the country, then to a sense of insecurity which had prevailed in the country, next to the influence of the establishments and expenditure of other nations, and lastly, to special demands which had arisen out of exigencies which had sprung up—demands which were in substance, and in everything except the name, war demands. "With respect to the state of establishments and expenditure abroad," said Mr Gladstone, "I do not know whether honourable members, in their perusal of the journals and in their observation of the condition of other countries,

have fully comprehended what a race the governments of the world are running, and at what a fearful pace outside of England national obligations are now in course of accumulation." Nearly all countries were in the same predicament, and the only flourishing budget he had seen was that of the Ottoman Empire. During the last twenty years France had added 250 millions to her debt, of which 180 millions was not attributable to war expenditure. Austria and Russia had added to their debts, and the financial year of 1861 alone had added to the state debts of all the great countries 200 millions of money. England had not added to her debt, but among extraordinary expenses there was the cost of the war with China, which had been £7,054,000. In the last three years, what might be called war expenditure, including China, New Zealand, and the despatch of troops to North America, was £8,600,000. To meet this extraordinary expenditure the income-tax had risen since 1859 by three millions, and, including the spirit duties and other imposts, there had been taxes imposed exceeding five millions. The taxes reduced or abolished amounted to over four millions. Their extraordinary resources were now at an end, and if they looked into the future, and asked themselves how provision was to be made for it, they must make their reckoning without these resources. About eleven millions had been devoted in the last three years to extraordinary expenditure, of which six millions had been met by extraordinary resources, and five millions by taxes drawn from the people. As regarded the revenue it had increased since 1858-59 by upwards of four millions in 1861-62. We had passed through exceptional years without going into the market for loans, but, as he had remarked, all other extraordinary resources were now exhausted, and to meet casualties which might occur it was only to ordinary sources of revenue we had to look, and any difficulty which might be anticipated was only to be met by the application of the principles of true and strict economy.

The budget was attacked by Mr Disraeli with his wonted vigour. He accused Mr. Gladstone of profusion, of having by the re-

peal of the paper duty sacrificed a surplus of a million and a half for the sake of a barren triumph over the upper house. He had calculated his loss at £655,000, when it was £850,000. "The right honourable gentleman," he said, "never proposes a vote—and it falls to him to propose the most profuse votes that any minister in time of peace ever brought forward—he never does this without an intimation that he does not sanction in his heart the expenditure he recommends. How is it that the party which preaches retrenchment and reduction—who believe all our estimates, especially the naval and military estimates, are much too extravagant—who are opposed to fortifications, and who do not much like iron ships—how is it that this party always support a minister who is bringing forward these excessive estimates and who provides for this enormous expenditure? Well, that is a great question. This at least we know, that while the spendthrift is weeping over pence—while this penurious prodigal is proposing this enormous expenditure—he always contrives to repeal some tax to gratify the interests or prejudices of the party of retrenchment. No wonder, then, we hear no longer the same character of the income-tax, no wonder we are no longer reminded of that compact entered into by the house and accepted by the country for its gradual and permanent abolition. Unless the house expresses, on a fitting occasion, its opinion, there is very little hope of our obtaining any redress in this respect.

Who will deny that this position of affairs is peculiar and perilous? I remember some years ago, when the right honourable gentleman was at the head of a small party, not then absorbed in the gulf of Liberalism, that we heard much prattle about political morality. What then most distinguished the right honourable gentleman and his friends was their monopoly of that admirable quality. They were perpetually thanking God that they were not as other men, and always pointing their fingers at those unfortunate wights who sat opposite to them. Now we see the end of 'political morality.' We see the position to which political morality has brought the finances of a great nation. I denounce this system

as one detrimental to the character of public men, and most injurious to the fortunes of the realm."

This was a telling example of what was regarded as a "damaging speech" from the leader of the opposition, but it had no very damaging effect, for the house knew pretty well that Gladstone *had* objected to the fortification scheme, and had spoken with no uncertain and no insincere voice against the growing tendency to increased expenditure. It was for this reason that the party of retrenchment trusted him, for they knew that if the time should come when retrenchment could be practised, he would be able to use his extraordinary financial skill to secure the results to which he had declared he looked forward with anxiety. No very lengthy reply was needed. After having answered some of these representations of his opponent, Mr. Gladstone reminded his hearers that the repeal of the paper duty was said to be an improvident proposal, yet the opponents of that measure proposed to part with £950,000 of tea duty, which would have been so much addition to the alleged deficiency. He was well content to be called by Mr. Disraeli the most profuse chancellor of the exchequer on record. He was satisfied to bear any epithets of vituperation he had already produced or might produce on a future occasion. It was not difficult to bear the abuse of the right honourable gentleman when he remembered that far better men than himself had had to suffer it. But he should be still more content if the effect of his opponent's speech was such as to bring the house and the country to a due sense of the gravity of the financial situation, and the necessity for a reduction of expenditure. With regard to the income-tax, he did not desire that it should be permanent, and if the country could be governed by something about £60,000,000 it could be done without—but it could not be abolished with an expenditure of £70,000,000. He did not yet despair of reduction and retrenchment, though he did not look forward to sweeping reductions.

To Sir Stafford Northcote, who had risen early to oppose his financial proposals, he had already made a reply, in which he had said

he did not deny his responsibility as chancellor of the exchequer, but it was not quite so extensive as the honourable baronet had represented it. He was not responsible for the estimates in every department of the government. If he were, the heads of those departments might be abolished altogether. His duty was to see that there was no lavish expenditure of the public money when he had it in his power to prevent it. He had never denied the responsibility of the house or the government. On the contrary, he had always asserted it. The complaints out of doors about taxation were so great that the question required the serious attention of Parliament. To this Mr Gladstone added that he had to provide £70,000,000 in a time of peace, and he believed that when the right honourable gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote), or the right honourable gentleman by his side (Mr Disraeli), took his place they would be able to do it.

Sir Stafford Northcote, who was acknowledged by competent judges to be the rising man, steadily climbing upward to the future chancellorship of the exchequer, had been, as we have seen, private secretary to Mr Gladstone when that gentleman was president of the Board of Trade under Sir Robert Peel in 1843-45. His ancestor was Sir John Northcote, who wrote certain notes on the Long Parliament. Sir Stafford entered the house as member for Dudley in 1855, but in 1857 did not venture to oppose the numbers who had evidently determined to vote for Mr Henry Brinsley Sheridan the Radical candidate, and so vacated his seat, to be returned in the following year for Stamford. He came to Parliament with a reputation already established, and in 1859 he was appointed financial secretary to the treasury. Associated with several philanthropic and educational movements and justly regarded as eminently trustworthy, he possessed both taste and aptitude for figures, and his friends were not slow in assigning to him the chancellorship of the future. It was said by others that he was more fitted for an actuary or manager of a great bank. These underrated his abilities, probably because he was a monotonous and prosaic speaker, though he was ready and even fluent. At

that time he seemed to have but a small horizon, his views were not extensive enough for a chancellor of the exchequer who had to compete with Gladstone, but he had a certain determination of manner, and was a clear financial critic, in fact was much more skilled in minute anatomy of an opponent's statements than in constructing any broad and effective scheme of his own. In 1861 Sir Stafford Northcote was returned for North Devon, and by that time he had completely gained the respect of the house no less for his honourable integrity than for the practical ability which he afterwards had an opportunity of displaying as secretary for the Board of Trade.

Notwithstanding the distress which had been felt in London in the previous year, and which was still prevailing in the cotton manufacturing districts, and in spite of some of those signs of want and discontent which took the ultimate form of outrages by those men who sought to carry out the decisions of trades-unions by physical force, the destruction of machinery, and dangerous or even murderous assaults upon fellow-labourers who chose to work without the control of their society, the general prosperity of the country was promising. The death of the Prince Consort had, as we have seen, cast a gloom upon the project for repeating in 1862 the experiment of a great international exhibition similar to that of 1851, but the scheme was not suffered to fall through, and his valuable aid had at least been secured for its inception and the settlement of many of the primary arrangements. Early in 1861 the site of the building had been chosen. It was a large space of ground in front of and inclosing the grounds of the Horticultural Society, and upon the Kensington Gore estate, which was purchased out of the funds arising from the first exhibition. The ground was bounded by four roads. Cromwell Road forming its southern limit, Exhibition Road its eastern, Kensington Road its northern, and Prince Alfred Road its western. The area was much larger than that of the former building in Hyde Park. The length of the space under glass there was 1848 feet and its breadth 408, with

48 feet additional for machinery, or, with the galleries, about 1,000,000 feet of flooring space. The building of 1862 was about half as large again, and this increase was rendered necessary, not only because of the expectation of increased exhibits from various parts of England, but in view of the applications likely to be made by France and our colonies.

The design of the building as furnished by Captain Fowke, R.E., differed essentially from those of the former "Crystal Palace." The main walls were of brick up to 60 feet, and though iron and glass formed a considerable portion of the structure, much of the lighting was by means of clerestories through a solid and compact roof. This was necessarily the case in the fine art department, as it had been found that the iron and glass roofs did not give complete security against damp, and as loan collections of valuable paintings, including some of the art treasures from the Manchester exhibition of the previous year, and a number of priceless examples of the works of the great painters of the century, from all countries, were to be included, it was necessary to adopt adequate means for their protection. Five noblemen and gentlemen were appointed under the original patent of incorporation to take the direction, namely, Earl Granville, Mr. Wentworth Dilke, the Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P., and Mr. Thomas Fairbairn, and they were left to seek efficient advice and assistance in carrying out the work.

During the latter part of the time that the building was approaching completion, and even at the opening ceremony and for a little while after the exhibition was inaugurated, the scheme met with considerable disparagement. There were constant objections to the site, to the style of the building, and to the supposed inferiority of its contents to those of the first great "world's fair" of 1851. People shook their heads sagaciously to emphasize the opinion that one can never repeat a great success. Others said the structure resembled a factory or a gigantic warehouse, and prophesied that its contents could not be properly exhibited even if they were worth seeing. Again during the first days of imper-

fect arrangement it was currently declared that the place was only a gigantic bazaar for the display of the goods of enterprising, or rather advertising, tradesmen.

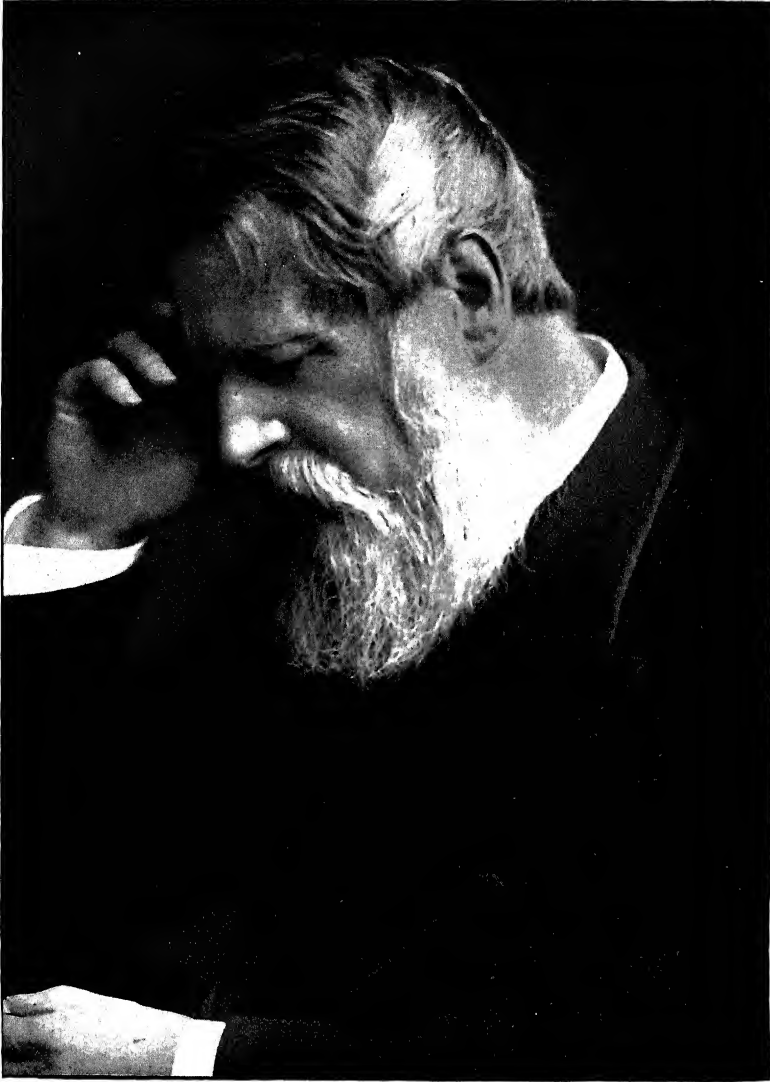
The commissioners might well have been daunted, but the money was forthcoming, the building was completed by the stipulated time, and though the unpromising prospects of its success seemed likely to be confirmed because of the mourning into which the queen was plunged by the death of the prince, whose name and prestige it was believed would carry it into public favour, and the opening ceremony was unattended by the pomp and celebration of a royal inauguration, the truth at last dawned upon the public mind that as a real international exhibition it was superior to its predecessor not only in the variety of the display, but in the evidences which it contained of the progress made in arts, manufactures, and inventions during the eleven years that had elapsed.

Unfortunately there were small quarrels and jealousies among the proposed directors of the musical performance at the opening ceremony, and Mr. Costa having objected to conduct the cantata, or whatever it was called, composed by Professor Bennett to the words of the poet laureate, went off in a sulk, and Mr. Santon was invited to take his place. The following were the words:—

Uplift a thousand voices, full and sweet,
In this wide hall with earth's inventions stored,
And praise th' invisible universal Lord,
Who lets once more in peace the nations meet,
Where Science, Art, and Labour have outpour'd
Their myriad horns of plenty at our feet

O, silent father of our Kings to be,
Mourn'd in this golden hour of jubilee,
For this, for all, we weep our thanks to thee!

The world-compelling plan was thine,
And, lo! the long laborious miles
Of Palace, lo! the giant aisles,
Rich in model and design,
Harvest-tool and husbandry,
Loom, and wheel, and engin'ry,
Secrets of the sullen mine,
Steel and gold, and corn and wine;
Fabric rough or fairy fine,
Sunny tokens of the Line,
Polar marvels, and a feast
Of wonder, out of West and East,
And shapes and hues of part divine!
All of beauty, all of use,
That one fair planet can produce,



STAFFORD HENRY NORTHCOTE
FIRST EARL OF IDDESLEIGH

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE LONDON STEREOSCOPIC COMPANY

Brought from under every star,
 Blown from over every man,
 And mixt, as life is mixt with pain,
 The works of peace with works of war
 O ye, the wise who think, the wise who reign,
 From growing commerce loose her latest chain,
 And let the fair white-winged peacemaker fly
 To happy havens under all the sky,
 And mix the seasons and the golden hours,
 Till each man finds his own in all men's good,
 And all men work in noble brotherhood,
 Breaking their mailed fleets and armed towers,
 And ruling by obeying nature's powers,
 And gathering all the fruits of peace and crown'd
 with all her flowers

On the 1st of May the exhibition was opened, and though her majesty was not present, an imposing pageant passed in procession through the building, consisting of civic dignitaries, foreign ambassadors, including the Japanese envoys, and her majesty's ministers, who met to receive the commissioners, who presented an address to the Duke of Cambridge. His royal highness represented the queen on the occasion, and after the formal procession declared the exhibition open in her majesty's name.

It may be mentioned here that it remained open until the 1st of November, when it was computed that the total number of visitors had been 6,117,450, or about 50,000 fewer than the gross number of visitors to the exhibition of 1851, but it must be remembered that the condition of the people in some of our large centres of industry accounted for some falling off, and probably there were fewer foreign visitors, though the foreign exhibitors numbered 16,456 against 6566 in 1851. A contemporary account of the building and its contents, touching upon the evidences of progress witnessed in the various departments, remarked —

“‘It is only eleven years since the last exhibition,’ some people may say, ‘and eleven years hence there will be still more to see.’ When there will be another exhibition is a question which depends upon persons and things far beyond our ken or control, but if time be measured by improvement or by mere change, then these last eleven years have been twenty-two. Since the last exhibition there have come up the Armstrong gun, the Enfield rifle, and iron-plated ships,

several new gold-fields, with a proportionate development of the colonies, the opening of China and Japan, the example of the Manchester exhibition, leading to our new picture-gallery; the addition of Rome and Naples to the list of exhibitors, a greatly increased rivalry in glass, in porcelain, in iron, in paper, in furniture, in jewelry, and many other things. Onyx marble has been discovered. Machinery has been applied to many purposes hitherto left to unassisted hand labour. Mediæval architecture has fairly taken root in the national mind. Our ships of war are doubling their tonnage, fining their lines, and thickening their iron coats. Photography, the electric telegraph, and instruments for measuring and recording meteorological changes have made a great start. All the nations of the earth are interchanging their productions much more freely than eleven years ago. Corn, wine, and oil are more abundant, and come here in greater varieties. The wealth of the world has increased, and the exhibitors have better hope of turning their pains to good account than they had eleven years ago. All these differences in the comparison of the two periods have told on the exhibition, and made it in all respects vastly larger and more beautiful than that of 1851. It has suffered some sad blows, but they are from without rather than within. The loss of its great patron and promoter seemed at first hardly possible to get over. A still deeper wound has been struck at its success by the distress of the manufacturing districts. But whoever can visit it, even at a cost of time and money somewhat beyond his wont, will find that he has no reason to regret an expenditure which teaches him more than books and companions, and places him, as it were, in the front rank of the world's material progress and outward civilization.”

The distress in Lancashire had indeed become very serious long before the Great Industrial Exhibition was closed, and it continued for a long time afterwards, but the attitude of the suffering cotton operatives was one of courageous endurance, such as elicited the admiration not only of their countrymen, but of all Europe and of the Americans themselves.

On the 19th of January, 1863, Mr President Lincoln, in reply to an address from the working men of Manchester, who had sent to him a declaration of their hatred of slavery, said "I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the working men at Manchester and in all Europe are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempts to overthrow this government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favour of Europe. Through the action of our disloyal citizens the working men of Europe have been subjected to a severe trial for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under these circumstances I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country." Before the end of that year the price of middling New Orleans cotton in Liverpool was $29\frac{1}{2}d$ per lb. In 1854 the rate of the same quality of cotton had been $5d$ per lb. During 1861 the quotations had continued to average $11\frac{7}{8}d$ per lb, and in 1862 it had been $24\frac{1}{2}d$. Of course the high price in 1863 meant no supplies, and though efforts had been made to bring cargoes from Egypt, and the crops in India were looked forward to with such anxiety that a consignment of Surat was received with joyful manifestations, there was never enough to give good hope of resuming work except on very short time in a limited number of mills.

The provisions made for the relief of the families of the Lancashire operatives were continued. In July, 1862, Mr Villiers, president of the Board of Trade, brought in a bill enabling every parish overburdened with local distress to claim a contribution from the common fund of the union, and in committee an addition was made enabling the unions to raise money by loan, or to resort to a rate in aid whenever the expenditure of a union exceeded 3s in the pound. A Lancashire relief fund was also started, with an executive committee properly appointed. According to a statement made by Mr Wilson Patten in the House of

Commons the contributions to the fund in April, 1863, had shown the results of the munificent liberality of the nation. There had been collected by the Central Relief Committee £959,000, in clothing and provisions to the value of £108,000, subscriptions from different localities, £306,000, private charity, £200,000, Mansion-house committee, £482,000, poor-law board, £680,000—in all a total of £2,735,000, of which £1,480,000 had been contributed by the county of Lancaster, so determined was the courage and independence of the people there. It may well be understood that though this large sum had been received, and that the balance then in hand for continued distribution was £845,000, the distress was extreme. There was no margin for more than the provision of necessities in extreme cases, and, indeed, the operatives were mostly reduced to extremity before they would consent to receive assistance.

In November, 1862, Mr Cobden, in writing to Lady Hatherton, had said "Imagine that the iron, stone, and coal were suddenly withheld from Staffordshire, and it gives you but an imperfect idea of what Lancashire, with its much larger population, is suffering from the want of cotton, it reverses the condition of the richest county in the kingdom, and makes it the poorest. A capitalist with £20,000 invested in buildings and machinery may be almost on a par with his operatives in destitution if he be deprived of the raw material which alone makes his capital productive. Bad as is the state of things, I fear we are only at its commencement, and unhappily the winter is upon us to aggravate the sufferings of the working people. The evil is spreading through all classes. The first effects will be felt on the small shopkeepers, the weak mill-owners will come next. I met a magistrate yesterday from Oldham, and he told me that at the last meeting of the bench four thousand assessments were exempted from payment of poor-rates on the plea of inability of the parties to pay! How rapidly this must aggravate the pressure on the remainder of the property of the union! There will be another meeting of the Manchester Committee next Monday, at which it will be proposed to extend it to a

National Committee, and the queen will be solicited as Duchess of Lancaster to allow her name to appear as its patron. An energetic effort will then be made to cover the whole kingdom with local committees, and then institute a general canvas for subscriptions. By this means we may keep matters in tolerable order till Parliament meets, but there is a growing opinion that we shall have to apply to parliament for imperial aid. People at a distance, who learn that the poor-rates in Lancashire are even now less than they are in ordinary times in the agricultural districts, cannot understand this helplessness and destitution. They do not perceive how exceptional this state of things is. Lancashire, with its machinery stopped, is like a man in a fainting fit. It would be as rational to attempt to draw money from the one as blood from the other. Or it may be compared to a strong man suddenly struck with paralysis, until the use of his limbs and muscles be restored to him, it is useless to tell him to help himself."

We have seen what had then been done to increase poor-law relief. In September, 1862, twenty-four poor-law unions in the distressed districts afforded out-door relief to 140,165 persons, at a weekly cost of £7922, which represented aid to 100,000 persons in excess of the relief of the corresponding period of the previous year. On the week ending 27th of December the want was far more excessive, the relief lists showing the alarming total of 496,816 persons dependent on charitable or parochial funds, while the loss of wages was estimated at about £168,000 per week.

Happily the fund for the relief of the sufferers was well supported, not only by noble and wealthy donors—among whom were the queen, who gave £2000, and the Viceroy of Egypt, who gave £1000 during his visit to London—but by the people themselves—shopkeepers, employés, and even agricultural labourers, who contributed pence from their own small and hardly-earned wages. It should not be forgotten either that substantial aid and expressions of sympathy came to Lancashire from various parts of Europe, and that the Northern States of America were not behindhand in significant expressions of good-

will, which took the shape of consignments of provisions and other additions to the fund. This act of generosity amidst their own troubles and anxieties, and when their own fields lay fallow and their own manufactures were still for want of the hands that were engaged in the deadly struggle, was afterwards warmly remembered, as, indeed, it deserved to be, and though for a time it had little appreciable effect in mitigating the rancorous declamations of a section of the public on both sides, it doubtless had a very decided influence in the ultimate restoration of reasonable and friendly feelings, and contributed greatly to the mutual good understanding that ensued, notwithstanding the affair of the *Alabama* and the "claims" that were so long a bone of contention between the two countries.

It is not out of place to note also, that, in the midst of the conflict of opinion and the increasing distress in the early days of 1862, Mr George Peabody, a wealthy American merchant in London, announced that it was his intention to give £100,000 for the benefit of the poor of this metropolis. Mr Peabody was a native of Danvers, in the State of Massachusetts. He was born on February 18, 1795, his parents were in humble circumstances, and his early education was acquired at the district "common school." At the age of eleven he was placed in a grocer's store in Danvers, in which situation he spent four years. After a year's rural life with his grandfather in Vermont he went to Newburyport, Massachusetts, as clerk to his elder brother, who had opened a dry-goods shop there. He afterwards was in business with his uncle at Georgetown, district of Columbia, for two years. In 1814 he withdrew from this concern and became a partner with Mr Elisha Riggs in the dry-goods trade, Mr Riggs furnishing the capital and Mr Peabody the business talent. In 1815 the house was removed to Baltimore, and in 1822 branch houses were established in Philadelphia and New York. In 1827 Mr Peabody crossed the Atlantic for the first time to purchase goods. In 1829 he became senior partner by the retirement of Mr. Riggs. On several occasions of his visits to England he was intrusted with important

financial negotiations by the State of Maryland. Early in 1837 he took up his residence in England. In 1843 he withdrew from the concern of Peabody, Riggs, & Co., and founded a banking-house in London. In the crisis of 1837 he rendered valuable assistance towards the maintenance of American credit in England. The banking-house he established became the headquarters of his countrymen resident in or passing through London and the centre of American news. His Fourth of July dinners at the "Star and Garter," Richmond, soon became public events, and served to bring English and American gentlemen together in agreeable intercourse. In 1852, at the bicentenary anniversary of his native town, he sent a cheque for 20,000 dols. to be expended in the founding of a lyceum and library for the town. By subsequent donations this sum was raised to 60,000 dols., and the institution was opened in or about 1857 with great éclat. In the latter year he gave to certain citizens of Baltimore the sum of 500,000 dols. to found an institute in that city for the promotion of science, literature, and the fine arts, the opening of which was retarded by the civil war in America.

Mr. Peabody was presented with the freedom of the city of London in recognition of his munificent gift. He afterwards added another £50,000 to it, and received a letter of thanks from the queen for his "more than princely munificence." Her majesty would have conferred upon him either a baronetcy or the Grand Cross of the order of the Bath, but that she understood he felt himself debarred from accepting such distinctions. It only remained, therefore, for the queen to give Mr. Peabody the assurance of her personal feelings, which she further wished to mark by asking him to accept a miniature-portrait of herself, which she desired to have painted, and which, when finished, was either to be sent to him to America, or to be given to him on his return to the country which owed him so much. Mr. Peabody replied "Madam, I feel seriously my inability to express in adequate terms the gratification with which I have read the letter which your majesty has done me the high honour of transmitting by the hands

of Earl Russell¹. On the occasion which has attracted your majesty's attention, of setting apart a portion of my property to ameliorate the condition and augment the comforts of the poor in London, I have been actuated by a deep sense of gratitude to God who has blessed me with prosperity, and of attachment to this great country, where, under your majesty's benign rule, I have received so much personal kindness and enjoyed so many years of happiness. Next to the approval of my own conscience I shall always prize the assurance which your majesty's letter conveys to me of the approbation of the Queen of England, whose whole life has attested that her exalted station has in no degree diminished her sympathy with the humblest of her subjects. The portrait which your majesty is graciously pleased to bestow on me I shall value as the most precious heirloom that I can leave in the land of my birth, where, together with the letter which your majesty has addressed to me, it will ever be regarded as an evidence of the kindly feeling of the Queen of the United Kingdom to a citizen of the United States." The American war had concluded when this letter was written, and above two years afterwards, in December, 1868, Mr. Peabody, who had returned from America, once more gave £100,000, bringing the total sum to the superb amount of £250,000. Shortly afterwards he gave another million of dollars to his American Southern education fund. In October of the following year this liberal benefactor died at the residence of his friend, Sir Curtis Lampson. He was seventy-five years of age, and under his will he had left an additional amount for the benefit of the London poor, making altogether a total of half a million sterling. His remains were placed in Westminster Abbey previous to being conveyed on board one of her majesty's ships to his birth-place in America. The large sum of money, which was placed in the hands of trustees for providing suitable dwellings for the London poor, appears to have been chiefly devoted, it is true,

¹ This was in 1866. Lord John Russell took his seat in the House of Lords in July, 1861, as Earl Russell of Kingston-Russell in Dorset and Viscount Amberley of Ardsallia in Meath.

to the purpose of building substantial houses on a model plan, and on a plan which will yield a certain dividend for the maintenance of the scheme, but it can scarcely be contended that the actually poor inhabitants of London, or those who need benevolent aid, are those who have been chiefly benefited, since the trust has rather been devoted to the provision of convenient and well-constructed tenements for those decent tenants who can afford to pay a fair amount of rental. Doubtless some good may have been effected by thus enabling respectable mechanics and working people to obtain sound sanitary and reasonably rated dwellings, but whether this kind of speculative provision quite represents the intentions of the philanthropic donor is perhaps a question which the trustees and their representatives can best answer.

Mr Peabody's splendid gift of course had nothing to do with the relief of distress in Lancashire, to which he was also no doubt a liberal contributor, but it had much significance in representing the good feeling which continued to exist between numbers of thoughtful Americans and unbiassed Englishmen. The efforts made for the special object of diminishing the sufferings of the people during the cotton famine were numerous and well sustained. Nor were they confined to mere contributions or subscriptions. They included many personal endeavours, among the most directly useful of which were those of Mrs Gladstone, who during the first months of the calamity visited the districts where the need was greatest, and while practically assisting to alleviate the wants of those who were on the spot had a number of the men conveyed to Hawarden, where they were employed in making new roads and paths in the park. She also established at Hawarden an industrial home for distressed Lancashire girls. Numerous endeavours of a similar kind were made in the suffering districts, and it is to be remarked that though the painful effects of the cotton famine were felt long after the American war was over and the mills were at work again, that time of trial had not been barren in good results, so that we may well believe it proved of incalculable

after benefit to the whole population of the districts where its lesson had been patiently learnt. One of the most striking features of the time was the remarkable diminution in the number of deaths and the improvement in the health of the majority of the people, even in those districts where the distress was most severely felt. This has been attributed to enforced temperance, it may have been also partially attributable to a period of temporary rest. It should be noted, however, that means were taken for providing interesting occupation. Schools were established for the instruction not only of children but of adults, numbers of whom willingly devoted their now unemployed time to acquire the instruction which in their younger days they had never been able to attain. Sewing-schools for women and girls were also opened in all parts of the manufacturing districts. Numbers were there taught how to make and to mend various garments, and carried the practical knowledge gained in these schools into their homes. The organization for relieving want went hand in hand with efforts for providing occupations which would keep the people from brooding over their trouble, and be useful to them in their daily lives.

During the whole time that the dearth of cotton continued the government and many wealthy and enterprising individuals were using efforts to promote the growth of the plant in India and other British dependencies, so that we might not hereafter be wholly dependent on one source of supply. Some advances were also made in the introduction of improved machinery for preparing and cleaning the fibre, and railways and means of transit from the manufacturing districts to the seaports were still further developed. To the East and West Indies, New Zealand, Queensland—and outside the British empire, Brazil—consumers of cotton were looking not without hope that in the future, if not immediately, large supplies might be brought from those places. Of course the supply increased but slowly, or rather absolute cessation of supply was only prevented by these means, especially as nothing came from the African cotton-fields when prices had considerably

increased. The native growers there had no notion of working except when compelled, and the increased amount which they received when they conveyed the produce of their plantations to the shore enabled them to settle down to enjoyment—or what passed for it in their estimation—and to leave the fields untilled and unsown. The staple at mills which resumed work was the *Su-ut*, and though this was of inferior quality, dirty, and difficult to manufacture, it was so much better than none at all that the people who could obtain employment were delighted at being able to maintain their independence, and to leave the relief funds for the large number who were necessarily supported by charitable efforts.

Among the institutions which were already in existence and served both at the time and afterwards to mitigate the effects of such a sudden and protracted arrest of a great industry occupying a large district, should be noticed those societies in which the principles of co-operation had been adopted and had proved successful. The co-operative societies of Rochdale had not, it is true, had many imitators, nor did it then seem as though the scheme which they had adopted was likely to find much extension in other parts of England and amidst other industries, but the circumstances of the distress in Lancashire and the survival during the cotton famine of the original associations whose members had so long benefited by the provisions of the system, attracted public attention to the question. Since that time co-operative societies in one form or other have been regarded as valuable means for securing the mutual advantages of their members, and in London, societies embracing one branch of the original institutions have been organized in a manner which has more than once threatened to change the entire method of business previously adopted by retail traders in the metropolis.

It scarcely needs to be said that the actual or representative co-operative association includes not only a common interest in the sale and profits of necessary commodities required by the members; but in the industry in which the members are employed and by the success

of which they live. Such a notion was in the minds of many men even after the acceleration of political progress and the folly and ignorance of self-elected leaders had put an end to Chartism. Among the people who had looked at the indefinite promises of communistic or socialistic leaders there were many who saw much possible reality in them. That some such experiments had failed long before, when they were associated with political agitation or with certain suspected philosophies or social vagaries, was no proof that the co-operative principle might not be commercially sound. As a matter of fact it already necessarily existed, where a number of people were engaged in different work and held different degrees of importance to promote the same enterprise. In 1873 Carlyle had given expression to the thought or—one might rather say—the question which was being discussed elsewhere among serious men. "Whether," as he puts it, "in some ulterior, perhaps some not far distant stage of the 'chivalry of labour' your master worker may not find it possible, and needful, to grant his workers permanent *interest* in his enterprise and theirs! So that it become in practical result, what in essential fact and justice it ever is, a joint enterprise, all men, from the chief master down to the lowest overseer and operative, economically as well as loyally concerned for it! Which question I do not answer. The answer near, or else far, is perhaps: yes,—and yet we know the difficulties. Despotism is essential in most enterprises. I am told they do not tolerate 'freedom of debate' on board a seventy-four! Republican senate and *plébiscite* would not answer well in cotton mills. And yet observe there too, freedom, not nomad's or ape freedom, but man's freedom, this is indispensable. We must have it and will have it! To reconcile despotism with—well, is that such a mystery? Do you not already know the way? It is to make your despotism just. Rigorous as destiny, but just too as destiny and its laws. The laws of God all men obey these, and have no freedom at all but in obeying them. The way is already known, part of the way; and courage and some qualities are needed for walking in it."

This is Carlylese, but it needs little translation in reference to a movement, some of the permanent effects of which were apparent at the time of the cotton famine twenty years afterwards. That movement began in the latter part of 1843 in an association which had theoretically in view wider results than those that were to be effected by merely commercial or industrial co-operation. The first programme of the founders of the co-operative system at Rochdale included a provision "that as soon as practicable this society shall proceed to arrange the powers of production, distribution, education, and government, or in other words to establish a self-supporting home-colony of united interests to assist other societies in establishing such colonies." Some of this may seem visionary, but there was enough of sound and solid fact remaining after what was merely visionary had disappeared, and when this and other co-operative associations which had been established on its experiences were consolidated and working, but not too freely, under the "Friendly Societies Act" of 1852.

Various abortive attempts had been made from time to time to realize the ideas on which the co-operative societies were founded, but they had failed, chiefly through the moral and industrial defects of those by whom they were tried. At length an attempt was made at Rochdale by men who, though extremely poor and almost destitute of book-learning, were endowed with the qualifications necessary for carrying the enterprise they undertook to a successful issue.

The example thus set was followed in all the large towns of the manufacturing districts. But we shall best comprehend the nature of this great movement by fixing our attention on the origin and progress of the Rochdale society, which served as a pattern to the rest, by whom its rules and methods were almost exactly copied. It was, as we have noted, at the close of the year 1843 that the Rochdale Equitable Pioneer's Co-operative Store was first established. The new poor-law had prevented the working men of that town from looking, as they had previously been accustomed to do, to parochial relief as a resource

on which, in case of loss of work, they might always fall back. The failure of the Rochdale savings bank, recently plundered by its actuary to the extent of £70,000, had destroyed all faith in that hitherto popular institution. It was under these circumstances that twenty-eight Rochdale flannel-weavers managed to scrape together a sovereign each for the purpose of establishing a shop in which they might purchase genuine groceries and other necessaries at a moderate price, dividing among themselves whatever profits might remain at the end of the year. The views by which they were actuated are very clearly exhibited in an account which they afterwards published of the lofty aims with which they made this very humble experiment.

"The objects of this society are the social and intellectual advancement of its members. It provides them with groceries, butcher's meat, diaphery goods, clothes, shoes, clogs, &c. There are competent workmen on the premises to do the work of the members and execute all repairs. The capital is raised in one pound shares, each member being allowed to take not less than five and not more than a hundred, payable at once or by instalments of three shillings and threepence per quarter. The profits are divided quarterly as follows: first, interest at five per cent per annum on all paid-up shares, second, two and a half per cent off net profits for educational purposes, the remainder to be divided among the members in proportion to money expended. For the intellectual improvement of the members there is a library consisting of more than 3000 volumes. The librarian is in attendance every Wednesday and Saturday evening from seven to half-past eight o'clock. The news-room is well supplied with newspapers and periodicals, fitted up in a neat and careful manner, and furnished with maps, globes, microscope, telescope, &c. The news-room and library are free to all members. A branch reading-room has been opened at Oldham Road, the readers of which meet every second Monday in January, April, July, and October, to choose and sell the papers."

Whatever may have been the opinions of those who strongly objected to the system of

co-operation, and who prophesied its ultimate failure, there could be no doubt that the endeavour to provide the means of education and of intellectual culture formed a promising feature in the work that was then undertaken

It has been claimed for the Rochdale pioneers that one of the chief reasons why they became the advanced guard of a great and astonishing progress was that they neither desired to pull down other classes nor to raise themselves out of their own class, but to raise themselves by elevating the class to which they belonged "They were men of courage and men of business Their aim and ambition was that the working classes should be well fed, well clad, well housed, well washed, well educated, in a word, that in the highest and best sense of the term, they should be respectable If any taint of the socialistic and communistic theories in which the society originated still adhered to them it was rapidly removed by the practical realities with which they had to deal The prodigious and rapid growth of the establishment at the head of which they were placed required considerable administrative ability, and it was forthcoming To their honour it should be mentioned that, far from being actuated by any desire to monopolize the advantages they enjoyed, they were animated by a generous spirit of proselytism, which led them to put themselves to considerable trouble and expense in communicating to inquirers from all parts of the kingdom the results of their experience, and aiding them in the formation of new societies" The following extract from a paper they printed at an early period of their history in order to send to all those who applied to them for information with a view to the formation of new societies, illustrates the spirit of generosity and wisdom by which they were animated —

"1 Procure the authority and protection of the law by enrolment

2 Let integrity, intelligence, and ability be the indispensable qualifications in the choice of officers and managers, and not wealth or distinction

3 Let each member have only one vote, and make no distinction as regards the amount of wealth any member may contribute.

4 Let majorities rule in all matters of government

5. Look well after money matters Punish fraud, when duly established, by the immediate expulsion of the defrauder

6 Buy your goods as much as possible in the first markets, or if you have the produce of your industry to sell, contrive, if possible, to sell it in the best

7 Never depart from the principle of buying and selling for ready money

8 Beware of long reckonings Quarterly accounts are the best, and should be adopted when practicable

9 For the sake of security always have the accounted value of the 'fixed stock' at least one-fourth less than its marketable value

10 Let the members take care that the accounts are properly audited by men of their own choosing

11 Let committees of management always have the authority of the members before taking any important or expensive step.

12 Do not court opposition or publicity, nor fear it when it comes

13 Choose those only for your leaders whom you can trust, and then give them your confidence"

As a proof of the rapid success which attended the institution we may refer to the statistics compiled on the tables published in the almanacs of the Rochdale societies. The number of members in 1844 was 28, and the amount of the funds £28 In the following year there were 74 members, the funds had increased to £181, and out of £710 which represented the amount of business done there was £32 on the side of "profits" In 1850 the members had increased to 600, the funds to £2299, the business to £13,179, the profits to £889 In 1855 there were 1400 members, £11,032 of funds, the business done was £44,902, and the profits £3106, and in 1860 there were 3450 members, £37,710 in funds, business to the amount of £152,083, and profits reaching £15,906

After it had been carried on for seven years it was found that more money was offered for investment than could be profitably employed in the store The directors, therefore, were

forced to consider what was to be done with their surplus capital. They could not continue to pay five per cent on it, as they were obliged to do by their rules, when it was not yielding them anything like that amount. They must therefore either find profitable employment for it or refuse to receive it. They determined on adopting the former of these two alternatives, and as at the time great complaints were made of the quality of the flour that was sold in the shops, much of which was said to be adulterated, it was determined in 1850 to establish a new society, to be called the Rochdale Co-operative Corn-mill Society, for which a substantial mill was erected in Weir Street, Rochdale.

The spirit by which the first co-operators were animated is illustrated by the fact that they determined not to erect the building by contract, thus incurring an additional expense of about £1000, but they cheerfully paid this difference, in the assurance that every man who had laboured in the construction of their mill had received a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, and they added that they believed the money had been well spent, because the building was better and more substantial than it would have been if it had been erected by contract.

The progress made by this second co-operative scheme was shown by the fact that in 1860 the funds amounted to £26,618, the business done to £133,125, and the profits to £10,164. The success of these two societies produced great confidence in the co-operative principle, and a general desire among the working-classes to invest their savings in them, which compelled the leaders of the co-operative movement to consider what farther employment could be found for the funds thus forced upon them. Accordingly, in the year 1854 a manufacturing society was formed on the same general principles as the store and corn-mill society, which seemed likely to prove equally successful. At first they carried on their operations in rooms hired for the purpose, and on the 22nd of April, in the year 1859, they laid the first stone of a cotton factory of their own, which they completed without borrowing a penny, and with a large

balance always in the bank. It was universally admitted to be one of the largest, best-constructed, and best-fitted in the borough of Rochdale, a town which was by no means behind its neighbours in the size and excellence of its factories. This great work was scarcely finished when its owners found themselves in a position to commence another factory alongside of the first. These two establishments together cost nearly £100,000, besides the amount of capital required for their working. Before they were completed and filled with machinery the American civil war broke out and prevented the experiment of a co-operative manufactory from having the same fair trial that had been given to the other co-operative experiments, and which they had passed through so triumphantly. The cotton famine rendered the newly erected factories almost useless and entirely profitless. It compelled a great number of the shareholders to part with their shares to persons who were not so fully imbued as themselves with the original spirit of co-operation, and who purchased them simply as a speculation. One of the results of this change of proprietorship was, that a rule of the society which gave the operatives a share in the profits of the concern was abrogated, and was not afterwards restored.

But these works were far from absorbing the whole of the capital, which co-operation multiplied to an extent that seemed almost magical. In the year 1860, while the first factory was still incomplete, a co-operative sick and burial society, founded on thoroughly sound principles, and carrying on its operations upon the extended scale necessary to ensure the successful working of such institutions, a co-operative Turkish bath, and lastly, in the year 1861, a land and building society were established.

The capital of these various institutions in the year 1861 was thus estimated—Co-operative store, £39,335, corn-mill, £29,962, manufacturing society, £71,695, land and building society, £1000, Turkish bath, £350, total, £142,342. Deducting loans from the store to other societies, £16,613, there was left a net capital of £125,729. This capital consisted of money or stock purchased by money,

and worth considerably more than its cost price

In the year 1844 the whole co-operative capital was £28. In the year 1850, which was the date of the commencement of the corn-mill, it was £2299, in the year 1854, in which the manufacturing society was founded, it had increased to £11,144, and in the year 1861 it had risen to £125,729.

At the time when the American war commenced the example so successfully set in Rochdale had been followed in almost all the great manufacturing towns. They had provided the working-classes who inhabited them with a safe investment for their savings, from which they received five per cent regularly paid to them besides profits, they had also taught them habits of frugality, temperance, patience, sobriety, and self-reliance, and to this it was in no small degree due that when the cotton famine did come upon the working-classes of the manufacturing districts it found them prepared to bear it with a firmness and resolution which extorted the admiration of the civilized world. During that famine the original society flourished in spite of the heavy drain caused by the withdrawal of their deposits by many of the members, who were compelled by want of work to fall back on these resources. They, of course, underwent some temporary inconvenience, and during these trying years there was a diminution in the amount of their business and their profits. But this was merely a temporary reverse, and as soon as the famine ceased, and indeed even before it had ceased, the societies resumed their onward course, doing more business, obtaining greater profits, and paying larger dividends than ever. During the severest distress, when there was a kind of run on them for money, there was never the slightest hesitation or delay in paying those who wished to withdraw their money in accordance with the rules of the societies. And this was the case, not in Rochdale only, but in almost every part of the manufacturing districts in which co-operative societies had been founded on the Rochdale model.

We have seen that in 1852 co-operative societies were enrolled under the Friendly

Societies Act, which prevented them from dealing with any persons except their own members. In that year they obtained an act entitled the "Industrial and Provident Societies Act," giving power to such societies to carry on trade as general dealers, and to sell to non-members, but still maintaining certain disabilities, one of which prohibited them from occupying more than a single acre of land. In 1855 this act was amended by another, which, while it relieved them from some restrictions, still prevented their holding more than an acre of land. This was in force till 1862, when the prohibition as to land was removed, and it was not till after 1867, when the "Industrial and Provident Societies Act" was passed, chiefly to explain some of the clauses of the preceding act relating to the payment of income-tax by members, that remaining disabilities were removed, and the societies were placed on the same footing as individuals with regard to land, building, and mortgages, as well as to trade undertakings.¹

Of course several attempts were made to bring cargoes of cotton from the Southern ports by ships breaking the blockade, and some of them were successful, but the difficulty experienced and the expense incurred in such enterprises made them of little service, and of course so increased the price of the comparatively small quantity of cotton they brought, that it produced little or no effect on the market, and only slightly increased the supply. On the other hand, numbers of vessels were fitted out in European ports as blockade runners, and several were equipped in our ship-yards for the purpose of breaking through the obstructions or evading the vigilance of the Federal war vessels, which prevented the ingress of goods, arms, and medicines to the South. Several of these succeeded, and the trade their owners were able to do, was so profitable that blockade-running became a kind of excitement among some of the merchant captains and adventurers, who shared

¹ William Nassau Molesworth (*History of England*), to whom every student of the features of this phase of social progress should be indebted.

their risk. This it was next to impossible to prevent, for of course it was pretended that the voyage was to be to some foreign port or to the North, but worse than this system of private adventuring was the construction, by some of our large shipbuilders, of ships of war for the South, under the pretext that they were for foreign governments. This of course was in direct contravention of the proclamation of neutrality, and our government was bound to use every effort to prevent it. The Federals had already bitterly complained that we did not use ordinary vigilance, and that anything like a careful inquiry would prove that vessels to be aimed for the Confederates, and almost undisguised as vessels of war were being built here under the shallowest pretences, of agents, who scarcely took the trouble to say more than that they were for a foreign order, while the contractors knew perfectly well for what service they were intended, and connived at, or even invented, means for concealing their destination.

Perhaps a more close investigation would have taken place but for the irritating demands made by the Federal minister. For instance, a strongly worded and angry remonstrance had represented that British subjects were being enlisted in the Southern ranks, and Earl Russell not unnaturally replied that it was not with the knowledge and was against the injunctions of the government, at the same time asking whether the Federal authorities had taken care to exclude sailors and other subjects of Great Britain from joining their forces.

All this was provoking, but such misunderstandings did not make it less the duty of our government to inquire keenly into the destination of every vessel above a certain tonnage and of a certain build—to say nothing of ships obviously intended for hostile purposes, which were in course of construction in private dockyards. The privateers which went out of Charleston scoured the seas and did some damage to Federal ships here and there, and one of them, the *Sumter*, under the command of Captain Semmes, was destroyed by a Northern war steamer after a short career of devastation, but the really formidable vessels of

this kind appeared afterwards, and were furnished by shipbuilders in England to the order of any person who could pay for them, for, as was afterwards argued, the United States government had not abolished privateering, and there was certainly no law to prevent our shipbuilders, any more than those of foreign nations, from taking orders for such vessels. One of these, which was built at Birkenhead professedly for the Italian government, and was named the *Oreto*, was suspected by the American minister to be intended for the Confederates, but though our government was apprised of her probable destination there was no law to detain her, and soon after she left our shores she became the *Florida*, Confederate privateer. In three months she had destroyed thirteen and captured two vessels. Other privateers followed, and it was pretty well suspected that certain formidable rams and iron-clad vessels of war which were being laid down were, in spite of prohibition and proclamations of neutrality, to be completed for the Southern States, on the probably safe speculation that they would be suffered to slip out of English jurisdiction with little inquiry and no demand for proofs of their real purpose.

It will be seen, of course, that the distinction between a privateer which *might* be supplied by a British firm of shipbuilders, and an acknowledged vessel of war which *might not*, was disappearing, and at last a case occurred which almost obliterated that distinction entirely, and made it necessary to enter into prolonged and difficult arbitrations as an alternative to actual hostilities.

In the latter part of 1862 a vessel was being completed in one of the dockyards of the Meisey, and there could be no doubt that it was intended for the Confederate service. The builders were the Messrs Laird, a firm, the former head of which represented Birkenhead in the House of Commons, and was urgent to induce the government to recognize the Southern States of America as an independent nationality. There was little if any attempt at concealment. The progress of the vessel, which was known by the somewhat mysterious name of the "290," was duly recorded

in newspaper paragraphs, and nobody hesitated to speak of her as a Confederate cruiser.

There was perhaps no actual technical evidence, no absolute proof of it, and when Mr Adams, the United States minister, called the attention of our government to the fact that this ship was obviously intended for the Confederate government, Earl Russell asked for proofs. Evidence was forwarded which was sufficient in the opinion of Mr Adams to warrant the detention of the vessel, and it was accompanied by the opinion of Sir Robert Collier, an English lawyer of such eminence that his decision would have been regarded as having great weight in any court of national or international law. He declared that the vessel should be detained by the collector of customs at Liverpool, and said that it appeared difficult to make out a stronger case of infringement of the Foreign Enlistment Act, which, if not enforced on this occasion, would be little better than a dead letter. Earl Russell, however, still wanted to ask the opinion of the law officers of the crown. The queen's advocate was unwell and more delay ensued, the end of which was that the vessel "290" had slipped off to sea before that opinion was obtained. Earl Russell long afterwards acknowledged that he ought to have been satisfied with the opinion of Sir Robert Collier, and there can be no doubt that our neutrality was nearly as much in question by the building of this vessel as it would have been by the construction of avowed ships of war for the Confederate service. Mr Forster afterwards said she was built by British shipbuilders, and manned by a British crew. She drew prizes to destruction under a British flag, and was paid for by money borrowed from British capitalists. At all events she went on her destructive career. She went from Liverpool to Terceira, hoisted the Confederate flag, received on board Captain Semmes, the former commander of the *Sumter*, as her commander, and had her name changed to the *Alabama*. It was declared that this heavily armed privateer used the British flag to decoy unfortunate merchantmen of the Northern States to approach her, then ran up the Confederate colours and captured the prize, which was

frequently burned. For nearly two years this went on, for the *Alabama* did not mean fighting and kept well away from the Federal ships of war. The system of Confederate privateering, aided by this last formidable example of British shipbuilding, went far to detain the American mercantile marine in its own ports, and to put an end for a time to American commerce. At length the Federal warsteamer *Kearsarge* caught sight of her and started in pursuit. The *Alabama* went into Cherbourg harbour, whence she had to come out to fight her antagonist, which was waiting with steam up and guns ready. The two ships were not very unequal in size and armaments, and a naval duel ensued which lasted about an hour, with the result that the *Alabama* went down, her last gun being fired almost as its mouth touched the water's edge, and that the captain and those of the crew who survived then jumped overboard and were rescued by the crew of an English yacht in conjunction with the men of the *Kearsarge*.

The circumstances attending the building of the *Alabama*, while they seemed to give impunity to English firms to construct other privateers for the Confederates, were too flagrant an evasion of the laws of neutrality to be repeated. At the same time Earl Russell could not quite make up his mind to prompt and decided action. In fact the law was not altogether certain, and a more determined statesman would have acted without reference to the niceties of possible legal decisions, and would have had the law altered as soon as possible. Lord Palmerston probably would have done so, but Lord Palmerston, like most of his colleagues, probably had a notion that the South would soon achieve independence; and the tone which had been assumed by the Federal government in their despatches had, to use a common figure of speech, "put his back up." He had even declared in the House of Commons that it was not for this country to make any change in her laws for the convenience or at the requisition of another state. Rather a strange declaration from the minister who had actually been defeated over the "Conspiracy to Murder Bill," which he had once been ready to adopt at the instigation, if not

the dictation, of the French Emperor and his advisers. In 1863, however, two Confederate iron rams were almost ready to be launched from one of our dockyards for the purpose of forcing an entrance to the Southern ports. Again Mr Adams urgently called the attention of the government to the matter. Again there was delay, until at length, on the 5th of September, just as they were ready to slip off as the *Alabama* had done, the American minister wrote another letter, in which he said plainly, "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is war." Undoubtedly to connive by negligence and indifference to the issue of armed vessels of war to be used against a friendly state or after neutrality had been declared would surely be as near to war as anything short of actual hostilities, but the law was still uncertain, and Lord Russell was still balanced on the edge of a technical razor. But the two ironclads were detained. "I should have ordered the prosecution of the owners of the vessel," wrote Earl Russell in his *Recollections*, eleven years afterwards, "had not the principal law officer of the crown given me reason to think that it would fail in an English court of justice. I therefore obtained the sanction of the cabinet to purchase the two 'rams,' as they were called, which were intended for hostile purposes against the United States." So it would seem that instead of being prosecuted the builders of these ships, who had committed a national though a questionably illegal offence, made a good thing of it after all, and instead of being punished by the confiscation or the destruction of the vessels, profited handsomely by the speculation.

It happened not long after the completion of the *Alabama* that Mr Gladstone, in speaking after a political banquet at Newcastle, expressed an opinion that Jefferson Davis had really succeeded in making the South an independent nation. It shows how much importance must have been attached to his utterances, that even at a time when armed Confederate ships were being built in English dockyards this remark should have caused considerable comment and no little excitement. Perhaps

another statesman, though he might have been a cabinet minister, could have said it with comparatively little notice, but every opinion of the chancellor of the exchequer was regarded as being of grave import.

The notion that the South would succeed in separating itself into an independent state was general. Almost everybody shared it except Mr Bright and a very small knot of men who thought with him. Even Mr Cobden held that opinion for some time, and Mr Bright had a good deal of trouble to convince him to the contrary, and almost quarrelled with him because he was unable at first to yield to repeated arguments. In January, 1862, Cobden wrote to a correspondent, Mr Paulton, who, with some others of his friends, did not sympathize with the Union —

"I can't see my way through the American business. I don't believe the North and South can ever lie in the same bed again. Nor do I see how the military operations can be carried into the South, so as to inflict a crushing defeat. Unless something of the kind takes place, I predict that Europe will recognize the independence of the South. I tell Sumner this, and tell him that his only chance, if he wants time to fight it out, is to raise the blockade of the Mississippi voluntarily, and then Europe might look on.

"But our friend Bright will not hear of anything against the claims of the North. I admire his pluck, for when he goes with a side it is always to win. I tell him that it is possible to wish well to a cause without being sure that it will be successful. However, he will soon find in the house that we shall be on this question, as we were on China, Crimean, and Greek Pacifico wars, quite in a minority! There is no harm in that if you are right, but it is useless to deceive ourselves about the issue. Three-fourths of the house will be glad to find an excuse for voting for the dismemberment of the great Republic."

Cobden had already been in communication with Mr Sumner, and his letters probably did much to mitigate any apparent tendency of the Federal government to reflect the suspicion and animosity displayed by the violent opponents of England in America. His letters

are very interesting, in one of them upon the affair of the *Trent* he says —

"Though I said in my other letter that I shall never care to utter a word about the merits of a war after it has begun, I do not the less feel it my duty to try to prevent hostilities occurring. Let me here remark, that I cannot understand how you should have thought it worth your while at Washington to have reopened this question of the right of search, by claiming to exercise it in a doubtful case and a doubtful manner, under circumstances which could be of so little advantage, and to have incurred the risk of greater disadvantages. The capture of Mason and Slidell can have little effect in discouraging the South, compared with the indirect encouragement and hope it may hold out to them of embroiling your government with England.

Your newspapers will not drive us into war. But when grave men (or men that should be grave), holding the highest posts in your cultivated State of Massachusetts, compliment Captain Wilkes for having given an affront to the British lion, it makes it very hard for Bright and me to contend against the 'British lion party' in this country. All I can say is that I hope you have taken Bright's advice, and offered unconditional arbitration. With that offer publicly made, the friends of peace could prevent our fire-eaters from assaulting you, always providing that your public speakers do not put it out of our power to keep the peace. I was sorry to see a report of an anti-English speech by your colleague at New York. Honestly speaking, and with no blind patriotism to mislead me, I don't think the nation here behaved badly under the terrible evil of loss of trade and danger of starving under your blockade. Of course all privileged classes and aristocracies hate your institutions—that is natural enough, but the mass of the people never went with the South. I am not pleased with your project of sinking stones to block up ports. That is barbarism. It is quite natural that, smarting as you do under an unprovoked aggression from the slave-owners, you should even be willing to smother them like hornets in their nest. But don't forget the outside world, and

especially don't forget that the millions in Europe are more interested even than their princes in preserving the future commerce with the vast region of the Confederate States."

In January, 1862, he wrote — "Be assured if you had offered to refer the question to arbitration, there could not have been a meeting called in England that would not have endorsed it. The only question was whether we ought to be the first to offer arbitration. I mean this was the only doubt in the popular mind. As regards our government, they are, of course, feeling the tendency of public opinion. A friend of mine in London, a little behind the scenes, wrote to me — 'They are busy at the Foreign Office hunting up precedents for arbitration, very much against their will.' I write all this because I wish you to know that we are not quite so bad as appeared at first on the surface."

In the following July, a month before Mr Gladstone had made the remark about the probable independence of the South, which caused so much perturbation among the friends of, and believers in the North, Cobden, writing again to Mr Sumner, said —

"There is an all but unanimous belief that you *cannot* subject the South to the Union. Even they who are your partisans and advocates cannot see their way to any such issue. It is necessary that you should understand that this opinion is so widely and honestly entertained, because it is the key to the expression of views which might otherwise not be quite intelligible. Among some of the governing class in Europe the wish is father to this thought. But it is not so with the mass of the people. Nor is it so with our own government entirely. I *know* that Gladstone would restore your Union to-morrow if he could, yet he has steadily maintained from the first that unless there was a strong Union sentiment, it is impossible that the South can be subdued. Now the belief is all but universal that there is no Union feeling in the South, and this is founded latterly upon the fact that no cotton comes from New Orleans. It is said that if the instinct of gain, with cotton at double its usual price, do not induce the people to sell, it is a proof beyond dispute

that the political resentment is overwhelming and unconquerable”

It was not very remarkable that Mr Gladstone should in August, 1862, have spoken of the Southern States as though they were already independent. Injudicious it might have been, but it was an indiscretion shared with the great majority of the most prominent men of the country, and, as he explained five years afterwards, though he confessed that he was wrong and took too much upon himself in expressing such an opinion, the motive was not bad. His sympathies were with the whole American people. He probably, like many Europeans, did not understand the nature and working of the American Union. He had imbibed conscientiously, if erroneously, an opinion that twenty or twenty-five millions would be happier and would be stronger (of course assuming that they would hold together) without the South than with it, and also that the negroes would be much nearer to emancipation under a Southern government than under the old system of the Union, which had not at that time been abandoned, and which always appeared to him to place the whole power of the North at the command of the slaveholding interests of the South. As far as regarded the special or separate interest of England, he had always contended that it was best for our interest that the Union should be kept entire.

Mr Cobden's letters to Mr Sumner may be taken fairly to represent the prevailing feeling in England, and to indicate the growing disposition to recognize the true position of the Federal government, though, as he pointed out, there were considerable interests in favour of supporting the demands of the South in the early period of the struggle. A writer in a trade journal has recently stated that traditions yet linger in our manufacturing towns of the days when any speculative builder would run up a weaving-shed for Dick, Tom, or Harry, who had, or said he had, the slightest knowledge of manufacturing, or for any grocer, draper, currier, shoemaker, or publican who had saved up a couple of hundred pounds. Having become the tenant of a shed, machinists were never back-

ward in putting in looms and preparation. Profits were known to be so great that both landlords and machinists could wait without anxiety for the first twelve months, knowing that much of their debts would be paid out of profits in that space of time. Having hired a shed and received credit for his looms, any penniless man could then go with assurance upon the Manchester exchange, and in the days when “long terms” were accorded to all who asked for them, could buy his yarns, take orders for cloth, make, deliver and get paid for it in time to meet his accounts, and this without much difficulty. In a couple of years a manufacturer commencing thus would often be clear of all liabilities, and on the highway to making a fortune.

These remarks refer to the decade from 1850 to 1860, and that state of things was, it is said, almost entirely changed, and the small manufacturers swept away by the cotton famine. Without entirely endorsing such representations it may safely be said that not only did the large mill-owners suffer deeply, but that the business of many of them was crippled for years afterwards, while the struggling men were ruined and the whole population of operatives might have perished but for the energetic action of those who administered the relief funds, or organized schemes for providing sewing for the women and other occupations for large numbers of the men.

Meanwhile the war continued. It was evident that the battle would be fought out to the bitter end, for the issues of it had changed, and though the Confederates continued to defeat the Federal troops, the determination of the North was aroused, and people began to discern that the result of the conflict was only a matter of endurance and of superior resources. The Northern troops soon began to acquire, by experience, the knowledge and the firmness which was necessary to enable them to cope with antagonists, considerable bodies of whom had entered on the first campaign already well drilled and accustomed to act together at the word of command.

On the 22d of January, 1862, President Lincoln had issued a proclamation that at the next meeting of congress he would recommend

a bill enacting that on and after the 1st of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any state the people whereof should be in rebellion against the United States, should be thenceforward and for ever free, and the proclamation added that the executive would, in due time, recommend that all citizens of the United States who should have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion should, upon the restoration of peace, be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves

On the 1st of January, 1863, it was proclaimed that all persons held as slaves within the Confederate States should thenceforward be free, and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, would recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons. The people so declared to be free were enjoined to abstain from violence, unless in necessary self-defence, and were recommended in all cases where they were allowed, to labour faithfully for reasonable wages. At the same time it was declared that such persons, of suitable condition, would be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts. Upon this, which he declared was sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the constitution upon military necessity, the president invoked the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favour of Almighty God.

Results showed that this was in effect an abolition of slavery throughout the States, but only the Confederate States were mentioned, and the declaration was received with dismay. Earl Russell pointed out to Lord Lyons, our representative at Washington, that the proclamation professed to emancipate all slaves in places where the United States could not exercise any jurisdiction or make emancipation a reality, but did not decree emancipation of slaves in any states or parts of states occupied by Federal troops and subject to United States jurisdiction, and where, therefore, emancipation might be carried out. There seemed to be no declaration of a prin-

ciple adverse to slavery, and Earl Russell therefore said he did not think it could or should satisfy the friends of abolition, who looked for total and impartial freedom for the slave, and not for vengeance on the slave-owner.

The fear with many was that such a proclamation would cause a slave insurrection and the horrors that might accompany it if the negroes sought revenge and plunder as well as liberty, or if attempts were made to suppress any efforts to escape. The proclamation expressly deprecated any acts of violence, but what was the value of such deprecation where it could not be followed by legal restraint? These anticipations were not realized, and probably it was known on both sides that no general insurrection or attempts to make reprisals on the owners of slaves would be made. In numerous instances, it was said, the negroes remained to work on the estates, sometimes because they had been kindly treated, and were not indisposed to wait till terms of wages could be adjusted in case of the termination of the war, and in some cases because they were ignorant what steps to take to make use of their freedom, and preferred remaining where they were for a time, tolerably certain of food and clothes and shelter, to running to unknown troubles and vicissitudes in the border states, or joining the Federal army to fight against their old masters. At all events there was little disposition to armed and violent revolt, and though, of course, a large number of able-bodied negroes entered the Federal service, and a multitude of men, women, and children eventually found their way north, the fact that there was so frequently a strong desire to remain was afterwards cited, and in some respects was fairly cited, by the Southern planters as a proof that the atrocities with which the slave-owners were charged were not even general, much less universal.

That they had existed in too many instances was, however, capable of proof, and that they *might* exist without any real redress for the victim was argument enough against the perpetuation or the continued existence of the system.

The proclamation of emancipation, defective as it was in its expression of intention, was a serious blow to the South. It changed the aspect of the war from that of an effort on the part of the North to maintain the Union to that of a struggle by the South to maintain negro slavery, and it can scarcely be denied that this was the true origin of the conflict. A new element of enthusiasm seemed to have been roused among the Federals, at the same time that they were profiting by the reverses that had been inflicted on them by the superior military skill of their opponents, while the South was already preparing for efforts which would necessitate the abandonment of the plantations from which they had derived their wealth, and the slave labourers on which, were now invited by the Federal government to migrate into free states, or to refuse to work except under entirely new conditions.

On the 10th of April (1863) Jefferson Davis issued a manifesto warning the people of the Confederate States against too sedulously cultivating their usually valuable cotton crops, to lay aside thoughts of gain and to devote themselves to securing their liberties, without which those gains would be valueless. The wheat harvest, which would be gathered in the following month, promised an abundant yield, but even if that promise should be fulfilled, the difficulty of transportation, enhanced by the previous rainy winter, would embarrass military operations and cause suffering among the people should the crops in the middle and northern portions of the Confederacy prove deficient. No uneasiness might be felt in regard to a mere supply of bread for men. It was to the supply of the large amount of corn and forage for live stock, and for the animals used in military operations that efforts should be directed. The fields should be devoted exclusively to the production of food for man and beast, and corn should be sown broadcast in proximity to canals, rivers, and railroads, while every endeavour should be directed to the prompt supply of districts where the armies were operating.

The Confederates were already beginning to feel that all their determination and courage would be needed to sustain the struggle against

the enormous resources and the numerical superiority of the North. A few months afterwards they also became aware that the Federal government was discovering the weak points of its military organization, and had appointed more efficient generals to take command of its forces. Early in 1862 the large army which General M'Clellan had been occupied in organizing and disciplining was making ready to advance, and some successes had attended the Federals—one of them being the important operations of Commodore Farragut on the Mississippi, which led to the surrender of New Orleans, but in the first considerable battle General Sidney Johnston succeeded in surprising and defeating the Federal General Grant at Pittsburg Landing. Grant had, with his army and river fleet, taken some forts, and though he was beaten and a part of his camp was captured, he was able to hold his own by the assistance of some gun-boats which forced the Confederates to retire to their lines after losing their general. For some time after this a series of disasters occurred, apparently the result of the timidity and incompetency of some of the Federal commanders, and though some advantages were gained and the Confederates evidently could not hold the line of the Ohio, and on the Mississippi retained only the strong position of Vicksburg, the balance of the actual war appeared to be against the North, even their naval superiority having been rendered doubtful by the exploits of the Confederate *Merrimac*, a vessel which had been coated with iron rails and re-named the *Virginia*. This vessel destroyed two or three wooden men-of-war, scattered terror into a fleet of transport and store-ships, and threw shells into the lines of the Federal army in the neighbourhood of Norfolk. Being met by the iron-clad *Monitor*, which arrived on the scene of action from New York, a naval duel ensued, both vessels had to retire to repair damages, and the *Virginia* was so much injured that she was abandoned and blown up by her crew.

The efforts of the Federals were directed to the capture of Richmond, the Confederate capital, but the delays of General M'Clellan and the inefficiency of General Pope enabled

the Confederate Generals Lee and Stonewall Jackson to frustrate their movements, and the latter took Harper's Ferry, where the garrison of 12,000 men surrendered, giving up an enormous quantity of artillery and stores. McClellan was removed from the command and was succeeded by General Burnside, who sustained a severe defeat at Fredericksburg. General Hooker then took his place as commander of what was called the army of the Potomac, and he also was defeated. The Confederates gained some minor advantages until General Grant, who had displayed far greater military talent than his colleagues, laid siege to Vicksburg on the land side, and, with the assistance of the flotilla of Admiral Farragut, reduced the garrison to such extremities that it capitulated, and General Meade, who had succeeded General Hooker, took up a position at Gettysburg, from which the Confederates vainly endeavoured to dislodge him.

It is unnecessary to follow the changing fortunes of the combatants, "the vulgar and unscientific and senseless butchery," as Cobden had called it. The skill and daring of General Sherman, the calm pertinacity and determination of General Grant, began to tell on the side of the North. The Federal forces were concentrated against their opponents, and Grant was made lieutenant-general with the entire command of the forces. He appointed Sherman to the command of the western army, and himself kept the direction of the Virginian campaign with a determination to take Richmond at any odds. It became a struggle to the death, in which numbers added to improved generalship ultimately gave the victory to the North after another year of movements and counter-movements, and of battles, in which the number of the slain was appalling.

In 1864 Mr. Lincoln was re-elected as president by an overwhelming majority, and this meant the prosecution of the war. It was computed that at the end of that year the North had nearly a million men in arms, while the Southern forces probably amounted to not more than 200,000. Sherman had received the capitulation of Savannah, and was

advancing with his army. Grant still threatened Richmond. On the 14th of January, 1865, Wilmington was taken, and the last communication of the Confederates with the sea was cut off. No more vessels could run the blockade, and Sherman had turned his victorious march northward, wasting the country as he went as one of the means of forcing the South to submission by depriving it of resources. The end was near. On the 1st of April, Petersburg and Richmond both capitulated to Grant. Lee was defeated in his last battle, and was allowed to surrender. The officers were placed on parole, and the troops were permitted to return to their homes on condition of submitting to the Federal authority. General Johnston entered into similar conditions with Sherman, who had carried the war successfully through Georgia and North and South Carolina. There were no longer any Confederate forces in the Atlantic States, and the Southern commanders on either side of the Mississippi gave in their submission. Jefferson Davis, who had left Richmond when it capitulated, was arrested and placed in confinement in Fortress Monroe, from which he was allowed to depart when the war was at an end. The commanders of the Confederate armies were permitted to remain at liberty, and a few civilians who were for a short time imprisoned were soon released. Mr. Lincoln had prosecuted the war to the end for the purpose of restoring the constitution of the United States, and had effected it at enormous cost, but he had more than once endeavoured to negotiate a peace, and it was well known that the conclusion of hostilities would be followed by an amnesty if he had his will. Now that the war was really over there was no display of animosity. Not a single execution took place for political offences; not one victim was claimed for the purpose of satisfying vengeance against those whose crime had been that of secession, though secession had been designated treason to the state. The humanity and generosity of the American nation again asserted itself, and was displayed even after the perpetration of a horrible crime might have been made an excuse for measures of retaliation. For the man who throughout that long national

crisis had kept in view what he believed to be his duty without animosity and without presumption, the man who had grieved over the rebellion, even while he set himself to suppress it, the man who had abstained from invective against England, and had understood better than his colleagues how little the noisy declamations of a violent and ignorant multitude really represent genuine national convictions, was not spared to see the complete restoration of the Union. On the 14th of April, 1865, Abraham Lincoln fell by the hand of an assassin while he was witnessing a dramatic performance at Ford's theatre in Washington.

The president at about nine o'clock had accompanied Mrs Lincoln to the theatre, and occupied a box in which another lady and gentleman were present. About half-past ten, during a pause in the performance, a man entered the box, the door of which was unguarded, and, hastily approaching the president from behind, discharged a pistol at his head. The bullet entered the back of the head and passed nearly through. The assassin then leaped from the box to the stage, brandishing a large knife or dagger, and exclaiming "*Sic semper tyrannis*!" and escaped at the back of the theatre. The screams of Mrs Lincoln first disclosed the fact to the audience that the president had been shot. The report of the pistol, though it rang through the house, had not seemed to excite much attention, but when they knew what had happened the people rose, and numbers rushed towards the stage where the murderer was seen, and exclaimed, 'Hang him! hang him!' There was a scene of wild excitement the performance came to an end, and the "leading lady" of the piece, Miss Laura Keane, who stood at the side of the stage when the fatal shot had been fired, endeavoured in vain to restore the dying president to consciousness. He was removed to a private house opposite the theatre, and the surgeon-general of the army and other medical attendants were called, but death was inevitable. He had been shot through the head above and below the temporal bone, and though for several hours he continued to breathe, at first

regularly and afterwards interruptedly, he died at about twenty minutes past seven the next morning.

The assassin had been recognized as one John Wilkes Booth (the son of an actor once well known in England as a rival of Edmund Kean), a man whose dramatic vanity, added to political fanaticism, led him to perpetrate the crime in this manner. He had two accomplices, one of whom it was discovered had, at the time that Mr Lincoln was assassinated in the theatre, made his way to the residence of Mr Seward, who was lying ill in bed. Having obtained admission by representing that he brought some medicine from Mr Seward's physician, which he was to see administered, he hurried to the sleeping-room on the third floor where his intended victim was lying. Meeting Mr Frederick Seward there he attacked him, striking him over the head with such force as to fracture his skull. He then rushed into the room where the daughter of the patient and a male attendant were sitting, and after stabbing the latter struck at Mr Seward with a knife or dagger twice in the throat and twice in the face, inflicting terrible wounds. By this time Major Seward, the eldest son of the secretary, and another attendant, entered the room, but the desperado wounded both and contrived to make his escape. The victims of the assault afterwards recovered, but were for a long time in great danger, and it was found that a knot of conspirators were associated with Booth and premeditated the assassination of several prominent members of the government. Booth, with an accomplice named Harrold, who had probably kept the way open for him to escape from the theatre, had horses waiting, and fled from the capital, but they were afterwards tracked to a barn near Port Royal in Maryland, where Booth was seen moving with the aid of crutches, as he had broken his ankle in his leap from the president's box to the stage, his spur, it was said, having caught in the folds of the Union flag. After some parley Harrold surrendered, but Booth, being armed, refused to do so, and the barn was fired by the troops, one of whom shot him dead as he was endeavouring to extinguish the flames.

Some of the other conspirators were afterwards arrested and executed

The great conflict was at an end, and the now reunited States had to count the cost. The expenditure, according to the report presented to congress in the early part of 1864, had been raised from about £16,000,000 in 1860 to above £17,360,000 in 1861, £117,216,000 in 1862, and to nearly £184,000,000 in 1863, when 2,480,846 men had been called into military service on the Federal side. In the ensuing year (1864) an enormous addition was made to this already vast expenditure. Before the fall of Richmond it was computed that 252 battles had been fought, of which 17 were naval engagements. The whole country was suffering from the effects not only of the drain upon its resources, but of the terrible slaughter which had made so many homes desolate, and the devastation which had yet to be repaired. The fall of Richmond, after a siege which lasted for 1452 days, during which several desperate engagements took place, was itself less a triumph than an example of the relentless arbitration of the sword. When the Federal troops, under General Grant, entered the city it was a scene of utter wreck and wasteful destruction. The houses were deserted—furniture, merchandise, and the contents of shops and warehouses lay in promiscuous heaps in the streets, which were deep with mud, and at several points both the property that had thus been destroyed and the houses themselves had been set on fire, so that the flames spread, and but for prompt and strenuous exertions the whole place, or at any rate the larger portion of it, would have perished. Perhaps no other nation in the world could have sustained such a prolonged and destructive internal war, and it may be added that while none but a nation of immeasurable activity, vast extent of undeveloped territory, and superb reserves of material wealth, could so rapidly have recovered from exhausting calamities, history has presented no other example of the ready conciliation and generous forbearance which, within a brief period, reunited the hostile states under one acknowledged constitution.

As early as October, 1862, an announcement of the betrothal of the Prince of Wales to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark had aroused the popular interest, and on the 7th of March, 1863, the public reception given to the princess on her arrival in this country was the occasion of a display of national enthusiasm which had probably never been equalled, since it was associated with a genuine and tender interest that quickly developed into a lasting regard for her to whom the magnificent welcome was accorded.

A vague but prevailing sentiment had determined the public mind that an alliance of the heir to the English throne with the daughter of the royal house of Denmark was natural and appropriate, and every one was already prepared to give the princess a right royal reception. Such preparations as could be made to give to the streets of the metropolis a festal aspect were adopted, with the usual rather incongruous result. Banners, flags, wreaths, triumphal arches, festoons, mottoes, and more or less significant devices adorned the whole route through miles of tortuous thoroughfares, and as much as could be done by various unconnected local authorities was achieved for the purpose of making an extra display in the main roads and open spaces of the metropolis. But the real spectacle was the vast multitude of people. Every avenue in which a glimpse of the procession could be obtained was filled with an orderly but enthusiastic assembly. Every house and shop-front on the route was converted into tiers of private boxes, from which smiling faces shone with hospitable greeting. From the ridges of the roofs to the very basements, people clustered. Even on steeples and the cornices and parapets of great buildings determined sight-seers seemed to cling for hours during that keen March morning, and at every available point platforms were erected, where school children sat and sometimes sang, or where ladies' gala dresses added colour and brightness to the scene. It needed only the presence of the princess for whom the vast population waited, to make the occasion historical—and from the first moment of her appearance the hearts of the people seemed to go out to her.

The Prince of Wales had been to Gravesend to meet his affianced bride, and the train that brought them and their suite to Bricklayers' Arms Station travelled slowly, that the people who assembled at every point of the line where a glimpse of the princess could be obtained might not be utterly disappointed. From the Old Kent Road, over London Bridge, through the city, along the Strand, Pall Mall, Piccadilly, to Hyde Park, and to the railway station at Paddington, where they took the train to Windsor, one great triumphant shout of happy and appreciative greeting to the royal pair outrang the bells that pealed in every steeple.

On the 10th the marriage was solemnized at St George's Chapel, Windsor, and the ceremony, with its brilliant surroundings, was exceedingly imposing, apart from the intense interest which was everywhere manifested on the occasion. Not in London only, but in every important town throughout the country the day was observed as a holiday. Official and social banquets were held, and the streets were illuminated. In London the illuminations were magnificent, and an enormous crowd of pedestrians and persons in vehicles filled all the great highways, the bridges, and the public squares, until the morning broke and the last lamps flickered in the dawn.

The injunction of the poet-laureate had been fully carried out by the nation. He had written an ode of welcome —

Sea-kings' daughter from over the sea,
 Alexandra !

Saxon and Norman and Dane are we,
 But all of us Danes in our welcome of thee,
 Alexandra !

Welcome her, thunders of fort and of fleet !
 Welcome her, thundering cheer of the street !
 Welcome her, all things youthful and sweet,
 Scatter the blossom under her feet !
 Break, happy land, into earlier flowers !
 Make music, O bird, in the new-budded bowers !
 Welcome her, welcome her, all that is ours !
 Warble, O bugle, and trumpet blare !
 Flags, flutter out upon turrets and towers !
 Flames, on the windy headland, flare !
 Utter your jubilee, steeple and spire !
 Clash, ye bells, in the merry March air !
 Flash, ye cities, in rivers of fire !
 Welcome her, welcome the land's desire,
 Alexandra !

Sea-kings' daughter as happy as fair,
 Blissful bride of a blissful heir,
 Bride of the heir of the kings of the sea,
 O joy to the people and joy to the Throne,
 Come to us, love us, and make us your own
 For Saxon or Dane or Norman we,
 Teuton or Celt, or whatever we be,
 We are each all Dane in our welcome of thee,
 Alexandra !

The Princess Alexandra Caroline Mary Charlotte Louisa Julia, eldest daughter of Christian, Duke of Glucksburg, and Louise, the daughter of the Landgrave William of Hesse-Cassel, was only nineteen years of age, and was declared to be one of the most charming princesses in Europe, an opinion which was completely endorsed by public opinion in England. Her elder brother, Frederick, was a general in the Danish army, her younger brother, Prince Wilham, who came next in age to herself, was a midshipman in the Danish navy, and then followed her sisters, the Princesses Maria and Thyia, and her younger brother Prince Waldemar.

At the time of the royal marriage the difficulties in Greece had nearly terminated. After the settlement of the cession of the Ionian Islands the Hellenic people became dissatisfied with a form of government which seemed destined to perpetuate confusion instead of securing a national constitution, and determined to elect a sovereign, and to follow the example of Great Britain and Belgium in establishing a limited monarchy. Several European princes were mentioned for the honour of acceding to the throne, but some hung back, and others were ineligible. Among them all the national choice seemed most firmly fixed on our own Prince Alfred, a nomination which her majesty and our government, while thanking the Greeks for the high compliment, felt compelled to decline, as it was contrary to the British constitution for an English prince to become sovereign of another independent nation. The election then ensued, and Prince William of Denmark, then about eighteen years of age, was unmistakably elected, and on the 31st of March, 1863, was made King of Greece by the Hellenic national assembly, under the title of George I.

In the following November Christian, Duke of Glucksburg, himself succeeded to the throne of Denmark on the death of King Frederick VII, on the extinction of whose dynasty (the house of Oldenburg) Prince Christian took the sovereignty, in accordance with a treaty made in 1852, by which the great powers provided for the integrity of the Danish monarchy by settling the succession on Prince Christian of "Schleswig-Holstein-Glucksburg," whose wife, by virtue of certain family renunciations, became heiress of the royal crown of Denmark.

These particulars will presently suggest that "Schleswig-Holstein" difficulty, to which a brief reference will be made in another page

Events in the parliamentary history of the year 1863 were neither very interesting nor remarkably important. The financial statement made by Mr Gladstone excited considerable attention, but there was little scope for originality in the scheme of the budget. The American war and its effects upon English trade and manufacturing industry had left little room for the further remission of taxation on articles of general consumption, though the distress that still prevailed in the cotton districts made such reductions desirable.

At the same time, it was now well understood that the budget for the year would be skilfully designed to afford relief in some directions. The time had arrived when the chancellor of the exchequer had not only reached to the height of a great financial reputation, but had achieved a position where even his opponents acknowledged his consummate ability, and for a time forbore to assail his main proposals. It may be said that at this period Mr. Gladstone was the support of the government of which he was a member, and that had he failed it would have crumbled, not in slow decay, but in immediate ruin. Yet there were two proposals in the budget of 1863 which the house rejected. One was that of charging clubs with a license duty for the wines and spirits sold to members, the same as that imposed on taverns, the other was to include the property of corporate trusts

and the endowments of charitable institutions in the assessments for income-tax.

It may be easily understood that in a house where the majority of the members probably belonged to more than one club, little regard was shown to the argument that the public-house was the club of the working-man, and that if places where people met for refreshment and for society were to be taxed, no exceptions should be made. The "club tax" was negatived.

In reference to the "tax on charities," as it was called, Mr Gladstone contended that it would practically be no tax upon charities at all. An influential deputation waited on him, in which the Duke of Cambridge, representing the governors of Christ's Hospital, declared that the proposed scheme would mulct that institution of £2000 a year. The Archbishop of Canterbury urged objections against applying the tax to the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy and the Clergy Orphan Corporation; the Earl of Shaftesbury, several clergymen, and others interested in some of the larger charities, also strongly deprecated the intended application of the tax to the funds of those institutions.

Mr Gladstone listened, received memorials, and heard what the deputation had to say, but would give them no reply, as the proposition was coming before the House of Commons the same evening. It was then that he entered into a long and closely argued defence of the scheme, which, though he made it no essential part of the budget, and was willing to leave it to the house to determine, he declared to be a just and politic measure. The question was not understood, and he desired to call attention to the nature of the exemptions it was proposed to remove. As to the character of the charities sought to be dealt with, nineteen-twentieths of them were death-bed bequests—a species of bequest which the law did not favour, and which were essentially different from charities, properly so called, which were subject to taxation. He objected to immunities which encouraged men to immortalize themselves as founders. The loss to the state of the exemptions in question was £216,000 a year, while there was a large and

growing charge upon the public funds connected with the administration of charities, amounting to about £45,000 a year, and with other items, the whole loss to the state was nearly half a million per annum. He then analysed the charities in three groups—small, middle, and large—affirming that amongst the small there was hardly one which, in itself, was deserving of the toleration of the house, and which had not been condemned by three separate commissions of inquiry, as tending to pauperize people who sought it, and to compromise their independence and self-respect. The middle charities, which were distributed in money only, were in the main not charities in the strict sense of the term, while as regarded the larger charities, they were full of abuses, and often mere vehicles for patronage, and were not fit subjects for exemptions, which, in fact, amounted to grants of public money. It was not his intention to make any remarks on the management of endowed hospitals, which the house must regard with so much favour and respect, but when at every turn the threat was flung in his face that if the measure were carried out the number of patients must be diminished, he was obliged to give it particular consideration. He did not believe that the number of beds for patients would be reduced. Those who, in the case of the protected trades, declared that if protection were to be withdrawn they must dismiss so many of their workmen, were not men who told lies. They really believed what they said, but were not aware that more economical arrangements would enable them to keep those workmen, pursue their trade, and make larger profits than before. One of the great evils of the existing system was that, while public money was bestowed on these establishments all public control over them was dispensed with, and thus all effective motives for economy were annulled. Endowed institutions laughed at public opinion. The press knew nothing of their expenditure. Parliament knew nothing of it. It was too much to say that hospitals were managed by angels and archangels, and did not, like the rest of humanity, stand in need of supervision, criticism, and rebuke.

Mr. Gladstone seemed to speak with some

asperity of the representation that the scope of the endowed charities would be seriously reduced by the imposition of income-tax, but the majority of his hearers evidently thought that to place a tax upon the income derived from charitable endowments would be in effect to tax the amount of relief that should be derived from such charities by the recipients of their bounty. Again, the inquisitorial character of the income-tax had made it, and must always make it, hateful, and the manner of its assessment and collection rendered it, and continue to render it, obnoxious. The great charities which, whatever may have been or may still be their corruptions and shortcomings, the public recognize as representing the larger proportion of beneficent work among the sick and the afflicted, had a pretty sure ground of appeal against their funds being subject to an impost which was for the most part regarded with detestation by their contributors and subscribers. The income-tax, people were always being told, could only be excused on the ground of its being imposed as a temporary necessity—and yet here was an attempt to fasten it upon the permanent public institutions of the country while the representation that, should its exaction diminish the number of cases relieved by any charity, the loss would soon be repaired by public subscriptions—was only saying that it would be repaired by subscriptions from people whose incomes, from which these subscriptions would be taken, had already been subjected to the same execrable impost. The clauses of the financial project which related to the “taxing of charities” were rejected by the house, nor was there anything to show that they would have been favourably regarded outside Parliament, though the mismanagement and official extortions of some of the large charities were known and resented.

But the main scheme of the budget remained untouched, and though it offered no very striking financial features, it was accompanied by a lucid and interesting exposition of the condition of the country and the operations of its financial measures during some years. From 1858 to 1860–61 there had been an increase of over £8,000,000 in the ex-

enditure The average annual expenditure from 1859 to 1863, including the charge for fortifications, was £71,195,000 Excluding certain items which in their nature did not increase—namely, the interest for the national debt and the charge for collecting the revenue—the charge for the year 1858–59 was £31,621,000, but in 1860–61 it had risen to £42,125,000, or ten millions and a half in two years Since 1853, or the time previous to the Russian war, the charge had increased by something like £18,000,000, and the increase had been called for by the public desire to strengthen the defences of the country The estimates which now had to be made were hopeful, but must be considered with regard to special circumstances, such as the condition of Lancashire “Towards that Lancashire,” said Mr Gladstone, “to which up to this time every Englishman has referred, if not with pride, yet with satisfaction and thankfulness, as among the most remarkable, or perhaps the most remarkable of all the symbols that could be presented of the power, the progress, and the prosperity of England—towards that Lancashire we feel now more warmly and more thankfully than ever in regard to every moral aspect of its condition The lessons which within the last twelve months have been conveyed, if in one aspect they have been painful and even bitter, yet in other aspects, and in those, too, which more intimately and permanently relate to the condition and prospects of the country, have been lessons such as I will venture to say none of us could have hoped to learn. For however sanguine may have been the anticipations entertained as to the enduring power and pluck of the English people, I do not think that any one could have estimated that power of endurance, that patience, that true magnanimity in humble life, at a point as high as we now see that it has actually reached.”

We have already seen what was the attitude of Lancashire during the period of the cotton famine, but there was also dreadful distress in Ireland

The estimated expenditure amounted to £67,749,000 without the cost of fortifications The revenue was estimated at £71,490,000,

leaving a surplus of £3,741,000 The chief points of the proposed financial scheme were the reduction of the duty on tea to a shilling a pound, which would take £1,300,000 from the revenue, and a change in the incidence of the income-tax which would include a reduction It was proposed to make £100 the lowest income which would be assessed for income-tax, and to allow persons whose incomes were below £200 to deduct £60 from the amount, the balance only to be liable to the tax This involved the removal of the former rating on incomes of £150, and a reduction on incomes under £200 The reduction of the tea duty had been called for, ever since it was promised in a former budget of Mr Disraeli, and the incidence of the income-tax was the cause of widely-spread dissatisfaction, pressing hardly as it did, and as it still does (and perhaps must), upon small professional or precarious earnings, as compared with settled incomes derived from certain classes of property

The review of the financial and commercial position of the country which Mr Gladstone brought before the house enlisted profound attention The value of British goods exported to the United States in 1859 was £22,553,000, in 1862 it had fallen to £14,398,000, and thus exhibited a decrease of £8,151,000 The value of foreign and colonial goods exported to the United States from this country had during the same period increased In 1859 it had been only £1,864,000, in 1862 it had increased to £4,052,000 The augmentation was as much as £2,188,000, but nearly the whole of it was represented by the single article of cotton-wool, which amounted in value to no less than £1,712,000 However, deducting the increase on our foreign and colonial goods from the decrease upon our own export of British goods, there remained an aggregate diminution in our export trade to the United States of about £6,000,000.

Taking next the case of our trade with France, it became Mr Gladstone's pleasant duty to point to a very different state of things The year 1859 was the last full natural year before the treaty of commerce In that year the value of British commodities exported to

France was £4,754,000. In the year 1860 the treaty was concluded, and it took effect almost wholly as regarded our imports, but on a very few articles as regarded our exports. The value of British goods exported to France in 1860 was £5,250,000, and thus showed an increase of about £500,000. In 1861 the treaty took effect as regarded its provisions relating to the duties on imports into France it came into operation late in the year, namely, on the 1st of October. A very large augmentation appeared in our exports, but a part of this was due to the concurrence of a very bad harvest in France, with a large supply of corn in the markets of this country. In consequence we sent a great quantity of corn to France, but in order to a more just calculation, this article was not taken into account. After striking off the sum of £1,750,000 for excess in the export of corn, the value of British goods sent to France in 1861 rose to £7,145,000. It thus showed an increase of £2,391,000 over what it had been the last year anterior to the treaty. Then came the year 1862 with the treaty in operation from its beginning to its close. The value of British exports during the year now amounted to £9,210,000. It thus showed an increase of £4,456,000. In other words the amount of British goods sent to France had about doubled under the operation of the treaty of commerce.

But the figures thus named by no means set forth the whole extent of the advantage which the trade of England and France derived from the treaty, for an augmentation of exports still more remarkable took place in foreign and colonial produce, and the committee were reminded that the foreign and colonial produce which we sent to France was something that we had ourselves obtained elsewhere in exchange for British produce. It therefore followed that every increase in the export of foreign and colonial produce from this country constituted or represented effectively a corresponding increase in the export of British manufactures. The value of foreign and colonial produce sent to France in 1859 was £4,800,000, whereas in 1862 it amounted to no less than £12,614,000. Accordingly the

total amount of exports to France, which in 1859 was £9,561,000, had, in 1862, gone up to no less than £21,824,000. In fact, while we had a decrease in the total trade to the United States of £6,618,000, that decrease was a good deal more than made up by the increase in the trade to France, for the augmentation in the French trade was £12,268,000.

In a former page the name of Father Mathew and some particulars of the work that he accomplished in the cause of temperance, or rather of total abstinence, have been recorded.¹ At the date at which we have now arrived (1864-5) his successors in that cause had begun to make a determined effort to obtain distinct legislation for the purpose of forwarding their views and diminishing the vice of drunkenness by parliamentary interposition restricting the sale of intoxicating drinks, or rather giving the power of restriction to a majority of the inhabitants of any particular district.

Of course there were advocates of temperance and of total abstinence before Father Mathew gave to the movement an enormous impetus, the immediate effects of which seem to have diminished for a time after his death. He himself "signed the pledge" at a temperance tea-meeting at Cork, and nine years previously anti-spiritous and temperance societies had been formed in Belfast and Dublin on the plan of the "American Temperance Society," which was instituted at Boston in the United States in 1826. In 1831 the Dublin Society, which had then become the "National Hibernian," reported 15,000 members, and its secretary was Mr Crampton, solicitor-general for Ireland, and afterwards Judge Crampton.

In Scotland the first society pledging its members to abstain from drinking spirits was formed at Greenock by John Dunlop, whose book on *Compulsory Drinking Usages*, published about that time, is itself sufficient to prove what enormous advances have been made during recent years with respect to temperance in the observance of social customs. In 1830 a society was formed at Glasgow, and

¹ Vol. I p. 255.

this soon developed into the more important association known as the Scottish Temperance Society. From the Scottish organization the first English societies are said to have been derived through a merchant of Bradford, Mr. Henry Forbes, who established an association in that town in 1830, and societies were soon afterwards started in Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham, Bristol, and Warrington, one being formed at Preston in 1832. The movement then extended in a rather uncertain manner to London, where a temperance advocate, who was known as Boatswain Smith, carried on the work by speaking at meetings at the east end of London, and publishing temperance tracts against spirit-drinking, most of which had first been issued in America. In 1830, however, a "British and Foreign Temperance Society" was organized in London, and soon began to make considerable progress.

It should be remembered that these societies were really, as their names implied, "Temperance," and not total abstinence societies. They were opposed to the use of spirits, but permitted wine or beer to be taken in moderation. People had not then learned to declare that there is no such thing as moderation in the use of alcoholic beverages, as some of the advocates of total abstinence now put it. It scarcely needs to be said that in various ages there have been people or small associations of people—occasionally whole tribes like the Rechabites—who abstained from all intoxicating drinks, and in Ireland so early as 1817, in Scotland in 1830, and a little later in some other places, total abstinence societies existed, such as the "Paisley Youths" and the "Tradesmen Glasgow Total Abstinence Society." It was at Preston, however, that this exclusive phase of the temperance question first took prominent public shape, and beer was prohibited first by a small section, and afterwards by all the members of the original society. Here, too, the name by which the whole body of total abstainers have since been known was adopted. One of the converts, who was afflicted with an impediment in his speech, in addressing a temperance meeting, said that he was for 'total abstinence', but in his effort to get out the word 'total' he

stuttered so badly that he made it 'tee-total'. Then, in order to emphasize the word, he repeated it. His auditors laughed, seized upon the phrase, and dubbed the Preston temperance folk 'teetotalers', whence the name gradually extended to the entire body of those favouring the principle of total abstinence.

The organization increased—societies and branch societies flourished, and beside issuing publications advocating their cause, started various provisions for mutual benefit, many of which have reached to very remarkable proportions, as such associations will if prudently conducted, whether they be founded by total abstainers, or others who think that they may be moderate partakers of wine or beer without intemperance. Many of these societies had in 1864-65 shown what could be achieved by establishing benefit societies for the relief of sick or disabled members, or friendly societies for mutual help, while the principle of life assurance was adopted, and a society of that kind started for the remarkable reason that a prominent abstainer, wishing to take out a policy of life assurance in one of the already existing offices, was informed that he would be charged an extra premium because of his total abstinence. So the movement went on till in 1856 the number of societies in the United Kingdom represented a great and important interest, and by no means a poor one. At that date the two great organizations, the National Temperance Society and the London Temperance League, were united in "the National Temperance League," of which Mr. Samuel Bowly of Gloucester was made president. There were, of course, other leagues and associations in the provinces, and branch societies in various districts. The movement had become widely representative, and it was thought that something more decided should be done to influence legislation and to compel people to abstain, by acts of parliament for suppressing the sale of intoxicating liquors. For this purpose the "United Kingdom Alliance" was formed at Manchester in 1853, with Sir Walter C. Trevelyan for its president. It set about a regular and continuous agitation of the question by means of local auxiliary branches, agents, district superintendents, and

a complete flood of temperance literature. For upwards of forty years it has spent a large annual income—amounting at present to £13,000—in the effort to carry out the programme of temperance reform with which it started on its career midway in the century. One result of its contemplated work has partly been achieved, since the sale of liquor on Sundays has been greatly restricted, but we may have to touch on this subject later on. When Sir Wilfrid Lawson succeeded Sir Walter Trevelyan as president of the Alliance, preparations were made for what is sometimes called a parliamentary campaign, and the result was that in 1864 the so-called “Permissive Bill” was introduced to the House of Commons, its original provisions having to some extent been founded on the liquor law which Neal Dow, Mayor of Portland, the capital of Maine, in the United States, had introduced there in 1851. As early as 1853, at a great meeting of the Alliance, the following propositions were adopted, and they became the basis of the representations by which the bill was afterwards supported—

“1 That it is neither right nor politic for the state to afford legal protection and sanction to any traffic or system that tends to increase crime, to waste the national resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people

“2 That the traffic in intoxicating liquors as common beverages is inimical to the true interests of individuals, and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and ought therefore to be prohibited

“3 That the history and results of all past legislation in regard to the liquor traffic abundantly prove that it is impossible satisfactorily to limit or regulate a system so essentially mischievous in its tendencies

“4 That no considerations of private gain or public revenue can justify the upholding of a system so utterly wrong in principle, suicidal in policy, and disastrous in results as the traffic in intoxicating liquors

“5 That the legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic is perfectly compatible with rational liberty, and with all the claims of justice and legitimate commerce

“6 That the legislative suppression of the liquor traffic would be highly conducive to the development of a progressive civilization

“7 That, rising above class, sectarian, or party considerations, all good citizens should combine to procure an enactment prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages, as affording the most efficient aid in removing the appalling evils of intemperance”

The methods adopted by this body to promulgate its principles and promote its objects were—1 Lectures and public meetings 2 Essays, tracts, placards, hand-bills, and periodical publications, including a weekly organ, the *Alliance News* (price 1d) 3 Petitions and memorials to parliament, to government, to local authorities, and to religious bodies 4. House-to-house canvasses to ascertain the opinions of heads of families and other adult members 5 Conference of electors, ministers of religion, Sunday-school teachers, the medical profession, and other important bodies

At a meeting convened at Manchester by 400 clergymen and other ministers of religion—the circular convening the conference having received the written sanction of 11,000 such ministers—a declaration was adopted saying “We, the undersigned ministers of the gospel, are convinced by personal observation, within our own sphere, and authentic testimony from beyond it, that the traffic in intoxicating liquors as drink for man is the immediate cause of most of the crime and pauperism, and much of the disease and insanity, that afflict the land, that everywhere, and in proportion to its prevalence, it deteriorates the moral character of the people, and is the chief outward obstruction to the progress of the gospel, that these are not its accidental attendants, but its natural fruits, that the benefit, if any, is very small in comparison with the bane, that all schemes of regulation and restriction, however good so far as they go, fall short of the nation’s need and the nation’s duty, and that, therefore, on the obvious principle of destroying the evil which cannot be controlled, the wisest course for those who fear God and regard man is to encourage legitimate efforts for the entire suppression of the trade, by the power of the

national will, and through the force of a legislative enactment" This declaration received the adhesion in writing of upwards of 3000 ministers of religion

During the years 1858 and 1859 a system of house-to-house canvass was adopted in numerous localities in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, the result of which was declared to be as follows—Favourable to the permissive prohibitory liquor law, 147,821; neutral, 32,140, opposed, 11,894

At the annual council meeting of the Alliance in October, 1857, a draft of suggestions for a permissive prohibitory liquor law was adopted, and put into extensive circulation At the council meeting in 1863 it was confirmed, and in the session that followed a bill founded on it was submitted to the House of Commons The preamble of the bill set forth that, "Whereas the sale of intoxicating liquors is a fruitful source of crime, immorality, pauperism, disease, insanity, and premature death, whereby not only the individuals who give way to drinking habits are plunged into misery, but grievous wrong is done to the persons and property of her majesty's subjects at large, and the public rates and taxes are greatly augmented, and whereas it is right and expedient to confer upon the ratepayers of cities, boroughs, parishes, and townships the power to prohibit such common sale as aforesaid, let it be therefore enacted," &c.

The bill went on to provide that, on application of any district, the votes of the ratepayers shall be taken as to the propriety of adopting the provisions of the act, but that a majority of at least two-thirds of the votes shall be necessary in order to decide that question in the affirmative The act itself would, when once adopted in any district, prohibit within that district all traffic in intoxicating liquor for common purposes

The first reading of the bill, though strongly opposed, was carried by a large majority The second reading was defeated by a large majority, but forty members voted and paired off in favour of it, a much larger number than had been expected by its promoters Petitions in favour of the bill were sent in, bearing upwards of 482,000 signatures

A large number of people, who were not prepared to go the full length of the Permissive Bill, felt that something needed to be done to reduce the immense amount of pauperism and crime which were distinctly traceable to drinking habits acquired by frequenting public-houses. Others were of opinion that the principle of local control which the Permissive Bill embodied was the only one calculated to contend with the gigantic evils which the liquor traffic was producing, and were willing that the bill should be read a second time, in the hope that amendments would be introduced in committee which would modify its too extreme features The only distinct counter-plan suggested, however, was that of Mr Bright, who, while approving the bill, stated what he thought would be a wiser way of dealing with the great distemper which it sought to remedy

"You can make no change," he said, "from where you are, unless you intrust to the municipal council or some committee of the municipal council in the various boroughs the power of determining the number of licenses for the sale of wine, spirits, or beer. I should not have brought such a question as this before the house, and I am not so sanguine of the result of these changes as what I may call the temperance party in the house. I have not that faith in any act of the legislature I believe in the effect of the instruction of the people, and of the improvement that is gradually taking place among them. I think that drunkenness is not on the increase, but rather is declining, and I hope, whether the law be altered or not, we shall find our working-classes becoming more and more sober than in past times But as I have on many occasions been before the public favouring the efforts of the advocates of temperance, I have felt bound to state the reasons why I cannot give my vote in favour of this bill, and to suggest what the house might do by way of giving to the people, through their municipal council, control over this question By doing this you might promote temperance among the people, and at the same time avoid a great and manifest injustice to thousands of persons now engaged in the trade, whose property would be

rendered uncertain, if not altogether destroyed, if the bill should receive the sanction of the house "

Two measures very advantageous to the working-classes were adopted in the course of 1864. The first, proposed by Lord Derby, provided that in every railway leading into the metropolis provision should be made for the accommodation of the working-classes by cheap trains. This proposal was made mainly on the ground that the railways to which it applied had destroyed a large number of the habitations of the labouring classes, compelling them to reside at greater distances than before from the places at which they worked. Lord Derby contended that it was only just that these railways should compensate the people thus disturbed by affording them increased facilities for going to and returning from their work. The measure was accepted by the government, and was the first step in a system which has been very useful to those for whose benefit it was adopted, and a source of profit to the railway companies themselves, who have since found it to their interest greatly to extend the principle on which this important enactment was based. The other boon granted to the working-classes was an act for applying to several other trades the regulations which already protected women and children working in factories.

Though at the close of 1863 England was not implicated in the disturbances which were brewing abroad, there was a feeling of uncertainty on the part of the government, with respect to the attitude that might be assumed by other powers in relation to the struggle which the Poles were making to regain their national liberty, and the hostilities which were threatened by Prussia against Denmark on account of the Schleswig-Holstein question.

"The wrongs of Poland" was no new phrase. Subscriptions for the distressed Poles—balls, concerts, conversaziones, for the purpose of relieving the sufferings of Polish exiles, had been familiar announcements years before, but it now appeared as though Poland itself

was to be extinguished, its people either exterminated by slaughter or denationalized by the slower processes of torture, imprisonment, or exile. The plan adopted by Russia was, to order a conscription among the Poles for the purpose of recruiting the Russian army, or, as Lord Napier said, "to make a clean sweep of the revolutionary youth of Poland, to shut up the most energetic and dangerous spirits in the restraints of the Russian army, to kidnap the opposition and carry it off to Siberia or the Caucasus." But the Russian attempt was not confined to suppression or to the deportation of those persons who were known or even suspected to be revolutionary. Warsaw was placed under the control of soldiers and police agents. The houses, of which they had made a list, were surrounded, the men in them seized and carried off for military service. For those who were absent the parents were taken as guarantees for their return. On the first night of this inquisition 2500 men were taken away, and insults and wanton cruelties were inflicted. It was evident to the unhappy Poles that a reign of terror was approaching, and next day thousands of persons took to flight and prepared for resistance. In the previous year the Russian soldiers had fired on the people at Warsaw, and had committed ferocious cruelties. The Polish women, even ladies of high rank, had long worn mourning, had entirely given up dancing, and attended few public amusements, much to the mortification of the Russian military officers and civilians, who had ever found Warsaw a gay city, and Polish society brilliant and accomplished. The Russians resented the silent demonstration, many of them may have deplored the causes of it, but there was no longer any hesitation on the part of the government of the Grand-duke Constantine. The barbarous ferocity which was said to underlie the grand air of Nicholas and his progenitors seemed to remain. In a short time out of 184,000 persons only 683 were left to carry on the trade of the country, 14,000 men and women had been crowded into a dungeon at Warsaw, and Count Zamoyski, for presenting a petition couched in the most respectful language, had been banished. Barracks and fortresses had been

converted into political prisons—there seemed to be no limit to Russian fury against those who dared even to whisper the words liberty and justice. It was Mr. Pope Hennessey who brought the affairs of Poland before the House of Commons, that is to say, he opened the debate on the subject in a speech which found an echo throughout England. Public indignation was aroused, not here alone, but in France, and even in Austria, by the atrocities of the Russians. Only Prussia appeared to follow the policy of sticking to her former allegiance to the Russian autocracy, and expressed approval by beginning to persecute the people of her own Polish provinces in a methodical manner. In our own parliament there were no uncertain denunciations of the course pursued at Warsaw. Prominent speakers on both sides of the house joined in the condemnation, but, except for the moral effect these declarations might have upon Russia, no step could be taken by the house itself, and it was left for the government to see what could be done in the way of remonstrance. This was not considered satisfactory by those people outside who were naturally burning with anger at the intelligence that continued to come from Poland, where all the provinces were roused to what, after all, must be a hopeless insurrection, in which the nation might be exterminated, but could never hope to secure ultimate victory against the overwhelming forces of Russia. A great meeting was called at the Guildhall in the city of London, where much earnest enthusiasm was exhibited, but the question of entering upon a war with Russia, even if we again had France for an ally, could not be reasonably entertained even by the enthusiasts. In such an event Russia would have had time to crush and utterly annihilate the people on whose behalf we interfered, before we could reach the scene of strife. Already the Poles were fighting desperately, and though an organized resistance had been made in various parts of Russian Poland, directed by a central committee sitting at Warsaw, Langiewicz, the general who had been fighting at the head of the national forces as "Dictator," was unable to maintain the unequal contest. The skirmishes, in which regiments of starving

and hunted insurgents vanquished isolated bodies of their foes, only wore out the "liberators" and reduced their numbers, without leading to any permanent achievement on the side of freedom.

Earl Russell, however, wrote with commendable firmness to our minister at St. Petersburg, saying, that as a party to the treaty of 1815, Great Britain was entitled to express its opinions on the events then taking place. He went on to ask "why the emperor, whose benevolence was generally and cheerfully acknowledged, did not put an end to the bloody conflict, by proclaiming mercifully an immediate and unconditional amnesty to his revolted Polish subjects, and at the same time announce his intention to replace without delay his kingdom of Poland in possession of the political and civil privileges which were granted to it by the Emperor Alexander I. in execution of the stipulation of that treaty? If this were done, a national diet and a national administration would in all probability content the Poles, and satisfy European opinion."

What did Russia care about European opinion, while Prussia supported her by the stimulating flattery of imitation? It is true that the Polish peasantry were relieved from some of the oppressions which the landed proprietors had formerly exercised, but this relief, which had made part of the policy of the emperor on his coming to the throne, only seemed to identify Poland with Russia, at a time when ruthless tyranny was being exercised for the same object.

France had remonstrated with as little effect, and in May (1863) so obvious was the intention to force an amalgamation of the Poles with Russia, that the Polish central committee conducting the insurrection rejected the amnesty that was offered them, on conditions evidently intended to promote this object.

In Prussia Count Bismarck had begun a new career, and had made haste to assert that the Prussian government differed from that of England, inasmuch as the ministry was not that of the parliament but of the king. The corollary of this was soon apparent, for a month or so afterwards the king, replying to

an address from the Chamber of Deputies, stated that as the ministry had his entire confidence, he intended to carry on the government without a parliament. The assembly of deputies was then dissolved, a proceeding which, it was said, called forth the remonstrances of the crown prince.

The note sent to Lord Napier, our representative at St Petersburg, naming the points which should be observed towards Poland, in accordance with the treaty of 1815, was drawn up by our government, concurrently with France and Austria. To this Prince Gortschakoff replied, in the usual Russian manner first, that if Earl Russell knew what was really taking place, he would know that the insurrection was crushed—that the peasantry and the trades'-people were opposed to it, that the insurgents were only endeavouring to raise a diplomatic intervention in the hope of armed interference, and finally, that nothing would be accepted by the emperor, but for the insurgents to lay down their arms unconditionally and submit to his majesty's clemency. They had had a long experience of what might be expected from Russian clemency, and the insurrection went on till it became hopeless, and then once more Poland fainted, and the Russian clemency came in by forbidding the women of Warsaw to wear mourning for those who had fallen in the struggle.

The attitude of Austria in supporting remonstrances to the Russian government against the oppression of the Poles was, perhaps, suggestive of the shadows that precede coming events. It should be remembered that at the time of the Crimean war Austria showed the same desire to secure an agreement with England and France in view of the subservency of Prussia to the Czar Nicholas and the probable results of an alliance between the cousins. Assuredly Austria assumed a very different policy in relation to the Polish question to that which she adopted towards Italy. The Poles in Galicia probably had to thank the Austrian jealousy of Russia and distrust of Prussia for the comparatively impartial conduct of the power which had previously had so dark a reputation among oppressed nations.

The Emperor of the French was no more inclined than the English government to go to war with Russia for the problematic relief of Poland. At that moment Napoleon III had his hands pretty well full of an enterprise upon which he had entered with an almost reckless determination to achieve some startling effects and show how far the aims and influence of France might reach under imperial guidance.

In 1861, after a long series of revolutions and disturbances, some sort of government had been temporarily established in Mexico by the election of Juarez as president of the Mexican Republic. But Juarez was regarded as an usurper, the country was still in disorder, the struggles of the various factions continued, and the new government, like most of its predecessors, was uncertain, while the action which it took to establish its authority consisted rather of threats against personal safety and property than efforts to protect either. At all events so little were the rights of Europeans respected that it was judged advisable for a convention to be entered into between Great Britain, France, and Spain, to demand from the authorities in Mexico more efficient protection as well as a fulfilment of the obligations that had been contracted. The convention signed in London provided that a sufficient force should be sent to seize upon the Mexican fortresses on the coast and to uphold the demands made, but that neither power should make use of the expedition for acquiring territory or other advantage, that the people of Mexico should not be interfered with in their right to elect what government they pleased, that each of the powers concerned should be represented by a commissioner, and that though any delay might prevent the accomplishment of the purpose of the convention—the claims of the United States of America to be also represented on the convention should be regarded, and an "identical" of the agreement should be despatched to that government for its acceptance. The United States government, however, wisely refused to join the convention. The expedition consisted of 6000 men sent by France and Spain, while our contribution was

a line-of-battle ship, two frigates, and 700 supernumerary marines

The probability of the necessity for hostilities in Mexico had, for some time past, been the cause of uneasiness both in France and England. Strong representations had been made of the injustice and even the barbarity displayed to European residents in that country, and it was therefore important that the commissioners should seek redress with an expeditionary force, which was considered sufficient to add authority to their demands.

These demands were accompanied by an invitation to the Mexicans to put an end to their long anarchy and confusion, from which they had suffered through the factions of rival pretenders to government, by electing their own ruler, with the support of the allied representatives.

On the 10th of January the commissioners of the allied powers issued at Vera Cruz a proclamation, in which they adverted to the frequent breach of treaties and agreements, claimed the right of their citizens to reside in the country without being molested, and exhorted the people to establish a government and put an end to their devastating civil wars. To this proclamation was attached a despatch from the plenipotentiaries of each of the allied powers, stating the nature of their respective demands.

Among those who accompanied the French expeditionary force was a Mexican émigré named General Almonte, whose presence was intensely objectionable to the Mexican government, since it was believed that the true reason of his presence was to excite a civil war for some ulterior object, which was afterwards suspected to be the promotion of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria to the throne of the country, with the connivance of France. Maximilian was brother to the Emperor of Austria and had married the Princess Charlotte, the youngest daughter of the King of Belgium by Louise, daughter of Louis Philippe. Both Maximilian and his archduchess were good amiable people, and much beloved by our queen and by Prince Albert.

It is difficult even now to see by what strange

process of self-deception Napoleon III. could have come to the conclusion that he would be able to impose a European archduke on the Mexican people, or what advantage he could ultimately gain for France or for himself by such an attempt. It is equally astonishing that Maximilian should have been permitted by his friends and counsellors to undertake such a responsibility, even though he relied on the promise of a sufficient force being left in Mexico to support and protect him. Whatever may have been the foundation for the suspicion of Almonte's mission, it was certainly confirmed by M. Billault's remarks in reply to the subsequent discussion on the subject in the Corps Législatif. He then said it was "false to assert that France had sent Almonte to excite a civil war. He was only to arrive in the city of Mexico when the ballot had been opened, to consult the national will. He arrived in Mexico under the protection of the French flag, and committed no hostile act before the rupture of negotiations." This seems to admit that the archduke, being known to France as a candidate whose interests Napoleon III. desired to promote, Almonte, as his agent, was permitted to be present, with the danger of being suspected to influence the elections in favour of a foreign ruler, designed to seek an empire by a plebiscite.

At all events the Mexican government demanded that Almonte should be sent back to France. A conference with commissioners appointed by the Juarez government had been appointed to take place at Orizaba on the 15th of April, but the French commissioner, M. Dubois de Saligny, refused to join it, alleging that the real and principal object of the convention was to obtain satisfaction for outrages heaped upon foreigners by the Mexican government, and to enforce its observance of treaties, that the temporizing and conciliatory system hitherto pursued was condemned by what was daily occurring, inasmuch as the reign of extortion, tyranny, and violence had been made doubly oppressive, and rendered the situation of foreigners intolerable, that proofs of this were daily afforded by the complaints sent to him, that

the attitude of the allied forces appeared to stimulate the government to redoubled audacity, that, for his part, he formally declared he would not treat with that government, and that his well-matured opinion was that it was necessary to march upon Mexico

For this the commissioners of England and Spain, Sir C Wyke and General Prim, were in no way prepared. They thought that the conference should take place, and at length, as they could not induce M de Saligny to alter his determination, the English and Spanish governments relinquished their co-operation, and their troops were withdrawn from Mexico

The consequence was that the French army, under General Lorencez, was left to prosecute the enterprise alone. On the 16th of April the French commissioners issued a proclamation saying, "We are not here to take part in your discussions, but to settle them. Let men who have been too long divided rally round us. In their hands are the destinies of Mexico. The French flag has been planted on Mexican soil, that flag will not retire. Let wise men hail it as a friendly flag, only madmen will dare to fight it."

The Mexican troops, under General Zaragoza, had retired from Orizaba, which was occupied by the French about the middle of April. Puebla had been represented as the town most hostile to Juarez, and yet, after a desperate attempt, the French general failed to take the two forts by which it was protected.

The news of the repulse of the troops caused great dissatisfaction in France, but it was then too late to accept the disaster and retire from any further attempt. The government had been deceived as to the state of public feeling in Mexico, but it was necessary to support their flag energetically on every point where it was engaged.

This was the expressed determination of the committee, who passed the bill granting supplementary credits, to enable General Forey to go out at the head of the reinforcements, which reached Vera Cruz at the end of the year.

The French army in Mexico then amounted to not less than 30,000 men.

In 1863 the treaty of commerce with England had, it was said, tended still further to develop the resources of France. The exports increased from those of the previous year by the amount of 233,000,000 francs, while during the same period 175,000 tons of shipping had been added to the mercantile marine, of which 136,000 tons were under the French flag. The harvest was abundant, public works were carried on with great enterprise, and considerable prosperity was manifest, notwithstanding the expenses required for carrying on the war.

General Forey had taken Puebla. The garrison defending it suffered severely from hunger, and General Ortega, who commanded the place, proposed to capitulate, but asked to be allowed to leave with the honours of war, and with arms, baggage, and artillery to withdraw to Mexico. This was refused, General Forey demanding that his army should march past the French army, lay down their arms, and remain prisoners of war. These proposals were not accepted, and on the night of the 16th of May General Ortega disbanded his army, destroyed the weapons, spiked his guns, blew up the powder magazines, and sent an envoy to the French general to say that the garrison had completed its defence, and surrendered at discretion. By daylight 12,000 men, mostly without arms or ammunition, surrendered as prisoners, and about 1000 officers of different grades awaited the orders of General Forey at the palace of the government.

On the 10th of June the French army made its triumphal entry into the city of Mexico. The throne was then at the disposal of the conquerors. General Forey issued a proclamation, in which he said "I invoke the support of all classes, I demand of all parties to lay down their arms, and to employ henceforth all their strength, not in destroying, but in constructing. I proclaim oblivion of the past, and a complete amnesty for all those who will rally in good faith round the government which the nation, by its own free-will, shall impose upon itself." These were excellent words, but there was nobody left who was strong enough to oppose the method of obtaining the plebiscite.

Juarez and the members of his government

had already evacuated the city and retired to San Luis Potosi, and no attempt was made to disturb the French occupation. "An assembly of notables," 215 in number, was constituted, the members of which, it was carefully represented, were taken from all classes. They were to determine what form of government should be established in Mexico, their vote on this question was to unite two-thirds of their suffrages.

On the 10th of July they resolved that Mexico should be an empire, and that the throne should be offered to the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. In the event of his refusal to accept the crown, the Emperor of the French was to be requested to select a candidate for the imperial dignity. The archduke was therefore solemnly proclaimed emperor, and a deputation of "notables" proceeded to Europe to offer him the throne.

He received them at his residence near Trieste, and, in answer to their offer, accepted the trust, on the condition that there should be a spontaneous expression of the wishes of the whole nation, that he should obtain guarantees securing Mexico against the dangers that threatened her integrity and independence. He also declared that it was his intention to open the path of progress by a constitution, as was done by Napoleon III., and, "after the complete pacification of the country, to seal the fundamental law with an oath."

It was not till May, 1864, that he assumed the empire, after the expression of that "spontaneous desire of the majority" which he had demanded. He then issued an imperial proclamation at Vera Cruz, and became the ruler of Mexico, under the partial protection of France.

The unhappy result of the French intervention in Mexico is one of the saddest records of history during that period. After his accession the Emperor Maximilian discovered that the French government had been entirely mistaken in their estimate of the Mexican character, and that he had been grossly deceived in the assurances he had received of the stability of the population, and their desire for European intervention. A series of conflicts, which partook of the character-

istics of a continued intestine war, joined to insurrectionary troubles, kept his throne insecure and gave him only the shadow of empire. Juarez was again in arms, and his followers were active, numerous, and fighting in a kind of guerilla warfare, which perpetually harassed the regular forces, and yet gave them none of the advantages of such victories as they were able to gain.

At the beginning of February, 1867, the Emperor Maximilian left the city of Mexico at the head of his army, and marched northwards, where the adherents of Juarez were in force. He occupied the town of Queretaro with about 10,000 troops, and then had to sustain the attacks of General Escobedo, which were generally defeated, but without such a decided victory as to crush the revolt.

The whole of the French troops quitted Mexico in the early part of 1867, leaving him to carry on the conflict. In the beginning of April his reverses began. Puebla was captured by the Juanists, who at once prepared to lay siege to the city of Mexico, and surrounded Queretaro, then held by the emperor, and the garrison of which was reduced to desperate straits. The place becoming at last untenable, Maximilian determined to make an attempt to cut through the enemy's lines, but it was too late. On the 14th of May the Juanists, under Escobedo, forced their way into the town, and after a short resistance the emperor surrendered, and was taken prisoner with all his staff. In the following month Maximilian, who bore his reverses with great dignity and resignation, was brought before a council of war at Queretaro, and with his generals, Miramon and Mejia, was condemned to death. On the morning of the 19th they were led out to the place of execution and shot. The following official notice was published to the Mexican people — "Ferdinand Maximilian von Hapsburg, a grandduke of Austria and an ally of Napoleon III. of France, came to Mexico to rob the country of its independence and its institutions, and although a mere usurper of the national sovereignty, assumed the title of emperor. This usurper having been captured by the republican forces at Queretaro, on the 15th of May, 1867, he was

sentenced to death by a military court-martial, with the concurrence of the nation, and was shot for his crimes against the independence of the nation at Queretaro, on the 9th of June, 1867, in company with Generals Miramon and Mejia. Peace be to his ashes!"

A few days afterwards the city of Mexico surrendered, and Juarez became once more absolute master of the kingdom, or rather of a republic, which, in the space of less than fifty years, had been the scene of upwards of thirty changes of government. At the close of the year he was elected president.

The Archduchess Charlotte, ex-Empress of Mexico, contrived to escape from the country, and returned to Europe in a condition of mind which aroused the respectful sympathy of all who knew her sad history.

Although in the course of two or three years her condition seemed to improve, she never wholly recovered mental balance, or at least not for very long at a time. She resided chiefly at the Palace of Læken, near Brussels, where in her lucid intervals she employed her leisure in writing her memoirs of the history of the Mexican Empire.

The policy of Napoleon III seems to have been to combine the development of the internal material resources of France with such a degree of foreign influence as would make his opinion, supported by the nation, a power not only in Europe but in distant countries. In Syria, where French arms vindicated the rights of the Christian population, in Montenegro, where the national desire to become part of a single government, including all the principalities, was upheld by French influence, in Cochin China, where an expedition had been organized for promoting French colonial interests, in Spain, where the questions of the frontier line and the debt of 1823 were settled without further misunderstanding, and in Switzerland, where the differences arising from disputes about the valley of the Dappes were explained and remedied, this prompt and aggressively conciliatory intervention was exercised. France was powerful and respected even where suspicion still existed as to the probable intentions of her

ruler, for nearly all the world seems to have agreed to give Napoleon III credit for subtle statecraft, while he himself assumed to be the least secret and the least combinative of European sovereigns. He claimed credit for frankness, and professed to pursue a candid and easily estimated policy. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the promptitude of action, combined with the liberal sentiments which characterized the whole policy of the emperor, had placed the country high in the rank of nations with reference to all questions affecting peace and mutual understanding between European states. It was with this assurance that, on the 4th of November, 1863, the emperor proposed to the other powers to regulate the condition of Europe, and to secure its future by a congress of nations or an international council. This proposition was accompanied by an invitation, which said —

"In case the princes, allies and friends of France, should think proper to heighten by their presence the authority of the deliberations, I shall be proud to offer them my cordial hospitality. Europe would see, perhaps, some advantage in the capital from which the signal for subversion has so often been given, becoming the seat of the conferences destined to lay the basis of a general pacification."

After some diplomatic correspondence, in which it was stated that the emperor had already indicated the questions of Poland, Denmark, and Germany, the Danubian Principalities, Austria and Italy, and the occupation of Rome, to be those which would demand discussion, Earl Russell, on the part of the English government, declined participation in the congress, on the ground that those questions could not be decided by the mere utterance of opinions, while if the mere expression of wishes and opinions would accomplish no positive results, it appeared certain that the deliberations of a congress would consist of demands and pretensions put forward by some and resisted by others. That there being no supreme authority in such an assembly to enforce the decisions of the majority, the congress would probably separate leaving many of its members on worse terms with each other than they had been when they met, while if this

would be the probable result, it followed that no decrease of armaments would be likely to be effected by the proposed congress

The Emperor of Russia gave his entire adhesion to the principle of settling the peace of Europe by such a representative meeting of the sovereigns, but thought it essential that Napoleon III, who initiated the proposal, should define clearly the questions which, in his opinion, should be the subject of an understanding, and the bases upon which this understanding would have to be established

The Queen of Spain gave her ready adhesion to the proposal, and promised cordial co-operation

The Emperor of Austria considered it essential to have a clear understanding upon the point of departure, to define the object and means of action held in view, and to determine beforehand the line of conduct that would be followed

The King of Prussia considered the measures to be discussed should first be submitted to the responsible ministers of the respective states

The pope accepted the proposition with the utmost gratification, only reserving, with satirical caution, the power to sustain with the greatest rigour the rights of the Romish Church

The Swiss Confederation, the new King of Greece, and the King of Denmark accepted the proposal without reserve, and the replies of the King of Hanover and the King of Bavaria were equally favourable. It was evident, however, that the English minister had stated the true difficulty, the objections of Prussia, Russia, and Austria were proofs that this difficulty was sufficient to prevent any lasting advantage from a deliberative assembly to which each member would go with the view rather of confirming than relinquishing the demands of his policy

It would have been well, indeed, if some of the questions then arising in Europe could have been settled by pacific discussion. The effusion of blood during the Polish insurrection would then have been stayed, the question of the claims of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein might have been so settled as to avert the events that led to the dreadful war between

Austria and Prussia, the liberty of Italy might have penetrated Rome, set free from the threatenings of French bayonets. But the very statement of these subjects of discussion is almost sufficient to show that no decision was likely to be come to, involving the satisfactory arrangement of affairs which had already been made of vital importance by the states which included them in their most unyielding demands

Small war clouds gathering and bursting in other places challenged comparatively little attention while the roar of the great tempest of strife continued in America. The sufferings of Poland excited much emotion, the expedition to Mexico aroused curiosity not unmixed with apprehension of the result. The archduke consented to take his cue from an actor who had written only his own part in the drama which ended in a tragedy, not for Maximilian only, but as some thoughtful statesmen believed, for the French emperor also. There were forewarnings that the prestige of Napoleon III would never survive the Mexican fiasco, and that, from the moment of its becoming known, it would lead to the downfall of his power. If this opinion was founded on the belief that he had already given evidence of a weak reliance on false or incompetent advisers, it was signally verified, but it is characteristic of many prophecies that they are fulfilled in a manner or under conditions not clearly perceived by the prophet himself. Meantime, while the wretched dénouement of the Mexican story was scarcely guessed at, and while fresh difficulties in China and the necessity for insisting on reparation for attacks on British traders in Japan were engaging some notice here, the arrogant assumptions which Prussia had for some time been exhibiting, threatened the peace of Europe.

The Schleswig-Holstein question, though by no means a laughing matter, was, at the time, jocularly mentioned as another way of expressing an insoluble problem. The rival claims of the kingdom of Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein as represented by the hereditary prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg were not

clear to people who heard of them for the first time, nor was it by any means to be concluded that the King of Prussia had any just claim to make such an easy display of the growing power of his authority, by commencing hostilities against a small state in defiance of European opinion. He had become strong enough to refuse the urgent invitation of the Emperor of Austria to attend a congress of the German sovereigns at Frankfort for the purpose of forming a Bund or confederation of all their states. The dream of "United Germany" must be realized, if it were to be realized at all, by the domination of Prussia—and thus it was realized years afterward, but not till Austria had been temporarily crushed by a war which, for a time, crippled her resources and left her German scarcely even in name.

There is no need to go into the remote history of the relations between the German states, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and the kingdom of Denmark.

The dispute which menaced the peace of Europe was, as the *Times* said, not calculated to inspire implicit confidence in the arrangements of governments assembled in congresses or in conferences. The chronic difficulty of the duchies attached to the Danish crown had been unexpectedly rendered urgent by the death of Frederick VII, the last king of the house of Oldenburg. As long as the kings were absolute in Denmark their ducal sovereignty in Schleswig and Holstein involved no subordination of their German subjects to the Danes of the kingdom. It was only when a representative constitution was granted in 1846 that the conflict of races seriously commenced, and in 1848 it produced civil war. With the aid of Prussia the Germans of Holstein and Schleswig expelled the Danish forces from both duchies, but on the withdrawal of the Prussian troops the Danes recovered the greater part of Schleswig, and finally, the authority of Frederick VII was re-established in both duchies by various conventions in 1850 and 1851. Austria and Prussia, on behalf of Germany, assented to the dissolution of the ancient union between Holstein and Schleswig, and, in return, Denmark undertook to perform

the federal engagements which were due in Holstein, and to maintain various privileges and immunities which were claimed by the German inhabitants of Schleswig. In 1852 the great powers thought it expedient, in anticipation of the extinction of the dynasty, to provide for the integrity of the Danish monarchy, including the ancient dependencies of the crown. By the Treaty of London, executed by the five powers and by Denmark and Sweden, the succession was settled on Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg, whose wife became, by aid of certain family renunciations, the heiress of the royal crown of Denmark. The Duke of Augustenburg, who was heir of Holstein and claimant of Schleswig, was induced to relinquish his pretensions, and the King of Prussia, who was head of the ducal house of Holstein-Gottorp, agreed to postpone any hereditary claim which he might have asserted. All the principal German states, except Bavaria and Baden, afterwards adhered to the treaty, and on the death of Frederick VII Prince Christian possessed an undisputed diplomatic title. In the interval, however, extreme irritation had existed between Germany and Denmark, especially when Frederick VII was said to have encroached on federal rights by a patent establishing a constitution in Holstein, issued in the spring of the year 1863. Federal execution in the duchy was imminent, when the accession of King Christian IX in Denmark afforded an excuse for opening the question of his right to the duchies. Prince Frederick, son of the Duke of Augustenburg, disputed the validity of his father's renunciation, and nearly every legislative assembly in the German states urged their respective governments to recognize his title.

But the points actually in dispute, the concessions in regard to which Prussia and the diet had at one stage of the negotiations virtually agreed to accept, may be all summed up in a single question—that of the budget. The duchy and the diet had rejected any plan for a constitution of the whole monarchy by Frederick VII, and any reasonable plan for a provisional government of the duchy alone. As the government had to be carried

n, however, the only way that remained was through the King of Denmark as absolute Duke of Holstein and the old assembly of states. It was quite obvious, also, that while any connection remained between the government of Denmark and Holstein, the latter must contribute to the expenses of that government. It was on the budget, therefore, that the dispute between the king and the duchy arose. The Holstein estates made the demand that they themselves should decide the amount of their contribution to the revenue, and that the budget of the duchy should be submitted to their consideration. This the Danish government had refused, but as the diet had actually urged the extravagant demand that the budget for the whole monarchy should be submitted to the deliberate vote of the Holstein estates, the three great powers—Russia, France, and England—had recommended Denmark to make concessions enabling the estates to deliberate on the budget for the duchy. In a new provisional constitution for the duchy these concessions were granted on the advice of the great powers who were parties to the original treaty, in order to preserve the peace of Europe, but the estates, supported by Prussia and the diet, continued to reject the proposals though they included the demands which had formerly been made. It was therefore not unnaturally concluded by Denmark that the great powers would address a firm, united, and urgent remonstrance to the diet and Prussia, and would support Denmark by protesting against any federal execution being attempted. But the very proposal of the constitution, in which the concessions were included, was resented as an unauthorized assumption of power. On the accession of King Christian IX. Austria and Prussia were for demanding the repeal of the constitution of the kingdom, which included Schleswig, and proposed to the diet that the duchy should be occupied till the concession was made. They did not desire to proceed to actual war, and the Prussian minister did not recognize the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, while Austria was believed to be not unwilling to yield to "moral" intervention. Bismarck and the Prussian sovereign were pro-

bably averse to take a position in hostilities against a small state when they could only do so by acting in conjunction with those other German states, the congress of which, under Austrian influence, they had refused to attend. Austria had perhaps no relish for measuring her military efficiency with that of Prussia at such a time. But the minor states, under the direction of the Saxon minister, Baron Beust, outvoted Austria and Prussia in the diet, and insisted on immediate war.

Not till the 2d of December, 1863, did the Prussian chambers, by a majority of 231 to 63, pass a resolution "that the honour and interests of Germany demand that all the German states should preserve the rights of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, that they should recognize the hereditary prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, and should lend him assistance in vindication of his rights." Probably this was a timely diversion of the attention of the Prussian assemblies from the autocratic contempt which Count Bismarck and the king had constantly shown for popular demands and parliamentary representations. The King of Denmark declared that he would resist all revolutionary movements in Holstein. The Danish foreign minister afterwards addressed the ministers of Prussia, Austria, Saxony, and Hanover, pronouncing the decree of the federal diet for giving effect to procedure of execution in the duchies to be devoid of binding force because of the exclusion of the plenipotentiary of Denmark from the assembly. He also announced that the mediation which had been proffered by the British government had been accepted. His representations were made on the 19th of December. On the 23d a detachment of Saxon and Hanoverian troops entered Holstein.

Of course neither Prussia nor Austria could hold back on an occasion when it was necessary for them to assert their importance as chief states in the German Confederation. Circumstances had imposed on them the condition that they should only be able to assert their rivalry by becoming allies. On the 16th of January, 1864, the federal commission

having suppressed the administration of Holstein and established a ducal government at Kiel, Austria and Prussia demanded of Denmark that the constitution of November, 1863, should be suppressed within forty-eight hours. This was refused, and an Austro-Prussian army under Marshal Wrangel, entered Holstein on the 21st.

England had remonstrated. Earl Russell had spoken with considerable plainness. On the 31st of December, 1863, he had addressed a note to the federal diet demanding in the interests of peace that a conference of the powers that signed the Treaty of London should, in conjunction with a representative from the German Confederation, meet in Paris or London to settle the differences between Germany and Denmark, and that the status quo should be maintained till the conference had concluded its work. The "status quo," as we have seen, had been changed before anything was done. Even if Austria and Prussia had been inclined to hold their hands after the serious representations of England, they were urged on by the smaller confederated states, by which Prussia had previously been accused of a want of a national spirit for hesitating to break the treaties which secured the Danish monarchy. It was a juncture when the state that must take the lead in a possibly united Germany of the future would have to sacrifice some scruples, and even risk the disfavour of the other powers of Europe.

Was the risk so very great? The queen's speech at the opening of the English parliament in 1864 set forth that the death of the late King of Denmark brought into immediate application the stipulation of the treaty of 1852 which declared that it was conducive to the preservation of the balance of power and to the peace of Europe that the integrity of the Danish monarchy should be maintained, but this speech was delivered four days after Austria and Prussia had told the Diet of Frankfort that they should take the occupation of Schleswig into their own hands as parties to the treaty of 1852, and had summoned Denmark to annul the constitution by which Schleswig was incorporated with the kingdom, and to surrender the duchy which General de

Meza, the Danish commander, said he had orders to defend.

The very day before the opening of the British parliament the Prussians had bombarded and begun to burn Missunde, three days afterward the Danes had retreated from the Dannewerke, leaving behind all the heavy artillery which defended the forts, in less than a week the Austro-Prussian army had occupied North Schleswig. Then the Danes quitted the place, declaring both duchies in a state of blockade, and before the end of the month (February, 1864) Denmark had first opposed the proposal of Earl Russell to leave the settlement of the question of succession to a conference of the powers concerned in the former treaty. It was not unnatural that Denmark should hope for material aid from England, or from England and France together, but the English government declined to enter into a conflict alone, with the probability of finding that their action had produced a war which would alter the relative disposition of all the powers of Europe. France, Russia, and Sweden showed no alacrity in joining to force the hand of Prussia and defeat the demands of the German Confederation. Denmark was obstinately deaf to the advice that by yielding to certain claims which had been interpreted into engagements to Germany, her own undoubted claims might be more effectually supported. Earl Russell argued that England was not bound to act alone while there were other parties to the treaty, and therefore the honour of England was not involved because the Danes had formed expectations of our assistance while refusing to accept advice. At all events the Emperor of the French did not seem disposed to propose any joint action with this country. He had been piqued at the refusals to join in a general congress of nations, and he had himself received no overtures from us when he was supposed to be willing to intervene on behalf of Poland. On the other hand, Russia was shy of both France and England. The Polish insurrection had been put down in fire, in carnage, and in banishment, and the element of religious persecution had been imported into it till the cruelties against the Roman Catholics of

Poland had actually aroused the remonstrances of the pope, whose voice had not been heard in denouncing the cruelties of tyranny while it had the name of being merely secular. Russia, too, probably recognized its obligations to Prussia in this matter, and though willing to add grave remonstrances to the representations of other powers against the breach of treaty obligations and the duty of abstaining from demands which would imperil the peace of Europe, was not at all likely to repay and against Poland by hostilities to preserve Denmark.

It may have seemed good for Denmark that the conference in London was at length agreed to, but it is scarcely to be wondered at that Prussia and Austria, flushed with success and perceiving little probability of provoking hostilities by refusal, obstinately declined to accept the boundary line which was suggested as the reasonable division of the duchies from Denmark, and demanded the cession, not only of Schleswig and Holstein, but of Lauenburg, which had been an acknowledged part of the Danish monarchy. In fact no agreement was come to. Denmark had in effect accepted the concessions proposed, but Prussia and Austria, unwilling now to recede, and supported in their demands by the persistent and convenient agitation of Baron Beust, the envoy of the diet (who had no claim to be at the congress, since the diet had no hand in the treaty of 1852), refused to abandon their position. The conference broke up on the 22d of June, hostilities were resumed next day, and Denmark, finding that no support could be obtained, was obliged to end a brave resistance against vastly superior forces by retiring from the island of Alsens and abandoning further resistance. Overtures for peace were made and preliminaries signed. On the first of August a treaty was concluded, and the two powers, triumphant with military successes, enforced the cession of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, and the payment of a large proportion of the expenses of the war.

There can be no doubt that during the period from 1864 to 1868 the opposition members of the chamber in France were utterly

opposed to war, and that the whole country regarded the Mexican expedition as a disaster from which France had scarcely escaped with honour. In the course of a debate on supplemental credits, on the opening of the chamber in 1864, M. Berryer and M. Emile Ollivier spoke of the necessity of disarming, M. Berryer denouncing the idea of France, oppressed with financial difficulties, embarking needlessly in any European war.

M. Ollivier, a distinguished leader of the opposition, said "There are two modes of always endangering influence with other nations. The one is to be too weak, the other is to be too strong. The nation that is too weak is despised, and its opinion has no weight. The nation that is too strong is feared, and then those who would naturally be disunited, by a feeling of prudence approach each other and unite against those they fear. The danger of France in Europe at this moment comes from her being too strong. The consequence is that every time she treats, every time she acts, whatever proposal she makes, people suppose that she has personal objects in view, and they do not believe in her disinterestedness. Try to convince them of the disinterestedness of France, and all difficulties will vanish, our influence will no more encounter opposition, and, while you increase our prestige in the world, you will have found the only real remedy for our embarrassed finances. But I warn you, you will be condemned to a last sacrifice, for neither economy, nor grace, nor disarming will suffice if you do not grant liberty to France."

These words were vaguely suggestive of the conditions that were soon to be experienced. The war between Prussia and Austria, which afterwards arose out of the dispute with Denmark and the seizure of Schleswig by Prussia, remained uninfluenced by French representations. In that tremendous conflict it was seen that Prussia, intent on internal development, and silently organizing resources and consolidating her national strength, had attained to a position previously unsuspected, with a great and perfectly appointed army and material of war, that gave her at once the rank of a first-rate power in Europe.

There were indications in France by that time that the national expenditure was excessive, while the condition of the public finances was most unsatisfactory. Added to this there were symptoms of disaffection, which, while they did not reach to public disturbances, kept society in a state of subdued excitement, and made the demand for an extension of political freedom deep, if not loud.

In England, parliament intervened to call ministers to account for their conduct in the Danish question. During the whole of the session there had been frequent interpellations and fragmentary debates upon this Dano-German struggle, but in the beginning of July a simultaneous attack was made in both houses upon the policy of the government. In the House of Lords, a resolution against the government, moved by Lord Malmesbury, was carried by a majority of nine, and in the House of Commons Mr Disraeli proposed a similar resolution—"To thank her majesty for having directed the correspondence on Denmark and Germany, and the protocol of the conference recently held in London, to be laid before parliament, to assure her majesty that we have heard with deep concern that the sittings of the conference have been brought to a close without accomplishing the important purpose for which it was convened, and to express to her majesty our great regret that, while the course pursued by her majesty's government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this country in the capitals of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities for peace." As an amendment to the last sentence of the resolution Mr Kinglake proposed to substitute the words—"To express the satisfaction with which we have learned that at this conjuncture her majesty has been advised to abstain from armed interference in the war now going on between Denmark and the German powers." "It is not for us," said Mr Disraeli, "it is not for any man in this house, to indicate to the ministers what should be the foreign policy of the country. The most we can do is to tell the noble lord

what is not our policy. We will not threaten and then refuse to act, we will not lead on our allies with expectations we do not intend to fulfil. And, sir, if it ever be the lot of myself, and of those with whom I act, to carry on important negotiations of this country, as the noble lord and his colleagues have done, I trust we shall not, at least, carry them on in such a manner as that it will be our duty to come to parliament and announce that we have no ally, and then to declare that England can never act alone. Sir, these are words that ought never to have escaped the lips of any British minister. They are sentiments which ought never to have entered his heart. I repudiate them and reject them. I remember that there was a time when England had not a tithe of our resources, when, inspired by a patriotic cause, she triumphantly encountered a world in arms. And, sir, I believe, now, if the occasion were fitting, and our independence and our honour were attacked and assailed, if our empire were endangered, I believe that England would arise in the magnificence of her might and struggle triumphantly for those objects for which men live and nations flourish. But, sir, I for one will never consent to go to war to extricate British ministers from the consequences of their own indiscretion, and it is in this spirit that I have drawn up this address to the crown. I have drawn it up in the spirit in which the royal speech was delivered at the commencement of this session. I am ready to vindicate the honour of this country when it is necessary, but I have drawn it up in the interests of peace."

Mr Gladstone at once replied: "This is the very first occasion that the British House of Commons has been called upon, for the sake of displacing a government, to record the degradation of its country. Why cannot the right honourable gentleman speak plainly in his motion? Why does he not adopt the language of our forefathers, who, when they were dissatisfied with the government, addressed the crown, and prayed that the government might be dismissed? They said boldly that the conduct of the government was open to such and such charges, and they

prayed that other men might be put in their places. But the right honourable gentleman was afraid to raise that issue. He has, indeed, plucked up courage to propose this motion, but why has he not done it in the proper constitutional form in which votes of want of confidence have hitherto been drawn? Never before, as far as I know, has party spirit led gentlemen in this country to frame a motion which places on record that which must be regarded as dishonourable to the nation. I go back to the time of Sir R. Walpole, of Lord North and Mr Fox, but nowhere do we find such a sterile and jejune affair as this resolution. Those charges were written in legible and plain terms, but the right honourable gentleman substitutes language which might, indeed, be sufficient for the purpose of rendering it impossible for the government to continue in office, but which cannot transfix them without its sting first passing through the honour of England. For the reasons I have stated, I look forward with cheerfulness to the issue which has been raised with regard to our conduct. Nay, more, I feel the most confident anticipation that both the house and the country will approve of the course taken in this difficult negotiation by her majesty's government, and that they will reject a motion which both prudence and patriotism must alike emphatically condemn. In the course of a subsequent debate great amusement was caused by Mr Bernal Osborne's peculiar sallies against the government. The cabinet he described as a museum of curiosities. "There are some birds of rare and noble plumage, both alive and stuffed. But, sir, unfortunately there is a difficulty in keeping up the breed, and it was found necessary to cross it with the famous Peelites. I will do them the justice to say that they have a very great and able minister amongst them in the chancellor of the exchequer, and it is to his measures alone that they owe the little popularity and the little support they get from this Liberal party. But it cannot be said by their enemies or friends that they have been prolific in measures since they have been in office. Then there is my right hon friend who is not connected with the Whigs

by family (Mr Gibson). He is like some fly in amber, and the wonder is how the devil he got there. The honourable member for Rochdale (Mr Cobden) and the honourable member for Birmingham must have been disappointed, I think, in this 'young man from the country.' When he married into the family we expected some liberal measures from him, but the right honourable gentleman has become insolent and almost quarrelsome under the guidance of the noble lord. Well, what are we to expect? We know by the traditions of the great Whig party that they will cling to the vessel, if not like shipwrecked sailors, at least like those testaceous marine fish which adhere to the bottom, thereby clogging the engines and impeding the progress. Should this parliament decide on terminating its own and their existence, they will find consolation that the funeral oration will be pronounced by the honourable member for North Warwickshire (Mr Newdegate), and that some friendly hand will inscribe on the mausoleum 'Rest and be thankful.'"

The ministry arranged to accept a division on Mr Kinglake's amendment. After a discussion lasting over three nights, the numbers were found to be — For Mr Disraeli's motion, 295, for the amendment, 313. The debate aroused much public interest, because the strength of parties was pretty nearly equal, and on the result of the vote depended the continuance or retirement of Lord Palmerston's administration. Each afternoon, as Lord Palmerston went down to the house, he was cheered by the crowd assembled in Palace Yard. He spoke on the last night. As the successful winding-up of a great party debate, involving the fall of a ministry, his speech on this occasion was his last triumph, and showed that though he spoke at the end of a night of long and weary sitting his old vigour and cunning of fence had not deserted him. He had, in truth, a difficult task. There had been a conspicuous failure, of that there could be no doubt. Allies, colleagues, and circumstances had proved adverse, yet the excuses for failure could not be laid on any of them. So, with the exception of a dexterous allusion to the words of the resolution as "a gratuitous libel upon the

country by a great party who hoped to rule it," he did not detain the house for long on the points immediately at issue, but, dropping the Danish matter altogether, went straight into a history of the financial triumphs of his government. What has this to do with the question? asked impatiently the Tories. But it had all to do with the party question, for it decided the votes of doubting men who, caring little about Schleswig-Holstein, cared a great deal about English finance. Anyhow, it commanded success, for the government got a majority of eighteen, and this renewed their lease of power.

To the King of the Belgians Lord Palmerston shortly afterwards wrote (August 28, 1864) —

"I have many apologies to make to your majesty for not having sooner thanked you for your letter of the 15th June. We were at that time in the midst of an engrossing session of parliament, and the unequal contest between Denmark and Germany was still undecided, though with little hope that right could prevail over might. The Danish government, both under the late and under the present king, undoubtedly committed many mistakes, both of commission and omission, and they showed throughout these affairs, from beginning to end, that inaptitude to deal with great concerns which might, perhaps, have been expected from a nation shut up in a remote corner of Europe, and not mixed up or practised with the general politics of the world. It was, however, an unworthy abuse of power by Austria and Prussia to take advantage of their superior enlightenment and strength to crush an antagonist utterly incapable of successful resistance, and the events of this Danish war do not form a page in German history which any honourable or generous German hereafter will look back upon without a blush. I wish that France and Russia had consented to join with us in giving a different direction to those affairs, and I am convinced that words from three such powers would have been sufficient without a recourse to blows. One consequence is clear and certain, namely, that if our good friend and neighbour at Paris

were to take it into his head to deprive Prussia of her Rhenish provinces, not a finger in England would be stirred, nor a voice raised, nor a man nor a shilling voted to resist such retribution upon the Prussian monarch, and when France and Italy shall be prepared to deliver Venetia from the Austrian yoke, the joy with which the success of such an undertaking will be hailed throughout England will be doubled by the recollection of Holstein, Lauenburg, Sleswig, and Jutland."

That autumn Lord Palmerston became eighty years old. He was endowed, as one of his biographers tells us,¹ with an excellent constitution, and had been very temperate both in eating and drinking, but he maintained his freshness, both of mind and body, to a great degree by the exercise of his will. He never gave anything up on the score of age. At anyrate, he never owned to that as a reason. He used to go out partridge-shooting long after his eyesight was too dim to take a correct aim, and he persevered in his other outdoor pursuits. Twice during this year, starting at nine o'clock and not getting back till two, he rode over from Broadlands to the training stables at Littleton, to see his horses take a gallop on Winchester race-course. He rode down in June to Harrow speeches, and timed himself to trot the distance from Piccadilly to the head-master's door, nearly twelve miles, within the hour, and accomplished it. On his eightieth birth-day, in October, he started at half-past eight from Broadlands, taking his horses by train to Fareham, was met by engineer officers, and rode along the Portsdown and Hilsa lines of forts, getting off his horse and inspecting some of them, crossing over to Anglesey forts and Gosport, and not reaching home till six in the evening—an instance of such combined energy both of mind and body as cannot in the nature of things be very common at fourscore.

The government was not likely to be condemned by the nation for having refused to embroil itself in a foreign war. English

¹ The Hon. Evelyn Ashley

sympathy with the Danes was genuine, and took the form of contributions to a fund for the wounded, and of meetings at which much indignation was expressed against the bullies of Europe who joined in oppressing a small nation unable to maintain its rights in the unequal conflict

Though the war in America had seriously affected more than one branch of industry, and there was still great distress in various parts of the country, the comparative repose from any great military or naval operations had left a good national balance-sheet to be presented to parliament

The sessions of 1863 and 1864 had not, it is true, been marked by striking examples of legislation, but there were some attempts and also some achievements which indicated a distinct line of social and political progress. A troublesome conflict had for some time been carried on against the rebellious and hostile Maori chiefs in New Zealand, but this was finally concluded in 1864, and the course of legislation was only interrupted by rumours and anticipations of probable entanglements with the Polish or the Danish or some other question

It is well at this stage of our inquiries to note that among the proposals brought before parliament, but failing to achieve any immediate legislative result, were some that had a very definite relation to the rapid advances which were shortly to follow, and to the position which Mr Gladstone was soon to occupy at the head of the Liberal party. The measure brought forward by Lord Westbury, the lord-chancellor, to consolidate the statute law of the kingdom was one important alike to all parties and entailed a vast amount of labour, so that it had to be divided and made the subject of separate proposals for succeeding sessions in which the laws of successive historical periods were to be dealt with. The laws as they stood were contained in forty-four thick folio volumes of acts of parliament, all of which required to be carefully and critically examined, digested, and summarized. Probably not six men in Eng-

land would have been as competent to undertake the work as Lord Westbury, who was scarcely less famous for his keen judgment and wide attainments than for the power of incisive sarcasm and stinging invective often delivered in tones so smooth that they for a moment covered the barb which afterwards rankled all the more for the momentary concealment. Another proposition, to commence a similar consolidation of the common law by examining and briefing the enormous mass of judicial decisions contained in the records from the time of Edward II, extending to something like twelve hundred volumes, opened an almost appalling prospect, and, of course, could only be dealt with by considering arrangements for employing a large number of specially qualified persons to compare, revise, and finally reduce the tedious and often contradictory reports to a series of consistent accounts. The plan had been considered, and doubtless, unless the lawyers in parliament had succeeded in their opposition to such an attempt at simplification, the lord-chancellor would have urged it in later sessions until he carried the scheme into effect, but before that time arrived he had given occasion to his political and official enemies (of whom he had many, and perhaps a few personal ones also), and had retired from the high office which he had so ably sustained and yet in which he had done nothing that became him better than his leaving of it. But this subject we shall presently glance at in another aspect. Among other topics of agitation in relation to changes in the law, that of the abolition of capital punishment had for some time been made prominent by its advocates, and though the government was not prepared to bring in a measure that would put an end to sentences of death, the necessity for some inquiry into the subject was obvious enough. A commission was appointed in 1864 composed of men who had devoted attention to the question, and though they did not all hold the same opinions on other points, they mostly agreed that some change was required in providing for greater distinctions between the crime of manslaughter and that of murder in order to prevent juries from acquitting per-

sons accused of the capital offence rather than that they should be sentenced to death when there were circumstances which, pleaded in extenuation, made such a punishment too severe. Some alterations designed to meet the demands of justice were introduced, and in reference to that part of the inquiry dealing with the method of inflicting capital punishment, it was decided that executions of criminals should take place within the walls of the prison, and in the presence of a small number of witnesses, so that the horrible and demoralizing scenes which were presented at public executions might be avoided. This latter recommendation was adopted and became law in 1868.

The claims of education were not altogether neglected amidst other demands during the session of 1864. There had been a commission of inquiry into the condition of public schools, and in 1864 the report was presented. Eton, Winchester, Westminster, St Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Shrewsbury, Harrow, and Rugby schools had been under examination, and the conclusion came to by the commissioners was, that while the course of study pursued in these institutions was sound and valuable in its main element, it was wanting in breadth and flexibility—defects which in many cases destroyed, and in all cases impaired its value as an education of the mind. These schools, though in a different degree, were too indulgent to idleness, or at least struggled ineffectually against it, and consequently they sent out a large proportion of men of idle habits and empty uncultivated minds. The commission, however, highly praised the discipline and moral training afforded in these establishments. The report called direct attention to the alleged defects in education, and this led to many improvements being made both in those which, like Merchant Taylors' and St Paul's, were under the direction of a corporate body, and to the institutions which were capable of being directly controlled by the government through the action of the revised code of education, which, however, was long in passing through parliament, in consequence of the alterations made in the original measure which was in

1862 introduced into the House of Lords by Earl Granville and into the Commons by Mr. Lowe. The original code gave aid by way of government grants to voluntary efforts to educate the children of the labouring part of the population. The grants were capitation grants, grants to certificated teachers and to pupil teachers. Many schools were supported by the united aid of charitable subscriptions, the school-pence paid by the children, and the government grants, but it was found that the schools which received the largest amount in grants were by no means the most efficient, and it was proposed to make the government aid by capitation grants only, some of them to depend on examinations, and others on the reports of inspectors. There were of course considerable difficulties in the way of those who had the administration of the code, and, as Mr. Lowe was vice-president of the council of education, it fell to him to place the various religious bodies of the country under equal advantages as regarded the distribution of grants. In 1864 this difficulty was increased by the hostility of the opposition in parliament, and by the continued jealousies of those outside who were advocates of the voluntary system, or the support of schools without any government grant whatever, as the only way of avoiding the support of the authority of the state to teach religion in schools. Mr. Lowe was not likely to be charged with want of vigour in administering his office, nor could he justly be charged with want of efficiency. Some of those who were associated with him thought him rather too vigorous, nor was he remarkable for that amiability of temper which could brook contradiction. His speeches were often exhaustive, displayed thorough knowledge of the subject under discussion, and were not unfrequently rather cantankerous. He was the very man to carry out, with effect, the provisions of such a measure as the revised code under its new aspect, and those members of the Conservative party who were opposed to those provisions disliked him accordingly. Among them was Lord Robert Cecil, whose sarcastic style of criticism too often found its readiest expression in accusations, preferred in the most acrid terms with which constitu-

tional irritability and some width of reading supplied him Lord Robert Cecil—the designation under which the present Marquis of Salisbury had already made himself fairly well known to the general public—had been Conservative member for Stamford since 1853. From 1865 to 1868 he was known as Viscount Cranborne (having in this title succeeded an elder brother), and in the latter year, while still representing his original constituency, the death of his father raised him to the marquise and the House of Lords. With the temper which, it had more than once been declared, he inherited from his ancestor, the famous treasurer of Queen Elizabeth, and a manner of exhibiting it which, if he had lived in other times, might have rendered him liable to a “countercheck quarrelsome” not in vogue in the present age, he had entered political life with qualifications that the extreme Conservatives regarded with interest and with some expectations. For a time, however, it almost appeared that he was of too intractable a disposition to submit to the discipline which is essential to one who aspires to lead. Afterwards, when by his prestige and his personal abilities he had attained more distinction, his reckless declarations and offensive expressions were sometimes more mischievous to his avowed comrades than to those at whom they were aimed. It may have been that his peculiar temper was the more alarming to his friends, because it was a smouldering and not a fiery one. “Lord Robert’s acrid temper is not explosive,” wrote an observer on the occasion we are now referring to, “there are no eruptions; it is, if we may so say, a sort of chronic low fever.”

On this occasion Lord Robert Cecil brought against Mr Lowe (or at least against the department over which he ruled) the charge “That in the opinion of this house the mutilation (‘mutilation’ was the acrid word) of the reports of her majesty’s inspectors of schools, and the exclusion from them of statements and opinions adverse to the educational views entertained by the committee of council, while matters favourable to them are admitted, are violations of the understanding under which the appointment of inspectors was originally

sanctioned by parliament, and tend entirely to destroy the value of their reports.” There were comparatively few members in the house, for many on the ministerial side had gone out thinking there would be a couple of hours’ debate before a division, but the opposition pushed for an early decision, and the motion was carried by 101 to 93—a result which, as Mr Disraeli afterwards said, showed that Mr Lowe had not been supported by his government as he should have been. It was with natural indignation that, a few days afterwards, he announced that he regarded the vote as a direct attack upon his personal honour, and that he had resigned his office. He had by that time learned that the so-called “mutilated” reports shown to members were some reports, attached to which were certain marks made by a clerk entirely without his (Mr Lowe’s) knowledge, and he explained that the marks were placed on the reports in pursuance of a mistaken and erroneous practice which had prevailed till 1862, when he forbade it. Lord Robert Cecil thereupon observed, that “his resolution was not directed against Mr Lowe, but against a censurable practice, and that if this explanation had been given on the night when the vote was taken the motion would probably not have been pressed to a division.” Mr Lowe, however, persisted in giving up his office, which was worth £2000 a year, and a committee of inquiry, the appointment of which he demanded, so entirely exonerated him that the resolution voted by the house was rescinded. It was not quite unnatural that the man who had been thus left unsupported by his colleagues should retire with some bitter feelings, nor that he should afterwards, on some important occasions, be found independently opposing the government which had neglected him.

It may be seen that the events, and the disposition of forces, so to speak, which took place during the period now under our view, distinctly indicated that some striking changes and rapid advances must be soon expected. It is for this reason that more space than might seem properly to belong to them has been devoted to a narrative of occurrences which at this

time were immediately suggestive, if not of those "leaps and bounds" by which in some respects progress was afterward achieved, at least of extensions in what many cautious politicians regarded as doubtful and dangerous directions

As we have already hinted, there were probably no more significant manifestations of the "new departure," as it would now be called, than the attitude of Mr Gladstone in relation to three measures which had been proposed, but had not been adopted by parliament

One of these was the introduction by Sir Morton Peto of what was known as "The Dissenters' Burial Bill," which was intended to enable Nonconformists to observe their own ceremonies and religious services at the funerals of members of their own communion in the "consecrated" graveyards of the Church of England. Mr Disraeli was against it. Lord Robert Cecil was in the front to oppose it, and so was Mr Gathorne Hardy, who was afterwards to be the chosen representative of Oxford when Mr Gladstone had gone beyond the political ring-fence of the venerable university. Did Mr Gladstone, when he rose to support that bill, foresee the probability of his being deserted by the constituency to represent whom had been his high ambition and his just pride? There can be little doubt that he did. He could not, however, oppose the second reading of the proposed measure. Some parts of it were open to objection, "but," said he, "I do not see that there is sufficient reason, or indeed any reason at all, why, after having granted, and most properly granted, to the entire community the power of professing and practising what form of religion they please during life, you should say to themselves or their relatives when dead, 'We will at the last lay our hands upon you, and not permit you to enjoy the privilege of being buried in the churchyard, where, perhaps, the ashes of your ancestors repose, or at anyrate in the place of which you are parishioners, unless you appear there as members of the Church of England, and as members of that church have her service read over your remains.' That appears to me an inconsistency and an anomaly in

the present state of the law, and is in the nature of a grievance"

If a season of prosperity and comparative tranquillity is favourable to the promotion of those measures which are mostly associated with social and political progress, the years 1864 and 1865 were remarkable as offering peculiar opportunities for the introduction of reforms, which, however, were not realized for some time afterwards when the conditions were less assuring. It would seem that political advances, at anyrate, are not to be decided without the impetus which is derived from public agitation, and popular agitation is scarcely to be incited except by the goad that is furnished by suffering or by indignation. In 1864 and the following year attempts to introduce measures of reform in the representation of the country in parliament were not successful. It was known that there must soon be a dissolution of parliament, and neither inside nor outside the house was it thought probable that the Palmerston government would be defeated before that event. The Palmerston ministry would in all likelihood carry on the work till 1865 was provided for, and then—well, perhaps some people said "then the deluge," of course without foreseeing that in some sort the following year, 1866, was to be marked by turmoil, loss, outrage, and such general disturbance of the commercial and social fabric, as may stand for deluge when the language of metaphor is employed. But in the opening of the sessions of 1864 and 1865 the most interesting subjects for consideration were still the financial schemes and statements of the chancellor of the exchequer. Palmerston himself had referred to them at the critical moment when he sought to shelter the ministry from hostile attacks on its foreign policy, and the country looked forward to them with genuine interest as expositions of its commercial stability and indications of future prosperity. And there was reason for taking this view of the statements made by a financier who, even under adverse circumstances, had on former occasions brought assurance to the public mind, and had now to point to increasing benefits derived

from a policy of which he had been one of the strongest supporters. The budget of 1864 showed that "the effect of twenty years of free-trade legislation, inaugurated by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, and carried on by his successors in office, had been such that, concurrently with the repeal of a long catalogue of duties and imposts which had previously fettered manufacturers, and excluded most valuable foreign products, the finances of the country presented an aspect of abundance and stability almost without precedent in our history, and to which no foreign country could offer a comparison. In point of wealth and national credit, indeed, England stood almost alone at this time amongst the nations of the world."

In the two previous years we had been suffering from a deficient harvest, and much distress prevailed both in Ireland and in Lancashire. There had been considerable improvement, but not enough to make the outlook entirely favourable. Still the figures which had to be submitted were encouraging. The revenue of the year was £70,003,561, showing a surplus of nearly £3,000,000, but from this was to be taken the expenditure on fortifications, viz £800,000. Deducting this from the surplus, it still stood at a large figure. The real diminution of taxes in the three last years had been £6,638,000. The revenue had decreased by only £1,760,000, so that, taking reduction of taxation into consideration, it had actually increased, in round numbers, by £5,000,000. The revenue had grown since the year 1859 at the rate of £1,200,000 and since 1853 still over the rate of a million per annum. With regard to the liquidation of debt, a million of exchequer bonds had been paid off, and other liquidations of the capital of the debt had been effected, which amounted to upwards of three millions. For terminable annuities in liquidation of debt £1,400,000 had been paid. The decrease in the national debt since 1855 had been £69,000,000. Imports and exports had so enormously increased that they were about three times the amount which they had reached in 1842, when the great financial reform of Sir Robert Peel had commenced. The total

exports had been £195,000,000—the exports and imports together represented a gross sum of £444,905,000, and it was shown that the increase in various years corresponded with the adoption of measures for the promotion of free-trade. Our total imports from France had more than doubled since 1859, while our exports thither had risen from about £9,000,000 to about £22,000,000. It was well to hear that this was the financial condition of the country during the time that one of our great industries was feeling the pinch of the American war, and the estimates were all reassuring, the total calculated revenue was £69,460,000, and the total expenditure £66,890,000—yielding a surplus of £2,570,000. A sum of £10,000, however, would be required for various minor changes and modifications, and the surplus left to dispose of would be £2,560,000. With this Mr Gladstone proposed to take off a penny a pound from the income-tax, the existence of which as a permanent duty he believed was inconsistent with the achievement of a judicious public economy. With the remaining surplus the duty on fire insurance would be reduced from three shillings to one and sixpence so far as stock in trade was concerned. It was afterwards agreed to remit so much of the duty on malt as had hitherto been levied upon malt used as food for cattle.

In the same year Mr Gladstone succeeded in introducing a measure which was well worthy of his financial ability, and has since been of immense benefit to that thrifty and prudent class among the population, which quickly learns how to profit by any real facilities afforded them for making some provision for the future. The scheme for enabling persons to purchase small annuities through the post-office savings-banks, and also to take out policies of life assurance with the government, aroused remarkable opposition, especially among the friendly societies and those who supported their claims. As a matter of fact it offered to the poor the advantage of a safe investment, though the rates for life insurance were not such as to compete with those of many of the insurance companies. The bill passed amidst the approval of a large number

of those for whom its benefits were intended, and the continued success of the scheme was afterwards shown by the steadily increasing applications for life-policies and the purchase of small deferred annuities by people who, but for the assurance of government security, might never have made an effort to obtain these advantages.

The commercial prosperity of the country continued to be so satisfactory that the chancellor of the exchequer was able to make a still more satisfactory statement when introducing the budget in 1865, the last year of that parliament, and therefore a time of general excitement in view of the coming elections. When that parliament first met (as Mr Gladstone said in his introductory remarks upon the financial condition of the country) we had been engaged in a costly and difficult war with China—the harvest of the succeeding year was the worst that had been known for half a century—the recent experience of war had led to costly, extensive, and somewhat uncertain reconstructions, and the condition of the Continent and the manner in which the Italian war had terminated had occasioned vague but serious alarms in the public mind, which was now tranquil and reassured. The financial history of the parliament had been a remarkable one. It had raised a larger revenue than at any period, whether of peace or war, was ever raised by taxation. After taking into account the changes in the value of money within an equal time, the expenditure of the parliament had been upon a scale that had never before been reached in time of peace. The amount and variety of the changes introduced into our financial legislation had been greater than within a like number of years at any former time. The assembly also enjoyed the distinction that, although no parliament ever completed the full term of its legal existence, yet this was the seventh time on which that house had been called upon to make provision for the financial exigencies of the country.

The expenditure for the financial year was estimated at £66,139,000, which was considerably less than that of the previous year, while the estimated revenue was £70,170,000, thus leaving a surplus of £4,031,000. This provided

not only for some minor changes, but for the two important reductions of the tea duty and the income-tax. The former was reduced to sixpence in the pound, which would reduce the price to the consumer by 20 per cent, a loss to the revenue of about £2,375,000, so much of which would be recouped by the probable increase of consumption that the falling off of revenue from that source would be computed at £1,808,000.

The income-tax was already at the lowest point it had ever reached, but it was proposed to reduce it from sixpence to fourpence in the pound. This would reduce the tax to £5,200,000, and its final adjustment, Mr. Gladstone observed, might be dealt with by the new parliament, but if it was thought desirable to retain the income-tax, fourpence in the pound was the rate at which it might well be kept in time of peace. The reductions on tea and income-tax represented £3,518,000, which left a margin for the reduction of the duty on fire insurance to one and sixpence, while the shilling duty on policies would be replaced by a penny stamp, and a penny stamp for the receipt. The total reduction of taxation would be £5,420,000.

These statements were regarded with general satisfaction throughout the country, especially as the expenditure on the army and navy had been sensibly diminished, nor was any serious opposition offered by the house, so that the bill passed with very little delay. It was a fitting conclusion to a series of brilliant financial measures by a minister who was soon to occupy a more prominent position in regard to the views with which "advanced Liberals" had become identified.

The County Franchise Bill proposed by Mr Locke King in April, 1864, was thrown out on the second reading, having been opposed by Lord Palmerston, who resisted what he called organic changes, for which he declared there did not exist the same anxiety that had been observable some time before. Organic changes, he said, were introduced more as a means than as an end, the end being great improvements in the whole of our commercial legislation. All such changes as were desirable had been effected as the result of our organic re-

forms, and there was therefore much less desire for further innovations. The events which were taking place in other countries, being to a great extent the result of their constitutional systems, had made the people of this country much less anxious for change.

Lord Palmerston had undoubtedly reached the stage when "rest and be thankful," though not quite in the sense that Mr Bernal Osborne afterwards used it, is the motto most likely to be adopted, but his opinions on the subject of further measures of reform were not shared by some of his colleagues—certainly not by Mr Gladstone. About a month afterwards this was made conspicuously evident during the debate on Mr Baines's bill for lowering the franchise in boroughs. This, like the proposal of Mr Locke King, had frequently been before the house, and though it had not been accepted, there was a general feeling that it indicated reform in a direction to which attention must soon be turned. That Mr Gladstone should already be looking that way was not surprising, but few members of the house had expected that he would give so decided a support to the proposed measure, or that he would so unmistakably express his dissent from the propositions laid down by Lord Palmerston. He was of opinion that there should be a considerable addition to the numbers of the working-classes who were in possession of the franchise.

"We are told," he said, "that the working-classes don't agitate, but is it desirable that we should wait until they do agitate? In my opinion agitation by the working-classes upon any political subject whatever is a thing not to be waited for, not to be made a condition previous to any parliamentary movement, but, on the contrary, is to be deprecated, and, if possible, prevented by wise and provident measures. An agitation by the working-classes is not like an agitation by the classes above them having leisure. The agitation of the classes having leisure is easily conducted. Every hour of their time has not a money value, their wives and children are not dependent on the application of those hours of labour. When a working man finds himself in such a condition that he must abandon that

daily labour on which he is strictly dependent for his daily bread, it is only because then, in railway language, the danger signal is turned on, and because he feels a strong necessity for action, and a distrust of the rulers who have driven him to that necessity. The present state of things, I rejoice to say, does not indicate that distrust, but if we admit that, we must not allege the absence of agitation on the part of the working-classes as a reason why the parliament of England and the public mind of England should be indisposed to entertain the discussion of this question." Mr Gladstone denied that there was any essential reason for drawing a marked distinction between the middle class and a select portion of the working-classes, so far as related to the exercise of the franchise. He advocated the extension of the franchise on the ground that it would tend to advance that unity of classes which was now in progress throughout the country.

This speech caused a flutter among half-hearted Liberals, and it was felt that such a decided expression of opinion denoted approaching changes, in spite of Lord Palmerston's declarations. The effect on the country was considerable, while among the electors at Oxford a large number began to regard such utterances with a degree of distrust, which was deepened when in the following year their representative, instead of denouncing any interference with the Established Episcopal Church in Ireland, seemed to admit that the time would arrive when some interposition of the government would be necessary.

The country at large did not, perhaps, attach much immediate importance to the remarks made by the chancellor of the exchequer in the debate which arose at the end of March, 1865, on Mr Dillwyn's motion; but the electors of the university regarded these utterances with grave suspicion.

Mr Dillwyn had proposed "that the present position of the Irish Church establishment is unsatisfactory, and calls for the early attention of her majesty's government." The motion was opposed by Sir George Grey, who declared that the government was not prepared to bring forward a measure calculated to produce the

result that Mr Dillwyn desired, namely, the entire abolition of the Irish establishment. Mr Gathorne Hardy also spoke strongly against the proposition. When Mr Gladstone rose he at once entered frankly into the question, and admitted that the position of the church in Ireland was unsatisfactory.

"There is not the slightest doubt," he said, "that if the Church of England is a national church, and that if the conditions upon which the ecclesiastical endowments are held were altered at the Reformation, that alteration was made mainly with the view that these endowments should be intrusted to a body ministering to the wants of a great majority of the people. I am bound to add my belief that those who directed the government of this country in the reign of Queen Elizabeth acted in the firm conviction that that which had happened in England would happen in Ireland, and they would probably be not a little surprised if they could look down the vista of time, and see that in the year 1865 the result of all their labours had been that, after 300 years, the church which they had endowed and established ministered to the religious wants of only one-eighth or one-ninth part of the community." Thus, although the government were unable to agree to the resolution, they were not prepared to deny the abstract truth of the former part of it. They could not assert that the present position of the establishment was satisfactory. The Irish Church, as she then stood, was in a false position. It was much more difficult, however, to decide upon the practical aspect of the question, and no one had ventured to propose the remedy required for the existing state of things. This question raised a whole nest of political problems, for while the vast majority of the Irish people were opposed to the maintenance of large and liberal endowments for a fragment of the population, they repudiated any desire to appropriate these endowments, and firmly rejected all idea of receiving a state provision for themselves. How could the government, in view of these facts, substitute a satisfactory for an admittedly unsatisfactory state of things? They were unable to do so. Consequently "we feel that we ought to de-

cline to follow the honourable gentleman into the lobby, and declare that it is the duty of the government to give their early attention to the subject, because if we gave a vote to that effect we should be committing one of the gravest offences of which a government could be guilty—namely, giving a deliberate and solemn promise to the country, which promise it would be out of our power to fulfil."

Mr. Whiteside, who had been the Conservative attorney-general for Ireland, violently opposed Mr Gladstone's opinions, and the debate was adjourned not to be renewed in that parliament. Mr Gladstone, some time afterwards, in writing to Dr Hannah, warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, reviewed the position as he regarded it, and explained his own action or want of action in relation to it—

"Because the question is remote, and apparently out of all bearing on the practical politics of the day, I think it would be for me worse than superfluous to determine upon any scheme or basis of a scheme, with respect to it. Secondly, because it is difficult, even if I anticipated any likelihood of being called upon to deal with it, I should think it right to take no decision beforehand on the mode of dealing with the difficulties.

I think I have stated strongly my sense of the responsibility attaching to the opening of such a question, except in a state of things which gave promise of satisfactorily closing it. For this reason it is that I have been so silent about the matter, and may probably be so again, but I could not, as a minister and as member for Oxford University, allow it to be debated an indefinite number of times and remain silent. One thing, however, I may add, because I think it a clear landmark. In any measure dealing with the Irish Church, I think (though I scarcely expect ever to be called on to share in such a measure) the act of Union must be recognized, and must have important consequences, especially with reference to the position of the hierarchy."

He evidently had little idea that he would so soon be called upon to deal with the disestablishment of the Irish Church as a "burning" question, nor did many other people

think so at that time. But some of his constituents at Oxford took alarm, others, who had for some time been watching him with suspicion, announced their intention of abandoning him at the general election. A large number who were firm and faithful, and who admired his determined freedom of opinion, supported him with marked enthusiasm. They were not numerous enough to carry his election, however. He was opposed by Mr Gathorne Hardy, a pronounced Conservative, who, as we have seen, was a strong advocate for maintaining the Established Church in Ireland. Mr Gladstone's former colleague, Sir William Heathcote, was unopposed, and it was arranged that the supporters of both the other candidates should give him their second vote. By an act passed in the previous parliament, elections for the universities might be conducted by voting-papers sent to the vice-chancellors, and the poll was kept open for five days, but many distinguished men went up personally to accord their vote for the chancellor of the exchequer. There was a general feeling that to discard him would be a disgrace if not a calamity to the university, and as a matter of fact it was not by the lack of real university votes that he lost the election. His defeat was due to the opposition of the non-residents. Of the 250 residents 155 voted or paired in his favour, those who voted against him were the men who had left the university, and had no sympathy with its advances or its changed mode of thought since they had ceased to be connected with it.

With a majority in the important colleges, Mr Gladstone received 1724 votes, Mr Hardy, 1904, and Sir W. Heathcote, 3236—a large number of electors plumping for Mr Gladstone, and the total number of votes being larger than had been registered at any previous election. Among the distinguished men who voted for the chancellor of the exchequer were the Bishops of Durham, Oxford, and Chester, Earl Cowper, the Dean of Westminster, the Dean of Christchurch, Professors Farrar, Rolleston, and Max Müller, the Dean of Lichfield, Sir J. T. Coleridge, Sir Henry Thompson, the Rev. Dr. Jelf, the Bodleian

Librarian, Sir F. T. Palgrave, the Right Hon. S. Lushington, the Dean of St. Paul's, the Rev. John Keble, the Principal of Brasenose, the Dean of Peterborough, Professor Conington, the Rev. J. B. Mozley, Mr E. A. Freeman, Chief Justice Erle, Dr. Pusey, Professor Jowett, Mr. Cardwell, the Marquis of Kildare, and the Rector of Lincoln.

"After an arduous connection of eighteen years I bid you respectfully farewell," wrote Mr Gladstone to the members of convocation. "My earnest purpose to serve you, my many faults and shortcomings, the incidents of the political relations between the university and myself, established in 1847, so often questioned in vain, and now at length finally dissolved, I leave to the judgment of the future. It is one imperative duty, and one alone, which induces me to trouble you with these few parting words—the duty of expressing my profound and lasting gratitude for indulgence as generous and support as warm and enthusiastic in itself, and as honourable from the character and distinctions of those who have given it, as has, in my belief, ever been accorded by any constituency to any representative."

Whatever may have been the regrets of those thoughtful churchmen who regarded Mr Gladstone as the representative of opinions which must prevail if the church itself were to be at once free and truly authoritative, the Liberals outside Oxford and all over the country felt no little satisfaction when they heard that the chancellor of the exchequer was cut loose from the trammels of a representation which necessarily often restrained him from fully expressing his convictions on points of Liberal policy. There was nothing unworthy in this reticence, for his association with Oxford had been a sentimental as well as a practical one, and the deep regard he entertained for the university, as well as the honour which he felt it to be to represent it in parliament, made him careful to avoid giving needless offence to those who were already watching him with something like suspicion.

The regrets of many eminent men of various shades of opinion may be well exemplified by the few words of remonstrance addressed by

Dr Pusey to the editor of a periodical professing to represent the views of churchmen, and delighting in Mr Gladstone's defeat and the return of his opponent "You are naturally rejoicing," said the letter, "over the rejection of Mr Gladstone, which I mourn. Some of those who concurred in that election, or who stood aloof, will, I fear, mourn hereafter with a double sorrow because they were the cause of that rejection. I, of course, speak only for myself, with whatever degree of anticipation may be the privilege of years. Yet, on the very ground that I may very probably not live to see the issue of the momentous future now hanging over the church, let me, through you, express to those friends through whom I have been separated, who love the church in itself, and not the accident of establishment, my conviction that we should do ill to identify the interests of the church with any political party, that we have questions before us, compared with which that of the establishment (important as it is in respect to the possession of our parish churches) is as nothing. The grounds alleged against Mr Gladstone bore at the utmost upon the establishment. The establishment might perish, and the church but come forth the purer. If the church were corrupted, the establishment would become a curse in proportion to its influence. As that conflict will thicken, Oxford, I think, will learn to regret her rude severance from one so loyal to the church, to the faith, and to God."

These were weighty words, and it was not alone men who held views similar to those of the regius professor of Hebrew who saw in Mr Gladstone a faithful representative of the church, as we have seen by the names already mentioned of those who were among his determined supporters.

Mr Gladstone's own feeling was one of relief. He had a sense of freedom. The time had come when he felt impelled to speak out—the time had come, and with it the opportunity. In South Lancashire his name had been proposed to the Liberal electors directly it was seen that the election in Oxford might go against him, and to South Lancashire he hastened after having closed his political asso-

ciation with Oxford. He issued his address from Manchester on the 18th of July. It was short and effective.

"You are conversant—few so much so—with the legislation of the last thirty-five years. You have seen—you have felt its results. You cannot fail to have observed the verdict which the country generally has, within the last eight days, pronounced upon the relative claims and positions of the two great political parties with respect to that legislation in the past and to the prospective administration of public affairs. I humbly, but confidently—without the least disparagement to many excellent persons from whom I have the misfortune frequently to differ—ask you to give your powerful voice in confirmation of that verdict, and to pronounce with significance as to the direction in which you desire the wheels of the state to move. Before these words can be read I hope to be among you in the hives of your teeming enterprise."

Mr Gladstone made his appearance in Manchester in the afternoon of the same day, and addressed a crowded meeting in the Free-trade Hall. "At last, my friends," he said, "I am come among you—and I am come, to use an expression which has become very famous, and is not likely to be forgotten, I am come among you 'unmuzzled.' After an anxious struggle of eighteen years, during which the unbounded devotion and indulgence of my friends maintained me in the arduous position of representative of the University of Oxford, I have been driven from my seat. I have no complaint to make of the party which has refused to me the resumption of that place. I cannot say that I am glad of it, but they are the majority, and they have used their power. As they have used it, I appeal to you, the men of my native county, to know whether that which has disqualified me from representing the University of Oxford has also disabled me from representing you. But, gentlemen, do not let me come among you under false colours or with false pretences. I have loved the University of Oxford with a deep and passionate love, and as long as I breathe that attachment will continue, if my affection is of the smallest advantage to that great, that

ancient, that noble institution, that advantage, such as it is, and it is most insignificant, Oxford will possess as long as I live. But don't mistake the issue which has been raised. The university has at length, after eighteen years of self-denial, been drawn by what I might, perhaps, call an overweening exercise of power, into the vortex of mere politics. Well, you will readily understand why, as long as I had a hope that the zeal and kindness of my friends might keep me in my place, it was impossible for me to abandon them. Could they have returned me by a majority of one, painful as it is to a man of my time of life, and feeling the weight of public cares, to be incessantly struggling for his seat, nothing could have induced me to quit that university to which I had so long ago devoted my best care and attachment. But by no act of mine I am free to come among you. And having been thus set free, I need hardly tell you that it is with joy, with thankfulness, and enthusiasm that I now, at this eleventh hour, a candidate without an address, make my appeal to the heart and the mind of South Lancashire, and ask you to pronounce upon that appeal. As I have said, I am aware of no cause for the votes which have given a majority against me in the University of Oxford, except the fact that the strongest conviction that the human mind can receive, that an overpowering sense of the public interests, that the practical teachings of experience, to which from my youth Oxford herself taught me to lay open my mind—all these had shown me the folly and, I will say, the madness of refusing to join in the generous sympathies of my countrymen by adopting what I must call an obstructive policy."

The sense of freedom spoke in these words—and they were responded to with exuberant enthusiasm by those who heard them. A mighty shout that rang through the vast hall, densely crowded with thousands of listeners, greeted the phrase that he had come there unmuzzled, and showed that he was understood and appreciated. At that moment he must have felt that he was now taking a step that would place him in the front of the party to which he had hitherto seemed sometimes to give only an incomplete support.

In Manchester, Liverpool, and all the large towns he was returned at the head of the poll, in the total polling he came third, two Conservative candidates, Messrs Egerton and Turner preceding him, the fourth candidate, who would have been returned but for Mr Gladstone's election, was Mr Leigh, also a Conservative, the fifth and sixth on the poll, who were also defeated, were Mr Thompson and Mr Heywood, both Liberals.

The result of the elections throughout the country was a considerable gain to the Liberal party. The city of London returned Messrs Goschen, Crawford, Lawrence, and Rothschild, all Liberals, in Westminster John Stuart Mill was at the head of the poll, and he had not failed to pronounce pretty clearly what were his views on electoral reform. He said—

"With regard to reform bills, I should vote at once both for Mr Baines's bill and for Mr Locke King's, and for measures going far beyond either of them. I would open the suffrage to all grown persons, both men and women, who can read, write, and perform a sum in the rule of three, and who have not, within some small number of years, received parish relief. At the same time, utterly abominating all class ascendancy, I would not vote for giving the suffrage in such a manner that any class, even though it be the most numerous, could swamp all other classes taken together. In the first place, I think that all considerable minorities in the country or in a locality should be represented in proportion to their numbers. I should be prepared to support a measure which would give to the labouring classes a clear half of the national representation."

Altogether it became evident that a new Reform Bill was at least among the probabilities of the next parliament. Of the 657 members returned during the elections 367 were recorded as Liberals and 290 as Conservatives.

It was an exciting contest, and the speeches of candidates, especially those of well-known statesmen and orators, were eagerly read. But the sound of one earnest and well-known voice was still early in the spring of the year Richard Cobden had gone to his rest.

In the winter of the previous year the state of his health, never very strong, was such as to cause some apprehension. In November he had been on his annual visit to Rochdale, to address his constituents, and was in a weak and depressed condition. The meeting was a large one, and he spoke at unusual length and with much earnestness, dwelling especially on the condition of the peasantry of England in relation to the land, and advocating what may be called free-trade in land. On several other subjects he touched with his usual emphasis and effect, so that the exertion was considerable. Instead of being able at once to retire and to enjoy complete repose, he was obliged to attend an evening reception of the principal Liberals and to undergo some hours of talking and hand-shaking. He suffered much, on his journey home, from what was called nervous asthma, and the debility which accompanied the disorder, added to the exhaustion caused by his exertions. Being afraid to rest in London lest he should be detained there by an increase of illness, he continued his journey, reaching home almost helpless. An attack of bronchitis followed, and he was obliged to be treated as an invalid during the inclement winter. By the end of January he had rallied, and he never lost his keen interest in or hold upon public affairs, though he regarded with doubt the prospect of obtaining a wide measure of reform in the face of the opposition of "the privileged classes." On the 10th of February (1865) he received a letter from Mr Gladstone, written on behalf of the government and at the desire of Lord Palmerston, offering him the chairmanship of the Board of Audit, about to be vacated by Mr Romilly, an office which was to be reconstituted and united to the comptrollership of the exchequer. The salary was to be £2000 a year, and although the duties of the office, Mr Gladstone said, would require very high qualities for their proper discharge, they would not be very laborious. The tender of such an office was not to be taken as an adequate acknowledgment of his distinguished and long-continued public services, but it was the highest civil office which the government had it in their power to give.

Cobden felt that he could no more readily accept this office than he could the former one which was offered him. He did not reply to the letter till the 13th, though probably he had decided immediately what course he would take. The offer was kind, the terms in which it was made were most gratifying, as in his reply to Mr Gladstone he acknowledged, but the state of his health, he said, precluded him from taking any office which involved the performance of stated duties at all seasons of the year, or left a sense of responsibility for the fulfilment of those duties by others. These he considered were good and sufficient reasons for his exemption from the cares of salaried official life, but these were not all, he could not conceal the real reason, and the latter half of his reply to Mr. Gladstone is remarkably illustrative of the single nature of the man —

"Were my case different, still, while sensible of the kind intentions which prompted the offer, it would assuredly not be consulting my welfare to place me in the post in question, with my known views respecting the nature of our finance. Believing, as I do, that while the income of the government is derived in a greater proportion than in any other country from the taxation of the humblest classes, its expenditure is to the last degree wasteful and indefensible, it would be almost a penal appointment to consign me for the remainder of my life to the task of passively auditing our finance accounts. I fear my health would sicken and my days be shortened by the nauseous ordeal. It will be better that I retain my seat in parliament as long as I am able in any tolerable degree to perform its duties, where I have at least the opportunity of protesting, however unavailingly, against the government expenditure."

By the early part of March Cobden was able to walk out a little on bright, genial days, and Mr Bright went down to Midhurst to see him. He seemed to feel that his work here was nearly done. Once when they were out together he looked towards the church and said quietly, "My boy is buried there, and it will not be long before I am there with him." It was not long. In the following month they lay side by side

The subject of fortifications in Canada was to be brought before the house, and Mr Bright was anxious that Cobden should, if possible, be present during the discussion. It seemed scarcely probable that the state of his health would allow him to make the journey to London, but on the 21st of March his desire to be present when the Canadian fortification scheme had to be opposed, induced him to undertake it, though the weather was bleak and cold. He was accompanied by Mrs Cobden and his eldest daughter, and they had taken lodgings in Suffolk Street, that he might be near to the Athenæum Club, and not far from the House of Commons. He had only just arrived, and was writing letters to some of his friends, when he was prostrated by an attack of asthma. An east wind continued to blow, and he lay watching the smoke as it was carried from the chimneys of the houses opposite. In a few days he appeared to be so much better that he was allowed to see one or two of his friends, but the recovery was only apparent, and a relapse occurred, which on the 1st of April became worse, and another attack of bronchitis made his recovery almost impossible. Even Mr Bright was not allowed to see him on that evening, but early the following morning (Sunday, the 2d of April) he was admitted. Alas! all hope of Cobden's recovery was then over. Mr Bright remained beside him, and another old and sincere friend, Mr George Moffatt, was also there. The end was very near. As the bells of St Martin's Church were ringing for the morning service, that simple, earnest, faithful brother and comrade was no longer with them. The funeral was at Lavington Churchyard, where, on the slope of the hill among the pine woods, the body of Richard Cobden, and that of the son whose early death he had so long mourned, are buried. His biographer¹ relates that one afternoon in the summer of 1856, Cobden and a friend took it into their heads, as there was nothing of importance going on in the house, to stroll into Westminster Abbey. His friend had never been inside before, as he confessed that he had never been inside St Paul's

Cathedral, though he had passed it every day of his life for fifteen years. They strolled about among the monuments for a couple of hours, and the natural remark fell from his companion that perhaps one day the name of Cobden too would figure among the heroes. "I hope not," said Cobden, "I hope not. My spirit could not rest in peace among these men of war. No, no, cathedrals are not meant to contain the remains of such men as Bright and me."

At the time of his death Cobden was within two months of the completion of his sixty-first year.

On the day after the sad event, when the House of Commons met, the prime minister spoke kindly, but without much tact, of the loss which the country and every man in it had sustained. The best sentence in the speech was that which said "That same disinterested spirit which regulated all his private and public conduct led him to decline those honours which might most properly have recognized and acknowledged his public services." Mr Disraeli, speaking for the opposition, struck a deeper note. "There is this consolation," he said, "remaining to us when we remember our unequalled and irreparable losses, that these great men are not altogether lost to us, that their words will be often quoted in this house, that their examples will often be referred to and appealed to, and that even their expressions may form a part of our discussions. There are, indeed, I may say, some members of parliament who, though they may not be present, are still members of this house, are independent of dissolutions, of the caprices of constituencies, and even of the course of time. I think that Mr Cobden was one of these men, and I believe that when the verdict of posterity shall be recorded upon his life and conduct, it will be said of him that he was without doubt the greatest politician that the upper middle class of this country has as yet produced, and that he was not only an ornament to the House of Commons, but an honour to England."

The house was hushed and silent, but there was such an evident expectation that Mr Bright should say something that, deeply

¹ Mr John Morley

affected as he evidently was, he rose and endeavoured to say how every expression of sympathy that he had heard had been most grateful to his heart. "But the time," he went on in broken accents, "which has elapsed since in my presence the manliest and gentlest spirit that ever quitted or tenanted a human form took its flight is so short that I dare not even attempt to give utterance to the feelings by which I am oppressed. I shall leave to some calmer moment, when I may have an opportunity of speaking before some portion of my countrymen, the lesson which I think may be learned from the life and character of my friend. I have only to say that after twenty years of most intimate and almost brotherly friendship, I little knew how much I loved him until I had lost him."

About a twelfth of the members of the House of Commons attended the funeral at Lavington. Mr Gladstone was there, and a large number of the old free-traders of the Anti-Corn-law League. The French government and the French press offered their respectful tributes to the memory of the man who had done so much to promote international good-will.

The year was only just nearing its close when the death of the prime minister caused a change in the immediate political aspect. People had said that he would never sit in another parliament, but the remark pointed rather to his probable retirement. Others, though they saw the signs of age and coming infirmity, declared that he would never give in while he could get down to the house.

In July, 1865, parliament being dissolved, there was a contest at Tiverton, and Lord Palmerston went there and was re-elected.

During the latter part of the preceding session he had suffered continuously from gout and disturbed sleep. He never abandoned his duties as leader of the house, but without doubt they were, under the circumstances, performed with much physical difficulty, and greatly aggravated his disorder. Immediately after the Tiverton election he retired to Brocket, in Hertfordshire—the place Lady Palmerston had inherited from

her brother, Lord Melbourne—selecting this in preference to Broadlands as being more within reach of medical advice. The gout had affected an internal part owing to his having ridden on horseback before he was sufficiently recovered, and, although all his bodily organs were sound, and there was no reason why, with proper care, he should not have lived for several years longer, those around him could not fail to feel anxiety about his evident state of weakness, not only for the moment, but at the prospect of his again meeting parliament as prime minister. That he himself felt the same anxiety for the future was clear. "One morning about a fortnight before he died," says the Hon Evelyn Ashley, "I witnessed an incident which was both evidence of this and also very characteristic of the man. There were some high railings immediately opposite the front door, and Lord Palmerston, coming out of the house without his hat, went straight up to them after casting a look all round to see that no one was looking. He then climbed deliberately over the top rail down to the ground on the other side, turned round, climbed back again, and then went indoors. It was clear that he had come out to test his strength and to find out for himself in a practical way how far he was gaining or losing ground. Not that he had any excessive dread of death, for, as he put it one day, in homely fashion, to his doctor, when pressing for a frank opinion as to his state, 'When a man's time is up there is no use in repining.' The most touching and characteristic feature of his bearing at this time was his solicitude to avoid adding to Lady Palmerston's anxiety, and the cheerfulness which he assumed in her presence. Indeed consideration for others was, as in life so in death, one of his finest qualities. I remember that, only a few days before his end, when, so far as the aspect of his face could betoken illness, he appeared as ill as a man could be when about and at work, Lady Palmerston, at breakfast, alluded to the cattle plague, which was then making great havoc in England. He at once remarked that all the symptoms of the disorder were described by Virgil, and repeated to me some eight

lines out of the *Georgics* descriptive of the disease. He then told us a story of a scrape he got into at Harrow for throwing stones, and the excess of laughter, which he was unable to restrain, with which he recalled the incident, was the only token that could have betrayed to Lady Palmerston how weak he was.

A chill caught while out driving brought on internal inflammation, and on the 18th of October, 1865, within two days of completing his eighty-first year, he closed his earthly career, the half-opened cabinet-box on his table, and the unfinished letter on his desk, testified that he was at his post to the last."

The death of Lord Palmerston practically left no alternative but for the queen again to recognize the position and long public services of Earl Russell, by calling on him to form a ministry, which was in effect a reconstruction of the former one, with Mr Gladstone as leader in the House of Commons. There were very serious doubts in many minds whether the chancellor of the exchequer, with his grave, serious ways, and the absence in his temperament of anything like the jaunty, bantering humour which had been so marked a characteristic of the late premier, would be able to sustain the position of leader with Earl Russell in the upper house. Gladstone was, it was said, too much in earnest. Every question was treated as though it were of grave and momentous interest. How would such a leader deal with a house which contained men of all dispositions, and a good many of whom were inclined to treat political questions with levity or with indifference, except when they could be turned to party purposes?

It so happened that the session then approaching turned out to be one, the aspect of which demanded the exercise of those qualities which the chancellor of the exchequer possessed, and though Earl Russell's government was defeated before the close of the year, the measures and even the views of the ministry, or at all events of Mr Gladstone and those of his colleagues who were in front of the demands of the public, so impressed the nation that the succeeding ministry found themselves

not only able, but impelled, to abandon their traditional policy, and to adopt measures which disturbed, if it did not alarm Lord Derby, who described the action he was obliged to endorse as "a leap in the dark," and intimated that he yielded for the purpose of supporting the Conservative party and continuing in office. Mr Disraeli, on the other hand, spoke of having "educated" his party to the point where they seemed to have so far given up their previous convictions as to frame a measure of parliamentary reform in which what they had just before called "radical" measures were included, and even household suffrage was approached without much hesitation.

But we must now close this long chapter, and after a brief review of some of the lights and shadows of the time preceding the session of 1866,—lights and shadows which had presaged important changes and striking examples of progress,—will pass on to a period which may well be called one of "leaps and bounds."

Public regret for the loss of Lord Palmerston was sincere and general. Parliament was not sitting and therefore the official and ministerial tributes to his memory were not uttered till the following year, when the chancellor of the exchequer moved for an address to the queen, praying that an order might be given to erect a monument in Westminster Abbey to the memory of the late premier. Both Mr Gladstone and Mr Disraeli spoke with effect in their remarks upon the loss which the country had sustained. Mr Gladstone had already publicly referred to other recent losses which the country had sustained.

On the 1st of November, 1865, he had been in Glasgow, where he was presented with the freedom of the city, and it was in his reply on that occasion that he said—"It has been my lot to follow to the grave several of those distinguished men who have been called away from the scene of their honourable labours—not, indeed, before they had acquired the esteem and confidence of the country, but still at a period when the minds and expectations of their fellow-countrymen were fondly fixed upon the thought of what they might yet achieve for the public good. Two of your

own countrymen—Lord Elgin and Lord Dalhousie—Lord Canning, Lord Herbert, Sir George Cornwall Lewis, and the Duke of Newcastle, by some singular dispensation of Providence, have been swept away in the full maturity of their faculties and in the early stages of middle life—a body of men strong enough of themselves in all the gifts of wisdom and of knowledge, of experience and of eloquence, to have equipped a cabinet for the service of the country. And therefore, my lord, when I look back upon the years that have passed, though they have been joyful years in many respects, because they have been years in which the parliament of this country has earned fresh and numerous titles to the augmented confidence of its citizens,

they are also mournful in that I seem to see the long procession of the figures of the dead, and I feel that those who are left behind are, in one sense, solitary upon the stage of public life.” Two days after having visited Glasgow, Mr Gladstone was at Edinburgh, where he delivered to the students his valedictory address as rector of the university, the subject selected for illustration being, “The Place of Ancient Greece in the Providential Order of the World,” an oration which is to be read in his printed works, and may be said to be one of the most remarkable and attractive addresses he ever delivered, interesting alike for its subject and because of the lucidity of its statements and the admirable construction of its balanced sentences.

CHAPTER XI

"LEAPS AND BOUNDS."

Shadows of Past Events—Accidents—Disaster—Crime—The Jamaica Riots—Losses—Thackeray—John Leech—Aytoun—Brougham—Speke—Discoveries—Improvements—Progressive Legislation—The Church—Colenso—Jowett—Disraeli on the Side of the Angels—"Essays and Reviews"—Lord Westbury—The New Reform Bill—Lowe, Horsman, Bright, and Gladstone—"The Cave of Adullam"—Defeat of Earl Russell's Ministry—Mr Beales—Reform Demonstrations—Reform Bill of 1867—Irish Assassins—The Fenians—Trades Union Murders and Outrages—Disraeli Premier—Ritualism—The Irish Church—Election of 1868—Gladstone Premier—Irish Church Bill—Education Act of 1870—Alabama Claims—Treaty of Washington—Judicature Bill—General Election, 1873—Conservative Reaction—Church Dissensions—Gladstone on Ritualism and the Church—Resignation of the Leadership of the Liberal Party—1875

Any historical narrative of social and political progress, if it is to be both interesting and intelligible, must frequently go to and fro must carry on the story of one or other important event or episode to a point beyond that to which the main current of the record would have brought it, if the journey had been broken by a subordination of continuity to mere dates. No one can make a profitable journey on the stream of history if the raft that carries him is only chronological. In other words—history is not an almanac.

We may, therefore, go back, or at least take a backward glance at some occurrences which have not been chronicled in these pages, but reference to which may be useful, or even necessary, for the due appreciation of the social and political conditions of the country at the commencement of what may be called a new period, if not a new era, in national experience.

It would be beyond the limits of these pages to refer, however briefly, to ordinary accidents and calamities which had moved the public interest during the years with which we have just been concerned, but one or two exceptional occurrences demand a word of notice, for they were associated with important interests and with deep public feeling. One of these was the bursting of the Bradfield reservoir, eight miles above the town of Sheffield,

and the fearful inundation which followed. This terrible calamity occurred on the 11th of March, 1864, and the memory of those who witnessed it, or heard the particulars, at once went back to a date twelve years before, when (early in February, 1852) the Billbury reservoir above the village of Holmfirth, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, burst upon a narrow pass in which the town stood. On that occasion the whole enormous volume of water from a reservoir 150 yards long and 90 feet high, rushed down the narrow gorges leading to the valley in the direction of the plain—crashing into ruin mills, dye-houses, barns, stables, and cottages, and sweeping before it trees which it tore up by the roots, as well as the carts, waggons, and wreckage, which, being stopped on their course by the bridges over a stream in the valley, formed obstacles behind which the mass of water accumulated till it burst onward with irresistible force sweeping through the village, destroying whole streets of cottages, shops, and factories, and overwhelming many of the inhabitants. Nearly a hundred lives were lost, and in some instances it was found that whole families were drowned. The damage to property was estimated at £600,000, and nearly 5000 adults and above 2000 children were left destitute. A large amount was subscribed in England and the colonies for the relief of the sufferers, and it

was found by the coroner's jury that the calamity had been occasioned by the gross negligence of those who had the care of the construction of the reservoir, and whose duty it had been to prevent it from falling into decay or becoming ineffectual in case of an unusual strain. The commissioners, who were the persons originally responsible, however, were a corporate body and therefore could neither be found guilty of nor punished for manslaughter.

In 1862 another inundation had taken place through the bursting or blowing up of a great sluice made for the drainage of the middle level between Lynn and Wisbeach. About 700,000 acres of the most productive land in the kingdom lay below the high-water level of the Wash depending for their existence as land, upon great embankments and self-acting sluice-gates. Four miles south of King's Lynn was a sluice-gate through which the waters of one of the huge drains emptied themselves at low water into the River Ouse, thus passing out to sea with the receding tide, the gates closing of their own accord to the pressure of the rising tide. These works were, unfortunately, allowed to fall into disrepair. The natural consequence followed. The German Ocean, with a high spring tide, came up the river and toppled down the defences. The waters continued pouring through that gap. Every tide necessarily increased the breach. Day by day the floods crept on, covering farm after farm and homestead after homestead; swallowing up flocks and herds, and driving back yeoman families, who retreated as paupers. The water spread over 10,000 acres, and for long afterwards it required all the engineering skill of experts to remedy some part of the damage.

The disaster at Sheffield in 1864 was even more terrible than either of those that had preceded it. The Bradfield reservoir was about seven miles from Sheffield in the hills, and would contain millions of cubic feet of water. Suspensions existed as to the strength of the embankment, and on the night of the catastrophe, about nine o'clock, a farm labourer had noticed a crack in it as he went over it, as a short cut on his way home across the valley.

The engineers in charge had just left, but he overtook them and they returned, though they thought the crack of little importance. Presently other signs of danger were noticed, and an attempt was made to blow up a weir that crossed the dam, and so to allow the water to escape. It was too late. Even as the engineer and his assistant crossed the slight fissure while the men were laying the charge, the crack became a chasm, an enormous crevasse, a portion of the embankment, 110 feet long and 70 feet deep, gave way at once, and the tremendous volume of water rushed with an awful roar into the valley below.

Down the hill-side it poured with a sound like thunder, deluging the cottages and sweeping away substantial buildings, bridges, workshops, rows of houses, as though they were mere heaps of rubble. Messengers carrying the dread news enabled some of the cottagers to escape for their lives, but the water nearly overtook the messengers themselves, and they had to run before they could reach the head of the valley. Rushing on towards Sheffield the flood literally swept from off the face of the earth several entire villages, including Little Matlock and Malinbridge. Whole families were carried away with their dwellings, and not a trace remained of the thriving and industrious artisans who had sought their beds unconscious of the dreadful fate that so suddenly befell them. Between Hillsborough Bridge and Malinbridge there stood several long rows of cottage-houses, inhabited by the workmen of the mills and forges on the adjacent streams, with their families. With a few exceptions, the flood wholly demolished all those rows of dwellings. In many instances even their foundations were obliterated. At the junction of the Loxley and the Rivelin only a few scattered houses, the walls and windows burst in by the flood, stood to mark the site of the once populous village. The enormous volume of water debouching from the gorge at the foot of Loxley valley seemed to have divided itself into two streams, which swept with resistless force over the hamlets of Malinbridge and Hillsborough. The bridges that formerly crossed the stream were swept away to their foundation-stones, and the districts which the

streams divided were separated by a rushing torrent of water

It reached Sheffield at a quarter past twelve. From six to eight feet of water soon flooded some of the most populous thoroughfares. The rushing of the torrent was like the noise of an express train in a railway cutting. Against the piers of Lady Bridge an enormous mass of timber, rafters, flooring, broken furniture, straw, and other articles had been flung in inextricable confusion by the force of the stream which had borne them onward in its overpowering course. In the fields and by the road-side, families had been drowned in their cottages before they could escape, people had been overtaken and swept away—swept from their houses, some of them. Many bodies were found quite naked, the force of the water having stripped off such clothing as they had on. The timber dashed against the Lady Bridge and threatened to batter it down, the arches were choked with rubbish, and the water overflowed the parapet. The streets were rivers in which drowned animals, timber, trees, and the debris of machinery, furniture, and buildings floated hither and thither. At the height of the inundation the Wicker was said to be like an immense river. When it had somewhat subsided the causeways and carriage-ways resembled the furrowed sea-shore, gas-lamps lay on the pavements, one of the arches of the viaduct was nearly stopped by a large ash-tree that had been uprooted and carried thither by the stream. The Midland Railway station was flooded, shop-windows and doors had been forced in and broken, the shops and cellars were filled with the sand and mud left by the flood, and their contents were destroyed. At Hillfoot, Neepsend, Kelham, Philadelphia, Bacon Island, and the other adjacent suburbs, the ruin was complete, and the spectacle when the water had subsided, was strange and sad. A number of dead bodies were found at Rotherham, and along the valleys of the Loxley and Rivelin. The scene was appalling, and showed how awful had been the calamity to those who, overtaken in their efforts to escape, or before they could make that effort, were overwhelmed in the streets or the fields, or in their houses. Children had been drowned

beside their mothers almost before either could have been awakened. In other places families had got out, and were lost amidst the darkness in the advancing and surrounding flood. In the lower part of the town of Sheffield many lives were lost. Around the Malin's Bridge farther up the valley neither a living person nor the vestige of a house was to be seen.

When the great basin had nearly emptied itself the whole structure was laid bare. It was almost a natural tank. Nature had done so much in some of its convulsions as to have left comparatively little for art to accomplish. The deep valley had been seized upon by the practical engineer, and there required but little to be done artificially beyond the construction of an embankment at the end of the valley to inclose the basin on three sides, leaving open the rear for the free ingress of the water, which poured down there in a hundred greater or less tributary streams. The capacity of the reservoir was seventy-eight acres, and it was said to have held at the time when the embankment burst 691,000,000 gallons. The intention was to have given from this reservoir a supply to the millowners of ten cubic feet per second every day Sundays excepted. The embankment was composed of 400,000 cubic yards of stone, earth, &c, and was 500 feet wide at its base, tapering to a very narrow apex. On the south side a waste weir, a foot below the water line, was supposed to provide for safety under all ordinary circumstances.

After a long inquiry it was understood that the original construction had been defective, and that the reservoir had not been properly inspected and attended to. Altogether it was believed that 270 lives had been lost by the flood. The coroner's jury found that there had not been such engineering skill and attention in the construction of the works as their magnitude and importance demanded, and that the legislature ought to provide for a frequent regular and sufficient government inspection of all works of that character.

Public subscriptions were raised for the sufferers, the queen heading the list, and a special act of parliament was passed appointing commissioners to ascertain what were the claims against the Sheffield Water Works.

Company by persons whose property had been injured or destroyed

Of loss and danger by fire there had been so many instances that public attention in London was drawn to the improvement of the fire-brigades and the adoption of increased means for promptly extinguishing fires occurring in the metropolis, and especially for securing a better and more immediate supply of water. The question of water supply was being discussed in more ways than one, for the London companies exercised their monopolies in a manner which called forth frequent complaints, not only because of the manner in which their rates were charged without any reference to the quantity of water consumed by the inmates of the houses supplied, but because that method of rating was supplemented by extra charges, which, together with the manner of supplying poor neighbourhoods, operated to prevent the practice of cleanliness and decency.

There had been no fire in London of any very startling magnitude since that which occurred at the wharves adjoining London Bridge, in Tooley Street, on the 22d of June, 1861. And on that occasion the large steam fire-engines and the floating engines did remarkable service, though the inflammable nature of the materials stored in the vast warehouses, which chiefly contained oils, Russian tallow, tar, saltpetre, hemp, rice, and sugar, prevented the extinction of the flames, the petroleum actually floating alight on the surface of the water. The spectacle of this great range of lofty warehouses, extending for a great distance along the river, and all burning with a tremendous glare, which lighted up the whole of that part of London from what seemed to be a vast pile or furnace of red and glowing fire, was one never to be forgotten. For some time it was feared that, as the barrels of oil, tar, and saltpetre exploded and poured their contents into the river, where they floated in islands of flame, the fire would be carried to the shipping lower down the Thames, or that the sparks, flying landward, would be blown afar and set some other part of the metropolis in a

blaze. Several persons lost their lives in the attempt to go out in boats to recover the floating tallow and other material, while Mr Braidwood, the famous chief of the London fire-brigade, perished in the ruins, from which his body was afterwards recovered to be interred in Abney Park Cemetery, amidst a great concourse of people who had admired his calm courage and experience.

Of railway accidents there had been some appalling examples, one of which, that took place on the 9th of June, 1865, on the South-Eastern line, caused a great sensation in the country, both because of the horrible circumstances attending it and because Mr Charles Dickens was one of the passengers who escaped, and gave aid to those who were more or less seriously injured.

A fast tidal train had left Folkestone in the afternoon with 110 passengers, and proceeded in safety as far as Staplehurst, where the railway bridge crosses a narrow stream in a kind of ravine. The line on the bridge was under repair, the rails had been lifted, and a wide opening made in the earth. The train, going at full speed, rushed on to the gap, and eight out of fourteen carriages were thrown into the ravine beneath, and there dashed to fragments, the passengers sustaining horrible injuries. Ten persons were either killed by their wounds and bruises or were drowned in the stream, from which they were dragged, and twenty others were so terribly maimed that there was much difficulty in removing them. Mr Dickens rendered such prompt and efficient service as he could give to persons so seriously hurt, and afterwards wrote some account of the accident, the effects of which upon his own highly-strung nervous organization were much more serious than appeared at the time. There was an inquest, of course, and a verdict of manslaughter was returned against the district inspector and the foreman platelayer of the line. These verdicts are matters of course, but attention was then, as it is now, strongly called to the neglect of proper precautions by the railway authorities themselves, and to the difference constantly discovered between the severity with which en-

deavours are made to enforce the provisions of bye-laws against passengers, and the indifference of the companies to the regulations, by strictly observing which, accidents might be prevented

The discussion on this subject was painfully emphasized at a later date in what was known as the Abergele accident, where to the ordinary terror of a collision was added the dreadful element of fire in its most appalling form. The event, though it did not occur until the 19th of August, 1868, may be mentioned here as illustrating the topic which we are now considering. It happened to the Irish limited mail train on the journey from Chester to North Wales. The train was running at its usual high speed, when, just as it was nearing Abergele, it came into collision with some trucks which had broken off a goods train at the station and had run down, over the points, on to the line on which the mail was approaching. The result was a tremendous collision, which shattered the engine and flung several of the foremost carriages across the line, killing or injuring several of the passengers who occupied them. A few extricated themselves from the carriages and were endeavouring to assist those who were most hurt, when to the horror of everyone it was discovered that the front carriages were on fire and burning fiercely. The trucks which had struck them were loaded with petroleum, and the collision having broken up the casks or other receptacles in which it was inclosed, it had been dashed on to the engine and the front of the train, which was now enveloped in the liquid flame. Death to many must have been almost instantaneous. Not even a cry was heard from them, not even the semblance of humanity still less identity was left, nothing but a few heaps of charred remains were conveyed to Abergele Church. Thirty-three persons were killed, among them Lord and Lady Farnham and an attendant who accompanied them. The Duchess of Abercorn and her family were in the train, but occupied an end carriage and escaped unhurt. In one grave in the churchyard to which they had been carried the mere ashes of the dead were buried.

The public excitement was very great, the usual censure was given, the usual remonstrance that precautions had been neglected. An inquiry was ordered by the Board of Trade, and Colonel Rich made his report on the 16th of April, saying, "I fear that it is only too true that the rules printed and issued by railway companies to their servants, and which are generally very good, are made principally with the object of being produced when accidents happen from the breach of them, and that the companies systematically allow many of them to be broken daily, without taking the slightest notice of the disobedience." He also spoke strongly against the practice of locking railway-carriages, and also against the treating or bribing of railway officials by the public. The "accident" at Abergele was one among numerous examples of the danger that must always attend the traffic of goods trains and passenger trains on the same lines of rails, and since that time other accidents have pointed to this defect in our railway system, especially on short or suburban lines where the passenger trains are frequent and the so-called "block" system is but a name.

By this terrible accident a new danger seemed to be added to railway travelling, but a year later the public imagination was again startled by the horrible story of a murder perpetrated in a railway-carriage during a short journey from Fenchurch Street to Hackney, near London. The victim of this outrage—a gentleman well known to some of the officials of the line, was chief clerk to Messrs Robarts, the bankers of Lombard Street, and was in the habit of travelling on the line from the city to Hackney, where he resided. On the night of the 9th of July, 1864, the 9-54 train from Fenchurch Street had arrived at Hackney station when a gentleman called the attention of the guard to the condition of a first-class compartment, the door of which he had just opened for the purpose of entering the carriage. He had placed his hand on one of the cushions and found it to be covered with blood. On further examination it was seen that the floor, the window, and the side of the carriage were also smeared and spattered with blood.

A small leather bag, a stick, and a hat were found in the compartment

At about the time that this discovery was made, the driver and stoker of an engine which had been working the trains of the Hackney-Wick and Stratford line, found a man lying on the space between the two lines of rail at a spot close to Hackney-Wick, the station before Hackney. The person so discovered was still living, but was covered with blood, and had evidently received severe blows on the head with some blunt instrument, his watch and chain were gone, the latter having been broken off close to the link which attached it to the button-hole of the waistcoat, but money and a silver snuff-box were found in his pockets. He only survived a few minutes after being removed to a neighbouring tavern, and had not regained consciousness before his death. The body was soon identified by friends and relatives, and it was found that a pair of gold eye-glasses which the deceased had worn were missing, but his diamond ring was still on his finger. The little leather bag had apparently been opened by some one after the assault, which probably took place between the stations of Bow and Hackney-Wick, it appeared that the body had been dragged to the door of the railway-carriage and thrown out, and that the murderer had escaped while the train was in motion. It was at first supposed that there must have been some other motive than robbery for the attack, which might, it was thought, have been made suddenly, while the deceased was dozing, and therefore only half conscious. Still the short time occupied in the journey between the stations might have accounted for the trivial nature of the robbery achieved by such horrible means, and there was no suspicion of any one who was likely to make such an attack for revenge. No clue was to be obtained, and the government, Messrs Robarts, and the gentleman's family, offered respectively £100, making altogether £300 reward for the discovery of the murderer. Only one starting-point was afforded to the police. No hat was found near the body of the murdered man, and the hat which was found in the railway-carriage was known not to belong to him. For a week no information

was obtained which seemed likely to lead to a discovery of the perpetrator of the crime. Then link by link of evidence fixed the guilt upon a German named Franz Muller. The watch-chain taken from the murdered man, had been taken to a jeweller in Cheapside named Death, who had exchanged it for another, and the person who had left it had the appearance of a foreigner. Then a cabman came forward to examine the hat found in the railway-carriage, and declared it to be one which he had bought for an acquaintance of his, a native of Cologne, who once lodged in his house, and was, or had been, courting his sister. A photograph which Muller had given to the sister was identified by Mr Death as a likeness of the person who had exchanged the chain, and to complete this part of the evidence, Muller had given to one of the cabman's children a card-board box, such as jewellers use, with the name of Mr Death upon it. Before this, shortly after the murder, Muller was at the cabman's house wearing a gold chain such as he had not previously possessed, and it was remembered that it resembled that said to have belonged to the murdered man. On the police going to Muller's lodgings at Old Ford, Bow, it was found that he had been there about eleven o'clock on the night of the murder, and was in a very confused or agitated state. When at the cabman's he had seemed to walk lame, and explained it by saying he had sprained his ankle. He could not be found at his lodgings, and, from a letter posted at Worthing, it was discovered that he had sailed for New York in a ship named the *Victoria*. Two detective officers, accompanied by Mr Death and the cabman, started in pursuit, in a steamer, which, it was calculated, would reach New York four days before the arrival of the *Victoria*. This turned out to be the case, and Muller was arrested. The circumstantial evidence was complete, and was confirmed by the fact that the hat of the murdered man was in Muller's possession, and had been cut down or reduced in height and altered, so that he could wear it. Muller was tried, sentenced to death, and executed. Two results followed the crime, and the apprehension and execution of the criminal. First, the detective-

police, who had for a long time been falling into disrepute because of several crimes, and two or three murders, the perpetrators of which had not been discovered, obtained some renewal of credit for having helped to put together the very easy and obvious items of evidence, secondly, a great outcry was heard, demanding that some improvement should be made in railway compartments, that means of communication with the guard and with other passengers should be provided to every compartment, so that an alarm might readily be given in case of assault or danger. Some improvements were tried in the way of experiments on means of communication, and in some instances it was made possible to convey an alarm to passengers in another compartment through small openings or glass partitions in the upper part of the carriage above the seats. What did *not* happen was that really effectual measures were taken either to communicate with the guard or to give an immediate alarm, or to ensure the stopping of the train under pressure of any great emergency. The carriages of most of the railways having been built on a regular plan which enables passengers to secure a certain degree of privacy, the companies were not inclined to incur the expense of a change of construction. Several serious and savage assaults, and certainly one brutal murder like that perpetrated by Muller, have occurred since, and yet little or no important change has been effected for the security of passengers against robbery and violence in the carriages of many of our lines of railway.

It will be seen that the instances here given of crimes which called for public attention are such as point to the necessity for progressive legislation. Unhappily there were also many offences committed during the period now under review which served to contradict the assumption that social progress had been very marked, or had extended very far, but making allowance for the vastly greater publicity given to all classes of offences against the law, it must be admitted that there had been a considerable diminution in crimes of brutal violence, taking into account the returns from all parts of the country. At the

same time there were far too many evidences of a want of commercial morality. Several fraudulent schemes were discovered only through the loss or ruin which they had wrought, and more than one large financial concern was already trembling on the verge of insolvency, and was yet carrying on operations which those who were directing them should have known could end only in widely spread calamity. Many large undertakings had been carried on by risky speculation, and those who were responsible had become desperate gamblers, wildly fancying that fortune might yet be retrieved by some lucky throw of the die.

The conduct of Governor Eyre, the execution of George William Gordon, and the whole story of the riots in Jamaica formed an exciting episode in the history of the years 1865 and 1866. Public opinion had scarcely been so completely divided, public feeling had probably not run so high, since the outbreak of the war in America, as it did on the question of the treatment of the negroes and the summary execution of the alleged ringleaders of the disturbances in Jamaica in 1865. The origin of these riots, which were said to have been intended as the beginning of a complete insurrection, was by no means easy to discover.

The first serious disturbance took place in the parish of St Thomas-in-the-East, Morant Bay, and nearly all the accounts agree in representing that it was attended with horrible atrocities committed by the negroes.

There can be no doubt that the outbreak was a very serious one. The negroes, who were suffering greatly from want of remunerative employment, had been aroused by seditious speeches and printed notices calling on them to band together against the whites. Their necessities were attributed to the heavy taxation imposed on them, and to the increase of import duties, which raised the prices of food and clothing. There had been a drought in the island for two seasons, and some districts were in so impoverished a state that there was no employment for the labourers on plantations which yielded a bare maintenance for their owners. Meanwhile the horses, donkeys, and carts of the small proprietors were

taxed, and the import duties were increased, or at all events maintained at a high rate, on nearly all necessary articles of consumption

The negroes who had to live by cultivating their own small patches of land were many of them half starved and half clad, and the labourers were in great distress. Two or three years before it had been represented that there was not sufficient labour on the island to cultivate the plantations, and a system of immigration had been commenced. Labourers were brought from India and from China, and in this scheme £400,000 had been expended out of the taxes. Here were smouldering elements of discontent which might soon be fanned into a flame of insurrection, and though it had been declared, on the other hand, that the idleness of the emancipated negroes was the chief cause of their own poverty and of the unsatisfactory condition of affairs in general, such an explanation required a good deal of proof before it was likely to meet with general acceptance in this country. In fact the old battle of opinions about the character and claims of the negro, and the necessity for keeping him in subjection, began over again and with additional emphasis derived from the struggle which had led to the emancipation of the slaves in the Southern States of America. It can scarcely be denied that most of those who had had personal acquaintance with the negro himself, either in the plantations or in those places where he had found employment among other labourers in large towns, declared that he would never, as a rule, be a profitable member of any community unless he worked under the control of a master. That among the surviving characteristics of his race was indisposition to work except under the pressure of immediate necessity. That he would never, if left to himself, do more work than would suffice to earn his daily ration of common food and such scanty attire as might be necessary to enable him to appear among civilized beings. At best he was a clumsy, laughing, careless, grotesque, grown-up child, over whom it was sometimes necessary to exercise severe control. At worst, along with the incurable idleness, or the very fitful industry, which was a heritage of the savagery from which he sprang,

there existed a latent unreasoning passion which might be roused to ferocity whenever he fancied he had some cause for revenge or reprisal. Such are the opinions held to-day by numbers of persons in the South, even in the towns where free negroes have been among the lower class of labourers and domestics ever since the close of the American war. Nor is it by any means certain that the condition of "coloured persons" in the North is not regulated by the survival of a similar impression among those who were, and are still, the unflinching advocates of equal personal and political liberty for black and white alike.

The negroes in Jamaica, and especially about Morant Bay district, had evidently an organization which enabled them to make a formidable display of force. They had for some time held meetings under leaders who were at all events capable of arousing them to rebellion. Their grievances were such as demanded redress, and the conditions which caused them had been set forth in a letter addressed to Mr. Cardwell, the colonial secretary, by Dr. Underhill, a gentleman who was associated with the Baptist mission. This letter, which was on the whole a temperate statement, plainly referred to the want of just government in Jamaica, to the unjust taxation of the coloured population, to the refusal of just tribunals, to the denial of political rights to the emancipated negroes, to the want of remunerative employment, which would in time remedy the evils complained of by increasing the strength and intelligence of the people. It was forwarded by Mr. Cardwell to Governor Eyre, who, it was afterwards asserted, published it in the local newspapers, where it appeared with an invitation to the residents of Jamaica to furnish information on which to found an answer to it.

It was this letter, and the meetings called in consequence of it, that Mr. Eyre regarded as among the chief causes of the rebellion; but it was to George William Gordon, a man of colour, a Baptist preacher, and a member of the assembly at Kingston, and to a negro named Paul Bogle, who was a leader at some of the seditious meetings, that he attributed active mischief.

There seemed to have been preparations for a general insurrection which was to extend to Kingston and other places beside Morant Bay, but the arrest,—for some trifling offence,—of a negro who, perhaps, was one of the more active agents in the latter place, led to an attempt to rescue him, in which the court-house was attacked, and a serious riot was the consequence. It was on the 7th of October, 1865, and the official report of it stated that about 150 men, armed with sticks, went that day (Saturday) to Morant Bay with the avowed purpose of rescuing a person who was to be tried there for some trifling offence. The apprehension of one of their number for disorderly conduct in the court-house led to great fighting and confusion, and compelled the custos of the district, Baron von Ketelholdt, to issue warrants for the apprehension of twenty-eight of the more prominent of the rioters. On endeavouring to take one Paul Bogle into custody he was surrounded and protected by a large company of armed blacks, who seized the policemen and compelled them to take an oath that they would act against the government. On the 11th an encounter took place in the square of the court-house, the rioters overpowering the few volunteers present, and setting fire to the building. They then commenced a wild murderous onslaught on the white people, killing and mutilating in the most shocking manner all whom they came across, and even extending the area of their excesses to the plantations bordering on Morant Bay.

This seemed to have precipitated the proposed insurrection. Some steps were taken to quell the rioters and punish the ringleaders, and it is very likely, from what afterwards transpired, that the negroes had little hope of consideration.

"Skin for skin," wrote Paul Bogle, "the iron bars is now broken in this parish, the white people send a proclamation to the governor to make war against us, which we all must put our shoulders to the wheels and pull together. The Maroons sent the proclamation to meet them at Hayfield at once without delay that they will put us in a way how to act. Every one of you must leave

your house, take your guns. Who don't have guns, take your cutlasses down at once. Come over to Stony Gut that we might march over to meet the Maroons at once without delay. Blow your shells! Roll your drums, house to house take out every man. March them down to Stony Gut. Any that you find, take them in the way, take them down with their arms. War is at us, my black skins! War is at hand from to-day till to-morrow. Every black man must turn at once, for the oppression is too great. The white people are now cleaning up their guns for us, which we must prepare to meet them too. Cheer, men, cheer, in heart we looking for you a part of the night or before daybreak."

In considering the course pursued by Governor Eyre it must be remembered that there was already an insurrection in Hayti, in the suppression of which an English vessel had been engaged, that Governor Eyre had only a small force at his disposal and only one vessel of any importance, the *Wolverine*, and that he was necessarily obliged to leave much power in the hands of the military officers. A number of Maroons, who had before served in a military capacity, came down from Mooretown, and were now armed and placed under their former captain, the Hon A. G. Fyfe, with whom they acted loyally in helping to suppress the rebellion, but probably with about as much cruelty as the rebels had shown to the whites.

When the news of the rebellion reached Governor Eyre at Spanish Town he caused a body of troops to be sent by sea to Morant Bay, and issued a proclamation declaring that martial law prevailed throughout the entire county of Surrey, except in the city of Kingston. He proceeded to Morant Bay himself in the *Cornwall*, and saw the commanding officers mete out summary justice to the persons concerned most prominently in the revolt. Short trials, followed in most instances by shooting or hanging, went on for many days in succession. Five tried on board the *Wolverine* were hanged on the stone archway of the burnt court-house, where the worst of the massacres had taken place. Concerning his journey the governor wrote "I found everywhere the most un-

mistakable evidence that George William Gordon, a coloured member of the House of Assembly, had not only been mixed up in the matter, but was himself, through his own misrepresentation and seditious language addressed to the ignorant black people, the chief cause and origin of the whole rebellion. Mr Gordon was now in Kingston, and it became necessary to decide what action should be taken with regard to him. Having obtained a deposition on oath that certain seditious printed notices had been sent through the post-office directed in his handwriting to the parties who had been leaders in the rebellion, I at once called upon the custos to issue a warrant and capture him. For some little time he managed to evade capture, but finding that sooner or later it was inevitable, he proceeded to the house of General O'Connor and there gave himself up. I at once had him placed on board the *Wolverine* for safe custody and conveyance to Morant Bay. Gordon was tried by court-martial there, and hanged on the morning of the 23d. "I have seen," wrote Governor Eyre, "the proceeding of the court, and concur both in the justice of the sentence and the policy of carrying it out." The governor wrote that besides Gordon, the persons prominently concerned in the outbreak were black people of the Baptist persuasion connected with him, political demagogues and agitators, a few Baptist missionaries, and a portion of the press. Humanly speaking, he said he believed that the promptitude and vigour of action which had at once grappled with and punished the rebellion had been the saving of Jamaica. Although the steps taken by Governor Eyre met with the entire approval of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, it was thought by many persons in this country that he had shown unnecessary haste and severity in his treatment of the rebels. This opinion can scarcely be wondered at when we read the accounts that came here of the wholesale punishment and slaughter. For it should have been remembered that the persons punished were none the less entitled to proper trial and regular sentences properly executed because they were black. They were emancipated or free-born negroes or coloured people, the sub-

jects of her majesty the queen, and had therefore a right to the same treatment as would have been accorded to insurgents in the United Kingdom, to rebel Femans, or riotous "unionists" bent on murder.

Writing from Morant Bay Lieutenant Adcock reported to Brigadier-general Nelson the result of his pursuit of the insurgents —

"I have the honour to inform you that on the morning of the 23d instant I started with thirty men for Duckinfield, and visited several estates and villages. I burned seven houses in all, but did not even see a rebel. On returning to Golden Grove in the evening sixty-seven prisoners had been sent in by the Maroons. I disposed of as many as possible, but was too tired to continue after dark. On the morning of the 24th I started for Morant Bay, having first flogged four and hung six rebels. I beg to state that I did not meet a single man upon the road up to Keith Hall, there were a few prisoners here, all of whom I flogged, and then proceeded to John's-town and Beckford. At the latter place I burned seven houses and one meeting-house, in the former four houses. We came so suddenly upon these two villages that the rebels had no time to retire with their plunder; nearly 300 rushed down into a gully, but I could not get a single shot, the bushes being so thick. We could all distinctly hear their voices in the wood all round, but after the first rush not a man was to be seen, and to follow them with any advantage was impossible." Captain Ford writes on the same subject — "We made a raid with thirty men, flogging nine men and burning their negro-houses. We held a court-martial on the prisoners, who amounted to about fifty or sixty. Several were flogged without court-martial, from a simple examination. . . This is a picture of martial law. The soldiers enjoy it, the inhabitants here dread it. If they run on their approach they are shot dead for running away."

The execution of Gordon was regarded with extreme disapproval by a large number of people, probably the great majority of people in England. He had denied all complicity with Bogle's insurrectionary plans, he declared that at the trial the evidence he could have

brought was not heard, either through the want of time or the determination of the judges. He bade farewell to his wife, his mother, and his friends in a cheerful letter full of fervid declarations that he should die in the cause of religion, and expressing his hopes and sentiments in the language of St Paul. The question was asked here, By what right had the governor ordered a man who was a British subject and entitled to the protection of the law, to be arrested, conveyed to a place where martial law had been proclaimed, tried by court-martial, and immediately executed? If speaking at public meetings, even if the language held were seditious or calculated to lead to riotous proceedings and rebellion, should be an excuse for such a course of proceeding, there were people here, and even members of the British parliament, who might be liable to the same treatment. Of course an answer—a sort of answer to this was that in a place like Jamaica, and among people such as those with whom the governor had to deal, prompt and stern repression of rebellion was necessary, and violence had to be met with violence, sedition with immediate and unrelenting punishment. But this did not meet the particular case of Gordon, even if it could be urged as some excuse for proclaiming military law. There were people who were ready to say, we had to put down rebellion that would soon have issued in massacre. We have heard before now of the gentle, the child-like Hindoo, and yet there was a Sepoy rebellion, an Indian mutiny, a well of Cawnpore, a massacre of Delhi. In the same way there might have been equal atrocities in Jamaica, and there was evidence at the very beginning to show that unless the rebellion were stamped out sternly and fiercely, without hesitation, the indolent, good-natured, faithful negro, as some of you think him, would have been wrought up to the pitch of frenzy, in which he would have committed atrocities that would have almost meant extermination, either of the blacks or the whites, in a great part of the island.

After making full allowance for these representations, however, the reports from Jamaica showed such recklessness—we might

almost say such gleesome alacrity—on the part of some of the officers in carrying fire and slaughter and the hangman's rope among the wretched blacks that public feeling was revolted. The friends of emancipation and the haters of oppression and of military rule looked with horror upon these narratives, and their disgust was increased when an officer who had sat in one of the courts-martial addressed an abusive letter to Mr Charles Buxton, M P, who had written calling attention to the proceedings. The tone of this letter was so offensive, and it contained such an undisguised threat of a challenge to fight or of a resort to physical arguments, that the government of Lord Derby (this was in 1866, after the defeat of Earl Russell's administration) suspended the officer, and recalled him from his duties in Jamaica. He afterwards apologized very fully, and in gentlemanly terms. But the impression was not diminished that men like him should never have been placed in authority to try for their lives, persons whom they regarded as "niggers," which meant individuals scarcely within the pale of ordinary humanity.

In Gordon's case, too, there was not even the excuse that an attempt might have been made to rescue him but for decisive measures. He was a prisoner on board a government ship, which carried him to the district where martial law had been hastily proclaimed. He might easily have been detained long enough to give him time to prepare a proper defence, to call witnesses, and to secure a regular trial. It was not that the opponents of Governor Eyre sympathized with the insurgents as such, or had any excuses for "miserable, mad seditions, especially of this inhuman and half-brutish type," as Carlyle described it to be; but it was felt that numbers of innocent persons had been included in an indiscriminate execution without any just form of trial or any proper understanding of the reasons for the terrible punishment inflicted on them. Mr Carlyle was not among those who demanded inquiry or denounced the proceedings which had been taken in Jamaica. He was ready to give his name to a committee which was formed for

Mr Eyre's defence, and wrote a very characteristic letter to say so. Nobody who remembered Carlyle's former utterances on the negro question, or his leaning towards autocratic authority, could be much surprised. He probably thought little more of "Quashee" than many of the West Indian officers did, and he expressed his hope that "by wise effort and persistence a blind and disgraceful act of public injustice may be prevented, and an egregious folly as well not to say, for none can say or compute, what a vital detriment throughout the British Empire is such an example set to all colonies and governors the British Empire has"

At the end of 1865 Governor Eyre had been suspended from his office, and recalled during the appointment of a commission of inquiry, and Sir Henry Storks was sent out to Jamaica. In October, 1866, Eyre was in England, with many influential men to support him. At a banquet in his honour in Southampton Kingsley spoke in praise of his energy, humanity, and wise discretion, Earls Cardigan and Hardwicke also speaking to the same effect. Meetings, however, had been held early in the year at Exeter Hall and elsewhere denouncing the proceedings of the military authorities in Jamaica, and accusing Governor Eyre of having acted with gross illegality and tyranny. A defence fund with a large committee was formed on his arrival, but a prosecution fund also with a large committee was actively at work.

The report of the Commission of Inquiry seemed to exonerate the governor, but to cast much blame on the manner in which military government had been carried out. He was praised for the skill, promptitude, and vigour which he manifested during the early stages of the insurrection, to the exercise of which qualities its speedy termination was in a great degree to be attributed. The military and naval operations were prompt and judicious. But martial law was continued for too long a period, during which the people were deprived of the great constitutional privileges by which the security of life and property is provided for. The punishments inflicted were found to have been excessive, the punishment of death

was unnecessarily frequent, the floggings were reckless, and at Bath positively barbarous, the burning of 1000 houses was wantonly cruel. It appeared to many people that the governor had been prompt and decisive, but that he had at the same time been so alarmed as to give rein to barbarous, repressive measures, and to allow his subordinates almost irresponsible authority so that they succeeded in putting down the rebellion.

A new constitution was promulgated for the government of Jamaica under Sir J. P. Grant, who superseded Lieutenant Eyre, against whom prosecutions were commenced by the committees. The case was brought before the Court of Queen's Bench. Mr Justice Blackburn, who was on the bench, had apparently changed his opinion as to the utter illegality of the trial of Gordon, or, at all events, in his charge to the jury he spoke as though, under certain circumstances, it might be held to be justifiable. The grand-jury threw out the bill against the accused, and Lord Chief-justice Cockburn afterwards stated in court that, had he known the law would have been so represented, he should have felt it his duty to have been in court and have stated his views to the jury. Mr Justice Blackburn had almost up to the last moment appeared to hold the opinion that the removal of Gordon was unjustifiable. To Lord Cockburn's remarks he assented, and expressed his willingness to take the responsibility of the charge as he had delivered it. There then was practically an end of the matter. Some further efforts were made to renew legal proceedings to secure condemnation of the acts of ex-Governor Eyre, but he had been exonerated, and the government of Lord Derby deemed it only just that he should be reimbursed from the public funds for the great expenses he had incurred in defending himself against a charge arising out of his discharge of official duties. This resolution was carried out, and the expenses were paid. It may also be added that the loss of his governorship, and the trouble and anxiety as well as the partial odium which he had suffered, were actual punishments not only for serious errors but for offences, of which he had after all not been found guilty. There can be no doubt

that he believed he had done his duty, and therefore he continued to regard himself, and to be regarded by many others, as a deeply-injured man

In previous pages, while speaking of the characteristics of the contemporaries of Mr Gladstone, we have had to record the losses the country had sustained by the death of a number of the leaders of social and political progress at about the period which we are now considering. To the names of these "men of light and leading" others should be added, though it be only in a passing reference. The sudden death of William Makepeace Thackeray on the 24th of December, 1863 (Christmas Eve), and the shadow which that event cast upon many a household where his writings were admired, was yet remembered, nor had many of those who knew him and his works ceased to believe that the vacant space then left in the world of letters would not be filled by any living writer. It can perhaps scarcely be said that Thackeray was a popular author in the generally accepted sense, for his most appreciative readers were rather among people with a certain peculiar turn of humour and a taste for satire not always ungentle, but in a sense unsparing, inasmuch as it included everybody who had a weak or a wicked side, and, being silent only before innocence and goodness, made comparatively few exceptions.

The "Diary of Jeames Yellowplush," and the Snob Papers in *Punch*, and numbers of essays, stories, and poems, beside the novels which have taken a high place in the literature of our age, came from his pen. A large number of his readers, and even some of his acquaintances, regarded Thackeray as somewhat of a cynic, and not only was their suspicion supported by the keenness with which he seemed to enjoy lashing the foibles and the small follies and conceits of the time, but there now and then appeared in his conversation and manner a kind of satire that was near to the bitterness of sarcasm. How much of this was to be attributed to his having, in the first part of his career, missed making a reputation as an artist, and failed to obtain the immediate recognition of publishers as an author, cannot

be determined. His reputation, when it did come, was ample and well-deserved. At the time of his death almost anybody, had he been asked the names of the chief writers of fiction in England, would have begun with Dickens, Thackeray, and Bulwer-Lytton.

This is no place to discuss the merits of either, or to compare the writings of one with those of another, for there are few points in either which admit of comparison. It is doubtful if there was much friendship between Bulwer and Thackeray, who had satirized and burlesqued him, but Dickens was the friend of both.

In the *Cornhill Magazine*, of which Thackeray had been the first editor, Dickens wrote (by request) an obituary notice, which was very gentle and characteristic, in which he said —

"I saw him first nearly twenty-eight years ago, when he proposed to become the illustrator of my earliest book. I saw him last shortly before Christmas, at the Athenæum Club, when he told me that he had been in bed three days—that after these attacks he was troubled with cold shiverings, 'which quite took the power of work out of him'—and that he had it in his mind to try a new remedy which he laughingly described. He was very cheerful, and looked very bright. In the night of that day week he died.

The long interval between those two periods is marked in my remembrance of him by many occasions when he was supremely humorous, when he was irresistibly extravagant, when he was softened and serious, when he was charming with children. But by none do I recall him more tenderly than by two or three that start out of the crowd, when he unexpectedly presented himself in my room, announcing how that some passage in a certain book had made him cry yesterday, and how that he had come to dinner, 'because he couldn't help it,' and must talk such passage over. No one can ever have seen him more genial, natural, cordial, fresh, and honestly impulsive than I have seen him at those times. No one can be surer than I of the greatness and the goodness of the heart that then disclosed itself.

We had our differences of opinion I thought that he too much feigned a want of earnestness, and that he made a pretence of undervaluing his art, which was not good for the art that he held in trust. But when we fell upon these topics it was never very gravely, and I have a lively image of him in my mind, twisting both his hands in his hair, and stamping about, laughing, to make an end of the discussion.

When we were associated in remembrance of the late Mr Douglas Jerrold, he delivered a public lecture in London, in the course of which he read his very best contribution to *Punch*, describing the grown-up cares of a poor family of young children. No one hearing him could have doubted his natural gentleness or his thoroughly unaffected manly sympathy with the weak and lowly. He read the paper most pathetically, and with a simplicity of tenderness that certainly moved one of his audience to tears. This was presently after his standing for Oxford, from which place he had dispatched his agent to me, with a droll note (to which he afterwards added a verbal postscript), urging me to 'come down and make a speech, and tell them who he was, for he doubted whether more than two of the electors had ever heard of him, and he thought there might be as many as six or eight who had heard of me.' He introduced the lecture just mentioned, with a reference to his late electioneering failure, which was full of good sense, good spirits, and good-humour.

The last line he wrote, and the last proof he corrected, are among these papers through which I have so sorrowfully made my way. The condition of the little pages of manuscript where Death stopped his hand, shows that he had carried them about, and often taken them out of his pocket here and there, for patient revision and interlineation. The last words he corrected in print were, 'And my heart throbbed with an exquisite bliss.' God grant that on that Christmas Eve, when he laid his head back on his pillow, and threw up his arms as he had been wont to do when very weary, some consciousness of duty done and Christian hope throughout life humbly cherished, may have caused his own heart so to

throb, when he passed away to his Redeemer's rest!

He was found peacefully lying as above described, composed, undisturbed, and to all appearance asleep, on the 24th of December, 1863. He was only in his fifty-third year, so young a man, that the mother who blessed him in his first sleep blessed him in his last. Twenty years before, he had written, after being in a white squall

And when, its force expended,
The harmless storm was ended,
And, as the sunrise splendid
Came blushing o'er the sea
I thought, as day was breaking,
My little girls were waking,
And smiling, and making
A prayer at home for me

Those little girls had grown to be women when the mournful day broke that saw their father lying dead. In those twenty years of companionship with him they had learned much from him, and one of them has a literary course before her worthy of her famous name.

On the bright wintry day, the last but one of the old year, he was laid in his grave at Kensal Green, there to mingle the dust to which the mortal part of him had returned, with that of a third child, lost in her infancy, years ago. The heads of a great concourse of his fellow-workers in the arts were bowed around his tomb."

In the following year (on the 29th October, 1864) another name was added to the roll of those who had departed—a name, too, as popularly known as that of the authors whose pages he had so often illustrated. John Leech, the famous artist whose humorous drawings were justly regarded as pictorial representations of the manners and customs of the time, died almost before reaching middle age. He was a school-fellow of Thackeray at the Charter-house, and each must have keenly appreciated the peculiar humour of the other. To look through the volumes of *Punch* is to see some of the best of Leech's genial satire and truthful pictures of English life. He was a man of refined taste, and though apparently robust and fond of horse exercise, suffered from a nervous disorder, increased, if not

caused, by the noise of the street organs which were perpetually being played in or near Brunswick Square, where he resided. He removed to Kensington, and had not long taken possession of his new abode when he found himself constantly irritated by the unceasing tap tap of the hammer used by a neighbouring mechanic. His condition became so serious that he was advised to seek change and rest abroad, and was forbidden to take the exercise on horseback to which he had been accustomed. He remained on the Continent for some time, but, having returned to England, the disorder from which he had suffered increased. His irritability was perhaps only a symptom of a deeply-seated disease of which he died, but the same effect, though in a less painful degree, has been produced on other distinguished professional men who were unable to escape from the harassing noises by which the dwellers in some London neighbourhoods are perpetually disturbed.

Another loss to the higher literature of the country was occasioned by the death of William Edmondstone Aytoun at his shooting-lodge at Blackhills, near Elgin, in August, 1865. The University of Edinburgh, where he was professor, had reason to mourn, for he was only in the prime of life. The son of an Edinburgh lawyer belonging to the old school of Whigs, Aytoun had begun his literary career in *Tait's Magazine*, which was then the organ of advanced politics, but his views changed, and in 1839 he became associated with *Blackwood's Magazine*, and was still more closely allied to the Conservative circle in the Scottish literary world by his marriage with the daughter of John Wilson (Christopher North), the editor of *Blackwood*. His numerous contributions to "*Old Ebony*," as well as his poems, ballads, and humorous sketches, kept his name constantly before the reading public, while his academical distinctions gave him a high position at the university, where he was professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres. Aytoun may be said to have been one of the last of a distinguished band of Scottish litterateurs of a period when they formed, as it were, a select and somewhat exclusive company. Some had died, others had been attracted to a wider field of

action. He had remained, as it were, linking the new with the older school, though he was himself not old.

But if Aytoun and his companions could so unite, as it were, two generations of Scottish litterateurs, poets, and philosophers, to what a vast range would the recollections of Brougham extend! Brougham still lived, and survived Aytoun nearly three years. He lived to see another reform bill, but he took no part in it. That vast energy had not sunk into apathy, the widely-reaching intellect was still there, but he was eighty-nine years of age, nearly ninety, when, on the 7th of May, 1868, he was found dead in bed, after having taken a day's quiet exercise in his garden at Cannes. There he had chiefly lived for some years previously, and there he was buried. His public life may be said to have ended some five years before

Of the discoveries made by explorers and travellers during this period, the more important were those relating to the supposed sources of the Nile.

Captains Speke and Grant had gone with an expedition to the Lake Victoria Nyanza, which Speke had foretold would be found to be the great source of the sacred river, the most remote waters or top-head of the Nile being the southern end of the lake, situated close on the third degree of south latitude, which, he said, gave to the Nile the surprising length in direct measurement, rolling over thirty-four degrees of latitude, of above 2300 miles, or more than one-eleventh of the circumference of our globe. Speke, who came to this distinct conclusion in July, 1862, christened the "stones," Ripon Falls, after the nobleman who presided over the Royal Geographical Society when the expedition was got up. He named the arm of the water from which the Nile issued Napoleon Channel, in token of respect to the French Geographical Society, which had presented him with their gold medal for the discovery of the Victoria Nyanza. Following the course of the White Nile Speke and Grant reached Gondokoro, where they were received by Mr (afterwards Sir) Samuel Baker, another famous traveller, who had at later date something further to say

on African discovery. By him they were hospitably entertained, and soon returned to England, where they were enthusiastically received by the corporation of Portsmouth, who in an address expressed the pleasure they felt in welcoming travellers "whose recent discoveries have solved the perplexing problem of all ages by ascertaining the true source of one of the most wonderful rivers on the face of the earth." By the Geographical Society they were also received with many friendly expressions. The true source of the Nile was still under discussion, however. Mr Samuel Baker and Captain Burton, both experienced African travellers, were not inclined to accept all the conclusions supposed to have been arrived at without further investigation. To Speke undoubtedly belonged the honour of the great discovery of the lake, and on the 17th of September, 1864, the British Association, then holding its meetings at Bath, anticipated an interesting discussion between him and Burton on the subject of the sources of the river. Alas! on the 16th, only the day before, Speke met his death while out shooting at Neston Park, Wiltshire. He should have been well acquainted with the use and the method of carrying firearms, if any man was, but perhaps he was so accustomed as to have grown careless. It appeared that he was getting over a low stone wall when the gun went off, while the muzzle was pointed to his chest. That was all that could be surmised. When one of the party came to the spot Speke was only just sensible, and murmured, "Don't move me." In a few minutes he was dead.

On the 28th of June, 1865, letters were received by Earl Russell and communicated to the Geographical Society, saying that Mr Baker (who with his wife had been living at Khartoum and Gondokoro) had discovered another lake, which was as important as the former one, and was equally regarded as the "main" source of the Nile. It was in north latitude $2^{\circ} 17'$, and had been named Lake Albert Nyanza. It will be remembered that Dr Livingstone had then gone out on another African expedition, and his subsequent discoveries kept the question of the actual source

in abeyance, if they did not finally determine it.

The march of improvement was chiefly manifested during the years now under review in increased facilities for travelling and intercommunication. We have already in former pages noted the advance of electric telegraphy and the laying of the Atlantic cable. The system of electric communication was now supplementing correspondence by letter throughout the United Kingdom, and was soon taken over by the government and made a part of the organization of the post-office. The railway system, too, had to a great extent superseded the ordinary omnibus and coach traffic, not only in the provinces, but in the suburbs of London. The Metropolitan Underground Railway, opened on the 9th of January, 1863, provided for many thousands of daily travellers from one part of London to another. Railway bridges across the Thames, intended to unite the southern lines with the northern, and ultimately to make a complete chain of intercommunication, were already a part of the growing scheme, and though demolitions for the purpose of constructing railways were serious, and in some cases were permitted unnecessarily to sacrifice and destroy much that was picturesque, historical, and beautiful, some very considerable improvements were made in the streets of our large towns, and especially in London. Various movements were made for the provision of dwellings for the poorer classes, who were necessarily deprived of their homes when neighbourhoods in which they lived were destroyed for public works. The construction of the Holborn Viaduct and the progress of the embankment of the Thames from Westminster to Blackfriars were among the most striking improvements in relation to street traffic, but the formation of broad well-paved thoroughfares, new bridges and docks, the erection of large blocks of warehouses and palatial piles of offices in some of the main streets of the city, and the adoption of a more ornamental style of architecture for banks and shops in the chief avenues of commercial and fashionable life, marked an amount of progress which found expression when some of the

principal public works were afterwards completed. Not the least significant of those which were already finished, was the new bridge across the Thames at Westminster, which was opened on the 24th of May, 1862.

The reference to improved modes of transit may remind us that communication between tidal trains and steam packets afforded greater facilities for reaching the continent of Europe, and as since January, 1861, no passports were demanded from any of the people of Great Britain, subjects of the queen, on entering France, and the same relief for British visitors to Italy had been declared by the Italian government in June, 1862, the number of English travellers abroad was considerably increased.

An enormous advance had been made in technical and art education since the first institution of government schools of design in 1842.

Among the numerous additions to our public buildings must be mentioned the range of galleries for fine art, industrial and other exhibitions erected at South Kensington, the expenses of which were partly defrayed from the funds remaining from the International Exhibition of 1862. On the 10th of June, 1863, the Albert Memorial was inaugurated by the Prince and Princess of Wales. The memorial was originally intended to commemorate the International Exhibition of 1851, but now dedicated also to the memory of the "author of that undertaking, the good prince, to whose far-seeing and comprehensive philanthropy its first conception was due, and to whose clear judgment and untiring exertions in directing its execution the world is indebted for its unprecedented success." This explanation, and the announcement that the memorial was erected by public subscription, is contained in one of the tablets, each of which bears an inscription.

Among the numerous efforts which were made for the amelioration of the condition of the poor, several were organized by the clergy of various parishes, and the charitable work of the church was to be recognized in many directions, as occupying new lines of operation. In April, 1863, during the time of the

Lancashire distress, many of the clergy were indefatigable in their exertions to obtain subscriptions, while at the same time the interest of benevolent persons in many congregations was directed to the relief of the poverty of the inhabitants of some of the worst districts in London. On the day that Sir John Trelawny's bill for the abolition of church-rates was thrown out by a majority of 10 in a house of 560 members, a meeting had been summoned by the Bishop of London, consisting of clergymen, gentlemen, owners of property, and employers of labour for the purpose of consulting on the best means of providing for the spiritual needs of the poorer districts of the metropolis. After some discussion a resolution was adopted to raise £100,000 each year for the ensuing ten years to carry out the four objects of the Diocesan Society, namely, the building of churches, the endowment of parsonages, the employment of curates, and the promotion of church extension in the metropolis.

At the first annual meeting of the Bishop of London's church extension fund in January, 1865, it was reported that the receipts to the 31st of December, 1864, had been £100,456, 13s. 6d., and a further sum of above £72,000 had been promised.

An active and decided movement was being made to support the claims of the Episcopal Church as the established religious authority, and that movement was made with judgment, inasmuch as it was in the direction of beneficent endeavours, and appealed to those who professed to belong to the communion of the Church of England without the display of intolerance or uncharitable exclusion.

There were several reasons for this demonstration, not the least being those disputes and dissensions which seemed likely to divide the church itself into separate bodies, or rather to separate still further the sections into which the body calling itself the Church of England had already been divided.

It was in reference to these difficulties within, and to other supposed difficulties without the church, that Mr. Disraeli made a remarkable speech at a meeting of the Oxford Diocesan Society for the endowment of small

benefices It would not be easy to decide what some of those who were present made of his peculiar declarations, and though it has been represented that they were intended to denote the policy and convictions of the Conservative party, it would perhaps have been difficult for any member of that party, who had himself deeply considered the position of the establishment, and the manner in which it might have to meet the dangers by which it was supposed to be assailed, to gather from the speech any practical suggestion for preventing or repulsing them, except by excommunication, alike for the theories of Darwin and the speculations of the authors of *Essays and Reviews*.

"Instead of believing," said Mr Disraeli, "that the age of faith has passed, when I observe what is passing around me, what is taking place in this country, and not only in this country but on the Continent, in other countries and in other hemispheres, instead of believing that the age of faith has passed I hold that the characteristic of the present age is a craving credulity. Why, my lord, man is a being born to believe, and if you do not come forward—if no church comes forward with its title-deeds of truth, sustained by the tradition of sacred ages and by the conviction of countless generations to guide him, he will found altars and idols in his own heart and in his own imagination. But observe what must be the relations of a powerful church without distinctive creeds with a being of that nature. Rest assured that the great principle of political economy will be observed. Where there is a great demand there will be a proportionate supply, and commencing, as the new school may, by rejecting the principle of inspiration, it will end by every priest being a prophet, and beginning as they do by repudiating the practice of miracles, before long we shall be living in a fitting scene of spiritual phantasmagoria. There are no tenets however extravagant, no practices however objectionable which will not in time develop under such a state of affairs, opinions the most absurd, and ceremonies the most revolting are perhaps to be followed by the incantations of Camdia and the Corybantian howl. But consider the country in which all this may take place. Look

at the Europe of the present day and the Europe of a hundred years ago. It is not the same Europe, its very form is changed. Whole nations and great nations which then flourished are no longer found. There is not a political constitution in Europe existing at the present time which then existed. The leading community of the continent of Europe has changed all its landmarks, altered its boundaries, erased its local names, the whole jurisprudence of Europe has been subverted, even the tenure of land, which of all institutions most affects the character of man, has been altered—the feudal system has been abolished, not merely laws have been changed, but customs have been changed. And what happened? When the turbulence was over, when the shout of triumph and the wail of agony were alike stilled, when, as it were, the waters had disappeared, the sacred heights of Sinai and Calvary were again revealed; and, amid the wreck of thrones and tribunals of extinct nations and abolished laws, mankind bowed again before the divine truths that had been by Omnipotent power in His ineffable wisdom intrusted to the custody and the promulgation of a chosen people. I hold that the highest function of science is the interpretation of nature, and the interpretation of the highest nature is the highest science. What is the highest nature? Man is the highest nature. But I must say that when I compare the interpretations of the highest nature with the most advanced, the most fashionable and modern school of modern science, when I compare that with older teachings with which we are familiar, I am not prepared to say that the lecture-room is more scientific than the church. What is the question which is now placed before society with the glib assurance which to me is most astounding? That question is this, Is man an ape or an angel? My lord, I am on the side of the angels. I repudiate with indignation and abhorrence those new-fangled theories. I believe they are foreign to the conscience of humanity, and I say more than that, even in the strictest intellectual point of view, I believe the severest metaphysical analysis is opposed to such conclusions. But, on the other hand, what does the

church teach us? What is the interpretation of this highest nature? It teaches us that man is made in the image of his Creator—a source of inspiration, of solace—a source from which can flow only every right principle of morals and every divine truth. I say, therefore, that when we are told that the teachings of the church are not consistent with the discoveries of science, and that in that sense the inferiority of the church is shown, I totally deny the proposition. I say that the scientific teaching of the church upon the most important of all subjects is, in fact, infinitely superior to anything that has been brought forward by these discoveries. In fact, it is between these two principles that society will have to decide. Upon our acceptance of that divine truth, of which the church is the guardian, all sound and coherent and sensible legislation depends. It is the only security for civilization, it is the only guarantee of real progress.”

Brilliant and effective enough this was, no doubt, but without much actual substance on which the hearers might lay hold, for at this very time some of the men who had, it was thought, gone beyond what were regarded as orthodox limits were already occupying positions of distinction not only as clergy of the Church of England but as professors in the universities.

So far had the assertion of independent or even heterodox opinions reached, that some of those whose conclusions had a few years before been regarded with apprehension were now not only tolerated but accepted. Not long afterwards Maurice, who, as we have seen, was once the leader of an “advanced” school of theology, was appointed professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge, while Kingsley had become professor of history, and at Oxford the opinions of Professor Jowett were causing much perturbation. On all sides there was to be discerned an impression of the truth of the declaration that the church as well as the world would have to accept the results of a development of modern religious belief.

Allusions have already been made in these pages to the changes and developments which during thirty years had taken place within the church. The name of Dr. Pusey has been

mentioned, and some references have appeared to “Tracts for the Times” and the opinions of those who formed what was known as the Tractarian party, which differed from the old orthodox or High-church party, and still more from the Evangelicals, who, holding with Chillingworth that the Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants, strenuously opposed the contention of the Tractarians. The latter urged that the New Testament itself was derived from, and its authority was subject to the endorsement of the church, since the faith and doctrines therein contained must have existed in the primitive church during the interval which elapsed between the teaching of Christ and the appearance of the written gospels or epistles. They also argued that when the canon of the New Testament Scriptures was formed, each book of which it was composed was endorsed or accepted in conformity with the existing body of doctrine in the church. The question, therefore, seemed to be between the supremacy of the doctrines of the church to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament, and the supremacy of those Scriptures as determining the doctrine of the church. The relations between Evangelicalism and Tractarianism involve considerations of the conditions which affect the course of human thought and the causes which modify it, and as Mr Gladstone afterward wrote, the evangelical movement, partly founded on reverence for the reformers of the church, was itself a revival of a living influence and example which gave intensity to religious belief and teaching. “The nature of the evangelical movement was not probably well calculated to fit its agents for exercising social influence at large. It had a code with respect to amusements which was at once rigid and superficial. This code inflexibly proscribed certain of the forms in which the worldly spirit loves to work, while it left ample room for others not less charged with poison, and perhaps more insidious. In lay life generally it did not ally itself with literature, art, and general cultivation, but it harmonized very well with the money-getting pursuits. While the evangelical clergyman was almost of necessity a spiritual and de-

voted man, the evangelical layman might be, and sometimes was the same, but there was in his case far more room for a composition between the two worlds, which left on him the work of exclusiveness, and tended to a severance from society, without securing an interior standard of corresponding elevation. But it seems probable, if not almost certain, that the interfusion of a class of men like the evangelical clergy with the clerical body at large must have powerfully rebuked the gross inconsistencies of professional character, and have operated with the force of a widely-diffused example in raising what was the prevailing, and threatened to become the traditional standard." This was Mr Gladstone's conclusion when speaking of evangelicalism in its early days, and he mentioned in evidence of the improvement among the clergy a remark made to him by Sydney Smith, whom he met at Mr Hallam's house about the year 1835. "He spoke, not of any general changes in the prevailing tone of doctrine, but of the improvement which had then begun to be remarkable in the conduct and character of the clergy. He went back upon what they had been, and said in his vivid and pointed way of illustration, 'Whenever you meet a clergyman of my age you may be quite sure he is a bad clergyman.' He must then have been over sixty but under sixty-five. In describing the character of his era he could afford this good-humoured condemnation, for, in truth, as the pastor of a parish, he appears to have shown a manly earnestness for practical purposes, which, if it did not rise alarmingly high, yet was greatly in advance of the time."

Mr Gladstone regards it as an unquestionable fact that it was after the appearance of "Tracts for the Times," and not before, that the juice and sap, that is to say, the positive part of the evangelical teaching, coursed through "the actual gates and alleys of the body" of the English Church. The evangelical teaching with respect to the church and the sacraments, fell below the standard of the Prayer-book, or the Articles, or both. This was a negative part of the evangelical scheme, and it could not pass into the general strain of

practical instruction in the Anglican Church. But the evangelical preachers of the English Church, ascending from the theme of the doctrine of "justification," set forth the person, life, and work of the Justifier as the source and substance, not less than the model of our life. This was the perpetual office of the church, and in this they were not innovators but restorers. The founders of the "Oxford School," a few men, among whom at the outset was only one professor, and who partook of no authority or advantage belonging to an ancient university, followed, and with the aim of completing the restoring work which the Evangelicals had begun, though they did not announce, and perhaps did not know, that they had derived so much from their predecessors. Their distinctive speech was of church and priesthood, of sacraments and services. Through the sacraments and observances of the church the saving truths and doctrines were to be taught in a way capable of, and suitable for, transmission by a collective body from generation to generation. There was strong antagonism between the two parties, but yet the Tractarian party was powerfully reinforced from the ranks of the Evangelicals. Of the three great authors of the tracts Mr Keble was the only one belonging to the school of traditional Anglican theology. Mr (afterwards Cardinal) Newman had been closely allied to evangelical doctrine and feeling in his early religious life. His brother English cardinal had belonged in the strictest sense to the ranks of the party. But between 1840 and 1860 a very large number—a pamphlet entitled *Rome's Recruits* enumerates about 3000—of recruits went over to the Church of Rome. Of these, Mr Gladstone said, several hundreds were clergymen, and persons of title also were numerous. Some of the seceders were persons brought for the first time under religious influences. Some cases may have been simply due to personal idiosyncrasies, some to a strong reaction from pure unbelief, some came from Presbyterianism, a mere handful from Nonconformity, or, on the other side, from the old-fashioned Anglican precinct, represented by men like Archbishop Howley, Bishop Blomfield, and Dr. Hook. Very

many, and especially young women, made the change through what may be called pious appetite, without extended knowledge or careful inquiry. But there was a large, and, still more, an important class not included within any of these descriptions, principally clerical, but not without a lay fraction, made up of men competent in every way by talent, attainment, position, character, to exercise a judgment, which judgment they did exercise in general to their own heavy temporal prejudice. The secession of this body of men is a conspicuous event of the first order in the Anglican religious history of a very remarkable time. The bulk of them were reputed Tractarians. The secession sharpened the outlines and heightened the pretensions of Romanism not less decidedly than it thinned the regimental forces of the Anglican system, and for a time utterly disparaged, if it did not destroy, its credit. It is matter of importance to inquire what persons are responsible and what system is responsible for this result, which from more than one point of view could hardly be regarded as other than a serious disaster.

This, then, is the sketch of the principal movements and the position of the church, and it is important to consider it in relation to subsequent events and situations and also to the part borne in them by Mr Gladstone. Without necessarily maintaining the opinions he expressed, the foregoing account is mainly a slight condensation of his own statements in a portion of an article entitled "The Evangelical Movement: its Parentage, Progress, and Issue," which appeared in the *British Quarterly Review* for July, 1879, and has been reprinted in his collected papers. To this essay the reader would do well to refer not only for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the subject of the movements in religious thought and observance, but in order to be able to correct misrepresentations which have frequently been made with regard to Mr Gladstone's opinions on ecclesiastical questions and religious doctrine and observance.

But before turning from these topics it must be mentioned that whether the discus-

sion carried on by Mr Newman and other writers of the "Tracts for the Times" gave greater latitude for questioning the absolute authority of Scripture or not, a disposition towards free criticism and free interpretation of the Scripture narratives and doctrines afterwards became apparent among some of the more eminent of the clergy and the professors at the universities. Mr Stanley, afterwards the Dean of Westminster, was one of the earliest of the so-called heterodox, and Professor Jowett, Professor Baden Powell, and others, men of blameless character and high attainments, published books, articles, or pamphlets which caused great uneasiness among those faithful churchmen or nonconformists who dreaded the so-called German theology and philosophy, and who saw, as many good and wise men saw, that the tendency towards reliance on the dogmas of an established and absolute church was again simultaneous, not only with the abandonment of the former accepted grounds of belief in Scripture truths, but with the resumption of those fallacies of scepticism and deadening forms of unbelief which perverted and debased the national and social life.

No such effects were to be apprehended from the criticisms coupled with the teaching of men like Stanley, Jowett, or others associated with them in that kind of criticism which, whatever may have been its errors or its dangers, recognized the revelation of the divine life, but there was, as there might be now, a kind of indiscriminating terror among orthodox people.

As a general term for the books and pamphlets which appeared on the critical or speculative side, the word Rationalistic came to be somewhat loosely applied. That Dr Colenso, Bishop of Natal, should in consequence of the artless questions of a Zulu have signified his doubt of the dry literal accuracy of the authorized translation of some portion of the Pentateuch, was not to be borne without an outburst of indignation and a demand for summary investigation, but when Dr Colenso published his book entitled *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, there was great consternation, though

a critical examination scarcely started any question that had not been discussed, and, one way or another, settled long before. The impression made on a great many people was that if the bishop had devoted more attention to previous discussions, now almost dismissed into the limbo of barren topics of inquiry, he might never have written the book at all. As it was, the people who did not read it, and those who did read it, and were as unconscious as the bishop seemed to be of its consisting chiefly of thrice-thrashed straw, were alarmed, not so much at the result, as at the source of the heterodox conclusions. The Lower House of Convocation found the book to contain errors of the gravest and most dangerous character, and presented this declaration to the Upper House, who declined to interfere because the work was about to be submitted to the judgment of an ecclesiastical court, but affectionately warned those who might not be able to read the convincing answers which had been published, of the dangerous character of the book. The result of a reference to the ecclesiastical court was that though Dr Colenso was tried and condemned by his metropolitan the Bishop of Cape Town, and two of his suffragans sitting with him as assessors, their sentence of deprivation of his see was reversed by the committee of the privy-council, inasmuch as it held that the crown had no power by law to constitute a bishopric or to confer coercive jurisdiction within any colony possessing an independent legislature, and that the letters patent which purported to create the sees of Cape Town and Natal were issued after these colonies had acquired such legislation, so that neither bishop was, in the eye of the law, bishop of his see, and neither of them had any jurisdiction whatever.

Nobody called in question the character, the piety, or the honesty of Dr Colenso, and his supporters in London soon started a fund whereto about £3300 was subscribed before he returned to his charge, a bishop without a legal see or jurisdiction, but all the same the Bishop of Natal. There was another difficulty to overcome, and to meet this the funds subscribed were required. Acting on the judgment of the privy-council the trustees of the Colo-

nial Bishoprics Fund had withheld payment of the bishop's salary of £362. Dr Colenso, therefore, filed a bill against Mr Gladstone, Vice-chancellor Wood, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others who were trustees, calling upon them to set aside £10,000 out of the fund for securing the income of the Bishop of Natal, and also to pay his salary. The defendants contended that by the judgment of the committee of privy-council Dr Colenso had never been a bishop at all in the sense contemplated by the founders of the fund. Against this Lord Romilly, who tried the case, defined what he conceived to be the duties and functions of a bishop, and pointed out how the letters patent of the crown had failed in enabling the bishop to perform those duties, what were the objects for which the funds were contributed, and the nature of the contract entered into by the trustees with both the crown and the plaintiff. The judgment was for Dr Colenso, and the trustees had to pay the costs.

Essays and Reviews, the name of that book which once raised such a ferment, is now seldom mentioned, or is spoken of with no very definite sense of its doing serious mischief. Some of the authors of that unassuming volume of speculative or critical essays are still famous, and will be remembered when the book itself has been almost forgotten. The volume was made up of seven essays having no special or necessary connection, nor any very obvious agreement, and each was signed with the name of the author. It may be said without much doubt that this collection of papers was not primarily intended to convey the settled opinions or convictions of the writers, but that the essays were examples of critical and speculative thought, and the reviews,—as their name implied,—the written results of an examination of certain books in the views of which the writers were intellectually interested, and with which probably they to a considerable degree accorded. In the first of the essays the human race was personified as an individual whose intellectual and religious education or development had been proceeding through the beliefs and ex-

periences of successive ages and was proceeding still. The idea was not altogether new, and could scarcely be called impious, except from the point of view that unless it were subjected to strictly metaphorical limits it would be opposed to certain orthodox doctrines. The next paper was a review of some biblical criticisms and rationalistic conclusions of Baron Bunsen, a man who had been the admired and esteemed friend of most of our eminent statesmen and scholars, but whose heterodox opinions, though tolerated in society where his learning and his character had made him welcome, could not be regarded with complacency when they were issued with the apparent endorsement of a reverend principal or professor at either of our colleges or universities, or were upheld by professed members of the Established Church. The others papers which made up the volume included an application to the Old Testament history, of the principles adopted by Niebuhr in his inquiry into the history of Rome, objections to the Mosaic account of the creation, and contentions that the same rules of interpretation and criticism should be applied to the Bible as to any other book. The authors were the Rev Dr Temple, head-master of Rugby School, and afterwards Bishop of London, the Rev Dr Williams, Vice-principal of St David's College, Lampeter, the Rev Baden Powell, Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, Mr Goodwin, a distinguished scholar and Biblical commentator, the Rev Mark Pattison, tutor and afterwards principal of Lincoln College, Oxford, the Rev Mr Wilson, and the Rev J B Jowett, regius professor of Greek at Oxford.

Against Professor Jowett there was much opposition in the university, from conscientious motives. Dr Pusey, who twenty years before had been suspended by the vice-chancellor from preaching from the university pulpit what were alleged to be Romish doctrines, had afterwards with his followers been indebted to Mr Jowett for friendly intervention between them and the authorities, who would have dismissed them. He now joined with Dr Ogilvie, one of those who had been his own personal opponents, in the prosecution of the Greek professor.

Dr Pusey, and his co-prosecutors of Professor Jowett in the chancellor's court at Oxford, could not carry on the case because of the protests entered by the defendant's proctor, which contained objections that the court had no jurisdiction in spiritual matters, was unfit to do justice in the case, and had no power over a regius professor.

There were of course other ways of pronouncing sentence against the essayist, and when a proposal was made to increase the endowment of the Greek chair—which remained at its original amount of £40, although that sum was admitted on all hands to be utterly inadequate—considerable opposition to the scheme was evinced. This opposition was overcome, however, so far at least as the resident members of the University were concerned, and a plan for increasing the endowment was agreed upon, with the understanding that no approval was thereby given to the opinions of the existing professor. The scheme had to be submitted to the vote of the whole body of graduates of the university, resident and non-resident, and was rejected by a considerable majority, made up principally of non-residents. The lord-chancellor then proposed to accomplish the object in view in another way, and brought a bill into the House of Lords enacting that in future a stall in one of the cathedrals should be assigned to the occupant of the Greek chair, and providing that the first stall which became vacant should be thus appropriated. The proposal, though at first received with considerable approval, was ultimately rejected by their lordships, mainly on the ground that it is the duty of the university properly to endow the chair, in consideration of certain privileges and advantages—some of which are of great value in a pecuniary point of view—granted to it by the crown.

The lower House of Convocation at their meeting, and the Archbishop of Canterbury in reply to a deputation of 800 clergymen, decided to take no action against the authors of the heretical book, but to wait for the refutation of the opinions which it contained by replies which would be sure to be published. The Bishop of Salisbury then commenced a suit

This case, which was brought by the Bishop of Salisbury against the Rev Rowland Williams, was tried in the Arches Court, where the judge rejected all the charges but those contained in two articles. On the charge upon these two, the defendant appealed to the judicial committee of the privy-council, and the Lord-chancellor Bethell (Lord Westbury) was strongly in favour of a reversal of the sentence of suspension pronounced by the Court of Arches on account of the two articles, which his lordship moved should be rejected as the rest had been. The charges in an action against another of the essayists (Mr Wilson) he also said should be withdrawn. The lord-chancellor was evidently on the side of freedom of opinion, and distinctly declared that Mr Williams's expressions were not to be interpreted in the way put forth by the promoter of the action, and that Mr Wilson's representations could not be said to be plainly contradictory to, or inconsistent with, the articles or formularies of the church to which the charge referred. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York did not concur in this judgment, and issued pastoral letters on the subject. A few days afterwards an address said to have been signed by 137,000 members of the Church of England, thanking them and supporting the decision they had taken, was presented to them at Lambeth Palace.

Essays and Reviews was afterwards condemned in Convocation, but, upon the reports of the committee of the Upper and Lower House, when that decision was brought down to the Lower, amendments were moved which, though they were not carried, showed that opinion was not unanimous. There was yet to follow a sharp discussion in the House of Lords, where Lord Houghton asked the government questions as to the powers of the convocation of the province of Canterbury to pass a synodical judgment on books written by clergymen or laymen, as to the immunity of members of that body from proceedings at common law consequent on such judgment, and as to the form in which judicial power must be exercised if it belonged to that body. The opportunity was too good for the lord-chancellor to lose, and he replied in terms, of

which the archbishop said, he tried to produce pain by words that should blister those upon whom they fell. There were, he said, three modes of dealing with Convocation when it was permitted to come into action and transact real business. The first was, while they were harmlessly busy, to take no notice of their proceedings, the second was, when they seemed likely to get into mischief, to prorogue and put an end to their proceedings, the third, when they had done something clearly beyond their powers, was to bring them before a court of justice and punish them. This was biting and contemptuous enough as pronounced by an eminent lawyer holding such high office towards a body which regarded itself as an ecclesiastical tribunal. He went on, however, to represent, that as Convocation derived its authority from the crown, and could pronounce no valid sentence without the sanction of the crown, any attempt to put such a sentence in force without that sanction would make the offending parties liable to a *præmunire*. He then pictured the archbishop and the bishops at the bar, not in solemn state, but as penitents in sackcloth and ashes, he supposed that the sentence would be similar to that passed by a bishop on one of the authors of *Essays and Reviews*—a year's deprivation of his benefice, and then represented that as the archbishop had given two votes, for two years the most reverend prelate would be condemned to have all the revenue of his high position sequestered. What an opportunity for his right honourable friend, the chancellor of the exchequer, to spread his net, and in one haul take in £30,000 from the highest dignitary, not to speak of the *hor polloi*, the bishops, deacons, canons, vicars, all included in one common crime—all subject to one common penalty. Assuming that the report of the judgment which he had read was a correct one, he was happy to tell their lordships that what was called a synodical judgment was simply a series of well-lubricated terms—a sentence so oily and saponaceous that no one could grasp it. Like an eel it slipped through the fingers, it was simply nothing, and he was glad to tell his noble friend that it was no sentence at all. If the volume had

been the work of one hand the sentence might have had some effect, but, seeing that the volume was only two covers holding together separate essays, and seeing that the sentence did not attribute any offence to anything but the volume containing these separate writings, not one of the authors was condemned, and each one of them might say, "This thing that is condemned is not mine, it belongs to you" In this way the volume and the sentence which condemned it might be handed round from one to another, and the application of the sentence be repudiated by all the authors. The bishops might meet together as a debating club and express their opinion whether this or that law was a good or a bad one, but even that was not a very small nor a proper thing, for they might thereby involve themselves in great peril. He brought before them the predicament in which any individual member of the episcopal bench might stand. The upper house might come to a particular determination, but, supposing the author of one of these essays were presented to a living or any other piece of ecclesiastical preferment, and supposing that one of the bishops who had been a party to those proceedings were called on to institute. The bishop would naturally say, "How can I institute a man whose work I have joined in condemning?" but, in declining to institute, the bishop might possibly become liable to a *præmunire*, or be involved in the consequences of another hard word, *duplex querela*.

This was the strain in which the reply was made, and it concluded by assuring the mover of the question that it was not the intention of the government to take any further steps in the matter. The Bishop of Oxford replied with dignity, and not without effective rebuke of the tone of the lord-chancellor, saying that if he had no respect for himself, he ought to have had respect for the audience before which he spoke.

Probably few persons could have defended the manner of the reply made by Lord Westbury, but the matter of it was subject for very serious consideration, as people have found out since, and especially now that another party in the church have alike denied

the authority, and practically tried to defy the power of a legal tribunal, and have refused to acknowledge the duty of obedience to ecclesiastical superiors.

It may be remarked here that in the matter of subscription to the articles of the church Dr Pusey had in the early part of his career, and while he was liable to suspension from the university for alleged Romish tendencies, refused to accept the articles except with the liberty of interpreting them according to his views of their meaning in the ancient church. The subscription to the clerical oaths had, it is almost needless to say, become liable to as elastic an application, and at length a royal commission was appointed to inquire and report on the subject, with the result that in July, 1865, Lord Granville brought a bill before parliament for relaxing the subscription to certain clerical oaths. The effect of this was that in place of the old form pledging his "assent and consent" to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, the declaration as proposed by the bill to be made before ordination was "I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of religion and the Book of Common Prayer and of the ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons. I believe the doctrine of the united Church of England and Ireland as therein set forth to be agreeable to the word of God; and in public prayer and administration of the sacraments I will use the form in the said books prescribed, and none other except as far as shall be ordered by lawful authority." This measure passed through both houses of parliament.

A few words must be said of Sir Richard Bethell (Lord Westbury), the profound and accomplished lawyer, of the bitter tongue, who took so prominent a part as a law reformer and in these ecclesiastical trials. The close of 1865 saw his sudden and almost unexpected resignation. He was just 65 years old, for he was born in 1800. His father was a physician at Bradford, and was said to have descended from an old Welsh family named Ap-Ithell (whence Bethell). His education began at the Bristol Grammar School. At the age of thirteen he left that seminary and studied with

his father for one year, and then proceeded to Wadham College, Oxford, where he found some difficulty in matriculating on account of his extreme youth. This difficulty overcome, he was elected scholar in the following year, and in 1818 (before he was eighteen years of age) he took his degree, with the honours of a first class in classics and a second in mathematics. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1823, and made a queen's counsel in 1840. He was first returned for Aylesbury in 1851 as a Liberal Conservative, and sat for that place till 1859, when he was returned for Wolverhampton. He had held the office of vice-chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaster, and was appointed solicitor-general in 1852 in Lord Aberdeen's ministry, and attorney-general in 1856, and, with the exception of the brief interval of Lord Derby's second ministry, had been in that office till in July, 1861, he became custodian of the Great Seal of England. His wit was acute, his language, as we have seen, so caustic that it has been called vitriolic, though he mostly spoke in a lisping drawling manner which was far from being oratorical, and made the words he used all the more startling when the listeners *came to think of them*.

It will easily be understood that he was beloved neither by those members of his own profession who were opposed to his innovations and simplifications of the law, nor by persons on whom he had turned his unsparing powers of derision or of refutation. Perhaps many of his enemies were waiting for an opportunity to pay off old grudges, and though they may not have had much hand in settling the score, the opportunity came in a manner which must have pained even those among his opponents who admired his abilities and believed in his honour. It appeared that his real disposition in private life was indulgent, and to some extent unsuspecting, and he had used his influence or patronage in placing two of his relatives in official positions, where one of them was afterwards accused of holding or using the public money for his own purposes, and another of some other proceeding which could not be passed over with propriety. He had been foolishly lax, and had remained silent rather than be-

tray his relative, but it was distinctly stated that his silence was from no improper or unbecoming motive. The charge was brought against him, however, in the House of Commons instead of before a judicial tribunal, and it was made use of for an attack against the government, so that a vigorous "whip" brought up a large attendance, in which the opponents of the lord-chancellor were more numerous than his supporters. "Laxity of practice and want of caution, whereby great encouragement has been given to corrupt practices, and which, even in the absence of improper motives, are, in the opinion of the house, highly reprehensible and calculated to throw discredit on the administration of the high offices of state," was the resolution which was accepted by a small majority. Lord Westbury resigned his office with dignity, and not without some calm and almost pathetic words, accepting the decision of the house without saying a syllable against it except that he hoped after an interval calmer thoughts would prevail. He pointed out the work which had been accomplished—the plans of reform and improvement which had been carefully arranged under his direction—mentioned that on his retirement there would only be a single appellate judgment in arrear, and that the same could be said of the Court of Chancery. "It is very possible that by some word inadvertently used—some abruptness of manner—I may have given pain, or have exposed myself to your unfavourable opinion," he said to the House of Lords in conclusion. "If that be so, I beg you to accept the sincere expression of my regret, while I indulge the hope that the circumstance may be erased from your memory." It was like an official dying speech. But Lord Westbury lived to do useful work as a "law lord" in deciding appeals and as arbitrator in some delicate and difficult commercial questions—duties in which he was employed till his death in July, 1873.

The session of 1866 commenced with much interest and with no little expectation. For the first time since the death of the prince-consort the queen opened parliament. The appearance of her majesty in public was the

occasion of a loyal and hearty welcome, which would perhaps have been more vociferous if it had been less sympathetic. Only by her presence in the house did her majesty resume her royal state. The robes lay on the throne beside which she stood, with downcast eyes, as the speech was read by the lord-chancellor. One passage in the speech pointed directly to parliamentary reform—"I have directed that information should be procured in reference to the rights of voting in the election of members to serve in parliament for counties, cities, and boroughs. When that information is complete the attention of parliament will be called to the result thus obtained, with a view to such an improvement in the laws which regulate the rights of voting in the election of the House of Commons as may tend to strengthen our free institutions and conduce to the public welfare."

Not very exciting, this placid reference to an inquiry which ardent reformers thought should lead to a very considerable extension of the franchise and a careful redistribution of seats in accordance with equal representation and yet not only the opposition, but a large section of the supposed supporters of the government, assumed it to be untimely, if not unnecessary, unless for the purpose of securing a few concessions, chiefly in the direction of the borough franchise. Nor could it be maintained that any very significant demonstrations had been made outside parliament to obtain a definite scheme of reform. There was a widely-felt impression that the question would soon have to be considered, and there were several associations and not a few leaders willing to organize and carry on a regular movement for securing a measure which would satisfy a genuine demand, but the demand had not been made in the shape of distinct propositions, perhaps, for one reason among others, that advanced reformers felt little confidence in proposals likely to emanate from a government of which Earl Russell was the head and the Whigs a very influential element. The truth seemed to be that Earl Russell's government was not likely to go anything like far enough for the Liberals or Radicals, and a good deal too far for the cautious

Whigs, or the determined opponents of wide measures of enfranchisement, except as concessions to popular agitation.

The knowledge that this was the existing impression must have made the task of Mr Gladstone a difficult one, when he had to concur in framing a measure, and to introduce it to parliament, for by that time he had, it may be supposed, gone far beyond the traditions of the Russell Liberal policy so far as regarded an extension of the popular privileges in elections of members to parliament. There was a certain wholeness in his character which forbade him from resting in partial developments, and hence, in departing from one stand-point to another which he saw before him, he had soon to change his boundaries on all sides in accordance with what was to him the evident consistency of their relations. It is no depreciation of him to say that he evidently did not, himself, realize the position that he would rapidly assume in relation to questions on which he might very well have thought he had already undergone a quite complete change of opinion. And though the reform bill which he had to propose did not, in the estimation of many, go far enough, it had in it those elements of thoroughness which were sufficient to gain for it the support of Mr Bright—a support which,—when it was discovered that the opportunity of passing a measure of the kind was likely to be delayed, and perhaps lost by the continued apathy or indifference of those who professed to be the friends and advocates of political freedom,—rose into warm and enthusiastic remonstrance. The introduction of the bill was somewhat chill and constrained, but before it had been long debated, Mr Gladstone and Mr Bright had sustained its claims both in and out of parliament by oratory which they probably seldom or never surpassed. Their energetic appeals, though they did not arouse sufficient determination to support and save the government, stirred the country into action which compelled those who defeated the measure to reconstruct it with provisions which, if some of them were less satisfactory, were in some respects more inclusive. There must have been many people at that time who remem-



SIR WILLIAM VERNON HARCOURT

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIOTT & FRY, LONDON

bered Quaker's saying of the Peelites that "they had caught the Whigs bathing, and had stolen their clothes" In the reform bill of 1867 the Conservative government showed that, aided by something like an accident, they had tripped up Whigs and Liberals together, and had afterwards been obliged to disguise themselves in their clothes

But to return to the opening of the session The ministry was not regarded as one favourable to the advance of Liberalism The advanced party were asking, Why was Bright left out of it? It had been rumoured that he was to be secretary for India, or president of the Board of Trade, while Mr John Stuart Mill was to support the family tradition and conduct Indian affairs No such appointments were made Lord Clarendon succeeded Earl Russell in the foreign office, and the government remained with little alteration, except in the offices of under-secretary for the colonies and vice-president of the Board of Trade, Mr Chichester Fortescue, the former under-secretary, having become Irish secretary These two changes were not at the time of much apparent importance, but they became really significant as the introduction to offices, which gave no seat in the cabinet, to two men who have since had much to do, one with the financial, and the other with the social and political administration of the country These two men were Mr Forster and Mr Goschen

Mr William Edward Forster, member for Bradford, did not profess to be himself "one of the people falsely called Quakers," though he was the only son of William Forster, who was more than fifty years a minister of the Society of Friends, and died in Tennessee, whither he had gone on an anti-slavery mission William Forster married the sister of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, the first baronet The member for Bradford was born in 1818, and was therefore forty-eight years old when he took office in the ministry of 1866 He married Jane Martha, eldest daughter of the late Dr Arnold, the celebrated master of Rugby School, and adopted all the children of one of Dr Arnold's sons, who died in the prime of life, leaving his family but scantily provided for Long before he came into

parliament Mr Forster was widely known as an active intelligent magistrate, a zealous and earnest philanthropist, and a politician of widely Liberal principles and enlarged views, and it has recently been made known that during the Irish famine, when he was a young man, he was engaged alone and with indefatigable activity in visiting the remote distressed districts, many of them not easy of access, and taking measures to afford relief to the starving people In 1859 he contested Leeds, but was defeated by Mr Beecroft, but in 1861, when Mr Titus Salt, of Saltane, disgusted with parliamentary life, retired, Mr. Forster was returned without opposition for Bradford, where he had a large business as a worsted manufacturer Mr Forster, very soon after he entered the house, began to take part in the discussions, and speedily gained a reputation not only as a debater, but as an earnest, vigorous, and convincing speaker

Mr Forster had long been deemed a rising man Mr Cobden had from the first a high opinion of him, and thought that he would be certain to attain and keep a prominent position in the house.

The Right Honourable George Joachim Goschen, one of the members for the city of London, had risen rapidly in official life, for he was only in his thirty-fifth year, but he had a special talent for finance, which had been cultivated by commercial experience as a member of the well-known firm of Fruehling, Goschen, & Co, foreign merchants and financiers, his connection with whom he relinquished on taking office in the government

Mr Goschen was educated at Rugby, and at Oriel College, Oxford, where he took his degree. He was first returned for London in 1863, and again, at the head of the poll, in 1865. Some years before, he had published a book on the theory of foreign exchanges, and almost immediately on entering the House of Commons he made a position for himself as an able speaker on finance and commercial legislation. Shortly after Earl Russell succeeded to the premiership Mr Goschen was appointed vice-president of the Board of Trade; but this office he had only held for a short time when he was transferred to the Duchy of Lancaster,

with a seat in the cabinet. It is generally understood that the rapid promotion of Mr Goschen was made at the instance of the chancellor of the exchequer (Mr Gladstone), who, it is said, was desirous of having at his back a man thoroughly conversant with financial affairs to help him in the discharge of the onerous duties of his office, to which had been added the leadership of the House of Commons.

The government also reckoned on the support of Mr Stansfeld, a rising politician, on the side of Radicalism, who had held office in the admiralty under Lord Palmerston, but had resigned in consequence of having been charged with complicity in the plots of Mazzini—an accusation the only foundation for which was that he was a friend of the Italian patriot, to whom he had given permission to have letters addressed to his house, directed to Mr Fiori, in order to avoid a possible repetition of post-office scrutiny. Mr Stansfeld was, however, too able a man to be left out of party considerations.

The Duke of Argyle in the Lords was at that time scarcely of sufficient weight to count against some Tory advantages. But his ability was recognized, even though it was occasionally manifested in a manner which led men to resent his self-sufficiency rather than to yield to the arguments by which he upheld his representations. He was usually regarded rather as a clever, persistent debater, with a philosophical turn, than as a profound politician or an able statesman. He was one of the rising men of the day. And on the other side, in the House of Commons, was Sir Hugh Cairns, who had already made a considerable mark, and Mr Gathorne Hardy, afterwards Lord Cranbrook.

Earl Russell's ministry, then, was not altogether such as would lead men to expect any large and inclusive measure of parliamentary reform, nor, as we have noted, had there been any definite and startling outcry for such a measure. It was felt that if there must be reform at all, it should go beyond the very cautious and sober lines of the intimation in the royal speech. The country was, on the whole, still so prosperous, that, though pressure was beginning to be felt, and a sharp, commercial

crisis was impending in a particular direction, the statement which accompanied the budget was highly assuring. The chancellor of the exchequer had not to announce a surplus of revenue on the scale of the last three years, which had reached an average of three millions and a half, but he would still be able to make reductions not without interest. The estimated expenditure for the past year had been upwards of £66,000,000, but the actual expenditure was only £65,914,000. The revenue was £67,812,000, leaving a surplus of £1,898,000. The revenue had been £1,424,000 more than was calculated. The average increase in revenues since 1864 was about a million and a quarter per year. The loss caused by the reductions of last year had slightly exceeded the estimate. The exchequer balances had been reduced by unusual liquidations of debt. On the 31st of March, 1865, they were £7,691,000, and on the same date in 1866 they had fallen to £5,851,000. The total estimated expenditure of the coming year was £66,225,000, which, as compared with the expenditure of the previous year, showed an increase of £78,000. The total estimate of the revenue for the year would be £67,575,000, thus leaving a surplus of £1,350,000, which, but for the charges of the previous year, would have been quite £2,700,000.

The effect of the commercial treaty with France had been to raise the export trade of that country from 58,500,000 francs to 141,000,000 francs. We had now concluded treaties with Austria and Belgium, Italy and the Zollverein on the same standard as that of France, no duty to exceed 25 per cent *ad valorem* on British goods. This necessitated changes in our own tariff, by which the duty on timber was repealed and the duty on wine in bottle or in wood was equalized. These remissions, together with the abolition of the duty on pepper, which would be a loss of £112,000 for the year, a reduction of the mileage duties on public conveyances from a penny to a farthing a mile, and a reduction of the scale of the license duty on post-horses, were all that could be proposed—and disposed of £560,000 out of a surplus of £1,350,000. The tea duties were to be renewed, and the

income-tax to remain at fourpence in the pound. The statement of Mr Gladstone concluded with a careful representation that it was time to prepare for a serious reduction of the national debt, the amount and fluctuations on which he said was exercising an injurious social influence.

A good plan of operating on the debt was by the conversion of perpetual into terminable annuities. There was then a sum of twenty-four millions standing on a deposit account of the trustees of savings'-banks, the whole of which the state was now bound to pay, and it was proposed to take that sum, which now cost £720,000 a year, and convert it into annuities terminating in 1885, which would raise the annual charge to one million. If this was done in 1866-67 there would be a charge something above £1,200,000. The following year there would be a further charge on this conversion of £502,000, but of this £293,000 would be relieved by the falling in of other annuities. The total additional charges, making all allowances, would be about £409,000 per annum. It was further proposed that so much of the dividends of the fund which it was intended to create as were found to be to spare should be reinvested, and the result would be that in 1885 the charge would be £1,440,000, while there would have been cancelled no less than fifty millions of stock, and from year to year the state would be buyers of stock. The surplus dealt with in making the reductions which he had stated would be £1,064,000, leaving an unappropriated balance of £286,000.

These are the indications of the plan which Mr Gladstone was considering, nor did it meet with serious opposition. The proposal to convert a portion of the debt into terminable annuities was embodied in a separate bill, which had passed its second reading when the government was overthrown by the rejection of its reform bill, to which we must now give a passing notice.

When the proposed reform bill was brought before the House of Commons on the 13th of March (1866) it soon became evident that the restrictions to which it had been subjected by the cabinet had kept it within limits which were little likely to satisfy ardent reformers,

and that Mr Gladstone, and perhaps Earl Russell also, had submitted to a compromise which went no further than a £14 franchise for the counties and a £7 franchise for the towns.

The House of Commons was crowded in every part to hear the proposals of the government. There was, perhaps, as much curiosity as there had been when the Reform Bill of 1831 was brought forward by Lord John Russell, but there was far less excitement, even when it was declared that the measure would have the effect of adding 400,000 persons of all classes to the number of voters. Of these 171,000 would come under the county franchise, which would be reduced from £50 to £14, with the proviso that the occupation of property of the value of less than £50 should include a house the annual value of which was not less than £7. Copyholders and leaseholders in boroughs were to have the same privileges as freeholders. The borough franchise was to be reduced from £10 to £7. Much attention was then and afterwards directed to "the compound householder"—a term which was constantly heard in all discussions about reform. The compound householder was the tenant of one of a number of small houses or tenements, for the rates of which the landlord "compounded" with the parochial authorities—paying for them all in one sum. This of course came to much the same thing as the rates being paid by the tenant, since the landlord would naturally take care that his disbursements were added to the rental. Compound householders in boroughs were to have the franchise, so were lodgers paying not less than £10 a year exclusive of the value of furniture, and so were separate tenants of the same house. The compound householders, it was estimated, would add 25,000 to the number of voters. Another clause gave votes to all adult males who had deposited £50 in a savings-bank for two years, which entitled them to be registered for the place in which they resided. These were the principal points of the bill. The question of the redistribution of seats was to be dealt with in a separate bill, but Mr Gladstone considered it to be of so much importance that he

would not undertake to introduce it in the same session or even in the following one

Not only was there comparatively little in the bill to evoke an outburst of national enthusiasm, but there were special difficulties in parliament itself. It was introduced to a House of Commons which had but just been elected, and had not been elected on the ground of supporting such a measure as was proposed, or indeed any inclusive scheme of reform at all. Men like Mr Bright and Mr John Stuart Mill, regarding the measure as a stage of political progress, supported it, and many other "advanced" Liberals were willing to approve it on that understanding. Mr Forster was one of the first who spoke earnestly in its favour, and among other adherents of Mr Gladstone there was presently no lack of fervour. Yet it soon became evident that many members of the Liberal party were slipping away from their allegiance—not because the bill promised too little, but because it did not promise quite what they expected, or because, having just obtained their seats, they were not inclined to imperil them by upholding a measure the success of which they thought was doubtful. Among these so-called Liberals were unpronounced Whigs, who did not care about any plan of reform unless it should be unmistakably forced on them by pressure from without. It certainly was a mild, not to say a rather colourless measure, and though it was afterwards supported by some of the most fervid and brilliant appeals ever uttered by its chief promoters, Mr Gladstone himself introducing it to a vast assembly in a speech which lasted for nearly three hours, and was throughout listened to with eager and admiring attention, nobody could claim for it that it gave any vast concessions to popular demands. The most remarkable point of the situation was that many of the Conservatives professed to regard the measure as dangerously democratic in its tendencies, and represented that unless it were opposed it would bring ruin upon the country. Those who were really of this opinion could have had little political foresight, and others who on principle resisted all attempts to reform the suffrage could scarcely have reflected

that as some changes were inevitable it would have been more consistent to have accepted what from their point of view might have been regarded as a comparatively harmless extension of the franchise, than to arouse the country to still further expectations. In addition to these objectors, it has been declared that there were others who honestly believed that any measure of further enfranchisement should be such as to secure a settlement of the question which would leave no probability of further agitation for several years to come.

To these varied opponents of the bill Mr Gladstone had to address himself, and he closed his great oration by appealing to those who professed to see in the proposed measure dangers which it is difficult to understand how they could have associated with it.

"We cannot," he said, "consent to look upon this large addition, considerable although it may be, to the political power of the working-classes of this country, as if it were an addition fraught with mischief and with danger. We cannot look, and we hope no man will look, upon it as some Trojan horse approaching the walls of the sacred city, and filled with armed men, bent upon ruin, plunder, and conflagration. We cannot join in comparing it with that *monstrum infelix*—we cannot say—

"—Scandit fatalis machina muros,
Fœta armis mediæque minans illabitur urbi."

I believe that those persons whom we ask you to enfranchise ought rather to be welcomed as you would welcome recruits to your army, or children to your family. We ask you to give within what you consider to be the just limits of prudence and circumspection, but, having once determined those limits, to give with an ungrudging hand. Consider what you can safely and justly afford to do in admitting new subjects and citizens within the pale of the parliamentary constitution, and, having so considered it, do not, I beseech you, perform the act as if you were compounding with danger and misfortune. Do it as if you were conferring a boon that will be felt and reciprocated in grateful attachment. Give to these persons new interests in the constitution, new interests which, by the beneficent processes

of the law of nature and of Providence, shall beget in them new attachment, for the attachment of the people to the throne, the institutions, and the laws under which they live is, after all, more than gold and silver, or more than fleets and armies, at once the strength, the glory, and the safety of the land."

The first note of opposition from deserting Liberals was sounded by Mr Horsman, but the man who came to the front in denouncing the bill was Mr Lowe. So bitter, so wild was his language that it could scarcely be surpassed even by Lord Robert Cecil (who had succeeded to the title of Lord Cranborne) when he assailed the proposed measure, or when he afterwards let loose his invective against the leader of his own party, and warned the Tories against the treachery of Mr Disraeli. Mr Lowe was a power in the house, but nobody suspected that his power lay in oratory nor did it. By a singular combination of incentives he appears at this juncture to have risen to a height of declamation, to an intensity and force of language, and to a masterly vehemence which served to carry everybody before it. One is not obliged to lay undue stress on the consideration that he had some reason to think he had been neglected and deserted by the government of which he had been a member, and was still glowing with a sense of undeserved injury. More to the purpose, perhaps, was the fact, that while his attacks upon the bill were received by the Tories with delight and acclamation, they were also applauded by those Liberals who were only too glad to find an ex-minister of the late Palmerston government violently denouncing a Liberal measure which they were not prepared to support, and thus affording them an example of that kind of independence which cheers and encourages the opposition. Before the rushing torrent of Mr Lowe's eloquence, Mr Disraeli himself seemed to retire to a comparatively obscure position in the debate. Everybody was astonished, and their astonishment leading to outbursts of enthusiastic applause, stimulated the orator to renewed efforts. It must be remembered, however, that Mr Lowe was a speaker always well worth listening to. Scholarship, occasional piquancy, a certain mastery of

facts, gave value to his utterances, but his manner was not attractive, his tall and somewhat ungainly figure, his rather clumsy gestures, his extreme short-sightedness, which forbade his referring to notes or papers except in an apparently confused and awkward manner, all were against his making a very favourable impression on his audience, to say nothing of that intractability of tongue which now became of value and importance. He had never achieved any great success as a leading speaker till this opportunity arose and bore him to heights that he had not touched before, and would never reach again. For a time he mounted on the crest of a great surging wave composed of two combining, though previously conflicting currents. It bore him to the front; but when it receded he was left in scarcely a more distinguished position than that he had occupied before, though he had achieved a greater reputation in debate. Some of the language that he used was remembered with no little anger by the speakers at subsequent meetings for the support of the popular cause. For instance, "You have had the opportunity of knowing some of the constituencies of this country, and I ask if you want venality, ignorance, drunkenness, and the means of intimidation, if you want impulsive, unreflecting, and violent people, where will you go to look for them, to the top or the bottom? It is ridiculous to blink the fact that since the reform act, great competition has prevailed among the voters of between £20 and £10 rental, the £10 lodging and beer-house keepers. We know what sort of persons live in these small houses, we have all had experience of them under the name of 'freemen,' and it would be a good thing if they were disfranchised altogether." Having commented satirically on Mr Gladstone's classical quotation he concluded by saying—"It may be that we are destined to avoid this enormous danger with which we are confronted, and not—to use the language of my right honourable friend—to compound with danger and misfortune, but it may be otherwise, and all that I can say is, that if my right honourable friend does succeed in carrying this measure through parliament, when the passions and

interests of the day are gone by I do not envy him his retrospect I covet not a single leaf of the laurels that may encircle his brow I do not envy him his triumph His be the glory of carrying it, mine of having to the utmost of my poor ability resisted it"

It was in reply to the pseudo-liberal Mr Horsman, who had spoken of Mr Gladstone's address as "another bid for power, another promise made to be broken, another political fraud and parliamentary juggle," that Mr Bright made the famous retort, one passage of which added a lasting phrase to parliamentary language, and became historical It was a double-edged reply, and told with equal effect against Mr Horsman and Mr Lowe, both of whom seemed to be influenced by a grudge against the members of the government Mr Horsman, he said, was the first member of the new parliament who had expressed his grief "he retired into what may be called his political Cave of Adullam, to which he invited every one who was in distress, and every one who was discontented He has long been anxious to found a party in this house, and there is scarcely a member at this end of the house who is able to address us with effect, or to take much part, whom he has not tried to bring over to his party and his cabal At last he has succeeded in hooking the right honourable the member for Calne (Mr Lowe) I know it was the opinion many years ago of a member of the cabinet, that two men could make a party, and a party formed of two men so amiable, so genial, as both of those right honourable gentlemen, we may hope to see for the first time in parliament, a party perfectly harmonious and distinguished by a mutual and unbroken trust But there is one great difficulty in the way It is very much like the case of the Scotch terrier that was so covered with hair that you could not tell which was the head, and which was the tail" . Mr Bright continued—"Now I said at the beginning that I did not rise to defend the bill I rose for the purpose of explaining it It is not the bill which, if I had been consulted, I should have recommended If I had been a minister it is not the bill which I should have consented to

present to the house, I think it is not adequate to the occasion, and that its concessions are not sufficient But I know the difficulties under which ministers labour, and I know the disinclination of parliament to do much in the direction of this question I shall give it my support because, as far as it goes, it is a simple and honest measure, and because I believe, if it becomes law, it will give some solidity and duration to everything that is good in the constitution, and to everything that is noble in the character of the people of these realms" The Cave of Adullam was one of those happy references which always seize the attention of an assembly From that time the party represented by Mr Lowe and Mr Horsman, and including a number of "discontented" politicians who had professed to be Liberals, was called "the Cave," and its members, "Adullamites"

Another phrase, which afterwards furnished several allusions from the opposition, occurred when Mr Gladstone, having distinctly refused to bring forward the whole scheme for redistribution of seats, turned to Lord Robert Montague, who had spoken of Mr Villiers as "the pretended friend" of the working-classes, and rebuked him by saying that if the working men, whom the noble lord and others seemed to dread as an invading and destroying army instead of regarding them as their own flesh and blood, were introduced into the house they would set him an example both of courtesy and good breeding

The phrase "own flesh and blood" was not forgotten, and in a subsequent debate Sir E Bulwer Lytton adroitly turned it to purpose in a telling speech Referring to the modified nature of the concessions made by the bill, he expressed his amazement that the chancellor of the exchequer could descend to a species of argument so hollow in itself and so perilous in its logical deductions "What has the right honourable gentleman to say to the millions who will ask him one day, 'Are we an invading army? Are we not fellow-Christians? Are we not your own flesh and blood?' Does he think it will be answer enough to give that kind of modified opinion which he put forth last night, and to say,

'Well, that is very true For my own part, in my individual capacity I cannot see that there is any danger of admitting you, but still, you know, it is wise to proceed gradually. A £7 voter is real flesh and blood But you are only gradual flesh and blood Read Darwin on the origin of species, and learn that you are fellow-Christians in an imperfect state of development''

The fact that Earl Grosvenor had moved an amendment that it would be inexpedient to consider the bill for the reduction of the franchise until the house had before it the whole scheme of the government, though Mr Gladstone had stated that he would not enter into the scheme for distribution till after the second reading of the franchise bill, showed that the Whigs were indifferent to the success of the measure The eldest son of the Marquis of Westminster was usually regarded as a steady supporter of the government He had now joined with others in showing that he did not regard it with confidence

The second reading was not to take place till after the Easter recess, and during the interval considerable excitement prevailed in those parts of the country where the reform party was strongest

At Liverpool there were enthusiastic demonstrations Mr Gladstone addressed one great meeting at which the Duke of Argyll, Mr Goschen, and others of his colleagues were present In response to his declaration that the government would abide by the bill which they had introduced and stand or fall with it the audience rose to their feet and greeted him with long-continued cheering

"Having," he said, "produced this measure, founded in a spirit of moderation, we hope to support it with decision It is not in our power to secure the passing of the measure that rests more with you, and more with those whom you represent, and of whom you are a sample, than it does with us Still, we have a great responsibility and are conscious of it, and we do not intend to flinch from it We stake ourselves—we stake our existence as a government—and we also stake our political character on the adoption of the bill in its main provisions You have a right to expect

from us that we should tell you what we mean, and that the trumpet which it is our business to blow should give forth no uncertain sound. Its sound has not been, and I trust will not be, uncertain We have passed the Rubicon—we have broken the bridge, and burned the boats behind us We have advisedly cut off the means of retreat, and having done this we hope that, as far as time is yet permitted, we have done our duty to the crown and to the nation"

The passing of the Rubicon, the breaking of the bridge and the burning of the boats, was another phrase about which much reference played in after debates, but it at least expressed the determined attitude of the government

Mr. Bright took another standpoint —At a reform meeting at Birmingham a letter from him was read in which he said "Parliament is never hearty for reform, or for any good measure It hated the Reform Bill of 1831 and 1832 It does not like the franchise bill now upon its table It is to a large extent the offspring of landed power in the counties and of tumult and corruption in the boroughs, and it would be strange if such a parliament were in favour of freedom and of an honest representation of the people But, notwithstanding such a parliament, this bill will pass if Birmingham and other towns do their duty" The opposition was referred to as "a dirty conspiracy" "What," he asked, "should be done, and what must be done, under these circumstances? You know what your fathers did thirty-four years ago, and you know the result The men who, in every speech they utter, insult the working men, describing them as a multitude given up to ignorance and vice, will be the first to yield when the popular will is loudly and resolutely expressed If Parliament Street from Charing Cross to the venerable Abbey were filled with men seeking a reform bill, as it was two years ago with men come to do honour to an illustrious Italian, these slanderers of their countrymen would learn to be civil if they did not learn to love freedom" At Manchester also Mr Bright urged an immediate organization for meetings and petitions—"as men living in a

free country, with representative institutions, determined to partake in some measure of that representation, and to be free ”

Mr Lowe had received some strong remonstrances from his constituents on the subject of his charges against the classes to which the franchise was proposed to be extended, and as Mr Gladstone at Liverpool had referred to his language in terms of rebuke, he complained that he had been misunderstood and misrepresented, as he only intended to refer to the vices which existed in some constituencies as shown by the records of the house. He did not, however, succeed in explaining away the apparent meaning of what he had said at the time. The fact was that Mr Lowe, who was in some other matters an extreme reformer, was so utterly opposed to the extension of the franchise that he had let his vigorous representations of its dangers run into language which either expressed what he meant, or very far exceeded his intention, but the words had been shot forth, and they stuck like arrows. Perhaps the knowledge of this, and the reproof which Mr Gladstone had at the time administered to him, gave force and fire to his speech when, the house having reassembled, the debate on the bill again came forward. It was the seventh evening in which the measure had been discussed, the second reading was proposed, and it was necessary to oppose it with all the vigour that could be summoned to the task. Mr. Lowe rose to that task. It was the greatest of his parliamentary achievements. He never surpassed it. In a speech lasting two hours and a half he essayed to show the false principles upon which the measure was founded, the avowed coercion which was being brought to bear on the House of Commons, the extensive and powerful tyranny which would be exercised through the bill by trades-unions, and the fatal injuries which democracy would inflict upon the English constitution. Amid a tempest of cheering from the opposition and from many on the ministerial side of the house he contended that the principle of Mr Gladstone's measure, and the idea that, however covertly, lay at the root of all his reasoning, was the fitness of the poorer classes for the franchise,

and their indefeasible claim to it as soon as they were fit—and not any conviction that the objects of good government would be materially aided by their admission. He pointed out that every one of Mr Gladstone's plans went, not towards enfranchising 200,000 men, but towards enfranchising all, since all were “flesh and blood—fellow-citizens and Christians—and fathers of families.” For his part he thought they had more reason every day they lived to regret the loss of Lord Palmerston. “By way of a mortuary contribution, it seems to me that the remaining members of his cabinet laid in his grave all their moderation, all their prudence, and all their statesmanship. The government have performed an immense exploit. They have carried the great mass of their party—men of moderate opinion and views—they have carried them over from their own views and laid them at the feet of the member for Birmingham. They are brought into contact now with men and principles from which six months ago they would have recoiled. That is what has happened to part of them. The rest of us are left like sheep in the wilderness. And after the success of this extraordinary combination—for I can give it no other name—we, who remain where we were, are charged with being conspirators and traitors. We are told that we are bound by every tie to support Lord Russell. I dispute that. I never served under him. I have served, unfortunately, for a little less than ten years under two prime ministers—one being Lord Aberdeen, and the other Lord Palmerston. Both these governments Lord Russell joined, both these governments he abandoned, and both these governments he assisted to destroy. I owe him no allegiance. I am not afraid of the people of this country, they have shown remarkable good sense—remarkable, indeed, in contrast with the harangues that have been addressed to them. Nor am I afraid of those who lead them. Demagogues are the commonplaces of history, they are found everywhere where there is popular commotion. They have all a family likeness. Their names float lightly on the stream of time, they finally contrive to be handed down somehow, for

they are as little to be regarded for themselves as the foam which rides on the top of the stormy wave, and bespatters the rock it cannot shake, but what I do fear—what fills me with the gloomiest misgivings, is when I see a number of gentlemen of rank, property, and intelligence, carried away without even being convinced, or even over-persuaded, to support a policy which many of them in their hearts detest and abhor. Monarchies exist by loyalty, aristocracies by honour, popular assemblies by political virtue. When these things begin to fail it is in their loss, and not in comets, eclipses, and earthquakes, that we are to look for the portents that herald the fall of states.” Though he could not agree with the chancellor of the exchequer, there was, happily, one common ground left them—the Second Æneid. “My right honourable friend returned again to the poor old Trojan horse. I will add one more to the excerpt from the story of that noble animal, after which I will promise to turn him out to grass for the remainder of his life. The passage which I wish to call attention to presents a sketch of the army, and not only of the army but of the general also

‘The fatal horse pours forth the human tide,
Insulting Sinon flings his firebrands wide
The gates are burnt, the ancient rampart falls,
And swarming myriads climb its crumbling walls.’

I have now traced as well as I could what I believe would be the natural result of a measure which seems to my poor imagination destined to absorb and destroy, one after the other, those institutions which have made England what she has hitherto been, and what I believe no other country ever was or ever will be. Surely the heroic work of so many centuries, the matchless achievements of so many wise heads and strong hands, deserve a nobler consummation than to be sacrificed to revolutionary passion, or to the maudlin enthusiasm of humanity. But if we do fall we shall fall deservedly. Unconstrained by any external force, not beaten down by any intestine calamity in the plethora of wealth and the surfeit of our too exuberant prosperity we are about, with our own rash and unconstrained hands, to pluck down on our own heads the venerable temple of our liberty and

our laws. History may record other catastrophes as signal and as disastrous, but none more wanton and more disgraceful.”

Even Mr. Disraeli could scarcely have made a speech that would have elicited such tumultuous applause as that with which the opponents of the bill greeted these utterances. Mr. Disraeli, in fact, left the honours of the evening with the member for Calne, but he had his own contributions to make to the debate, in which he denounced the proposed bill, as one calculated to reconstruct the constitution upon American principles. He defended the Conservatives from the charge of unfairness, and declared that the house ought to proceed on the principle that they were the House of Commons and not the House of the People—that they represented a great political order of the state, and not an indiscriminate multitude. In estimating what share the working-classes should possess in the power of the state—a share which he did not at all begrudge them—they ought to act and to form that estimate according to the spirit of the English constitution.

In his speech he had referred to the early opinions expressed by Mr. Gladstone on the subject of reform, and a reference to this point formed one of the most effective parts of Mr. Gladstone’s reply to his opponents before the close of the debate. That reply was itself a masterly effort, for as we have noted, in these debates there occurred some of the most conspicuous examples of the style of the finest speakers in parliament. It was one o’clock in the morning when Mr. Gladstone rose to reply to the charges brought against the bill. Mr. Lowe had alluded to words which had been used at the meeting at Liverpool, as intended to attack or disparage members of the house; but he denied that they had that application, and reminded his right honourable friend of a passage in a play of Aristophanes (the sentiments and circumstances associated with which he had forgotten), where one of the characters addressing the audience said, “But now, my good Athenians, pray recollect, I am not speaking of the city, I am not speaking of the public, I am only speaking of certain depraved and crooked little men.” Replying to Mr.

Disraeli he said, "At last we have obtained a declaration from an authoritative source that a bill, which, in a country with five millions of adult males, proposes to add to a limited constituency 200,000 of the middle class and 200,000 of the working class, is in the judgment of the leader of the Tory party a bill to reconstruct the constitution on American principles" Mr Disraeli's reference to the opinions held by the chancellor of the exchequer in 1832 was not a fortunate one, for it gave Mr Gladstone an opportunity, of which he made active use, especially as his opponent had in a previous part of the debate said, in reply to a powerful speech by Mr John Stuart Mill, that he would not refer to statements made in that gentleman's writings twenty-five years before

"The right honourable gentleman," said Mr Gladstone, "secure in the recollection of his own consistency, has taunted me with the errors of my boyhood When he addressed the honourable member for Westminster, he showed his magnanimity by declaring that he would not take the philosopher to task for what he wrote twenty-five years ago, but when he caught one who, thirty-six years ago, just emerged from boyhood, and still an undergraduate at Oxford, had expressed an opinion adverse to the Reform Bill of 1832, of which he had so long and bitterly repented, then the right honourable gentleman could not resist the temptation As the right honourable gentleman has exhibited me, let me exhibit myself It is true, I deeply regret it, but I was bred under the shadow of the great name of Canning, every influence connected with that name governed the politics of my childhood and of my youth, with Canning I rejoiced in the removal of religious disabilities, and in the character which he gave to our policy abroad, with Canning I rejoiced in the opening which he made towards the establishment of free commercial interchanges between nations, with Canning, and under the shadow of that great name, and under the shadow of that yet more venerable name of Burke, I grant, my youthful mind and imagination were impressed just the same as the mature mind of the right honourable gentle-

man is now impressed I had conceived that fear and alarm of the first Reform Bill in the days of my undergraduate career at Oxford which the right honourable gentleman now feels . I envy him not one particle of the polemical advantage which he has gained by his discreet reference to the proceedings of the Oxford Union Debating Society in the year of grace 1831 My position, sir, in regard to the Liberal party is in all points the opposite of Earl Russell's . . I have none of the claims he possesses I came among you an outcast from those with whom I associated, driven from them, I admit, by no arbitrary act, but by the slow and resistless forces of conviction I came among you, to make use of the legal phraseology, *in forma pauperis* I had nothing to offer you but faithful and honourable service You received me with kindness, indulgence, generosity, and I may even say with some measure of confidence And the relation between us has assumed such a form that you can never be my debtors, but that I must for ever be in your debt"

The reply concluded with words that were not soon forgotten—"We are assailed, this bill is in a state of crisis and of peril, and the government along with it We stand or fall with it . We stand with it now, we may fall with it a short time hence. If we do so fall, we, or others in our places, shall rise with it hereafter I shall not attempt to measure with precision the forces that are to be arrayed against us in the coming issue. Perhaps the great division of to-night is not the last that must take place in the struggle At some point of the contest you may possibly succeed You may drive us from our seats You may bury the bill that we have introduced, but we will write upon its gravestone for an epitaph this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment—

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor"¹

You cannot fight against the future Time is on our side. The great social forces which move onwards in their might and majesty,

¹ From our bones an avenger will arise

and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you they are marshalled on our side, and the banner which we now carry in this fight, though perhaps at some moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and to a not far distant victory ”

It is not to be wondered at that the division on the second reading was taken amidst tremendous excitement, still less surprising is it that, when it became known how small a majority was likely to be secured by the government, that excitement was intensified. It was at three o'clock in the morning (Saturday morning the 28th of April), that the house divided, and a large crowd waited in Westminster Hall to hear the result. Members had struggled back to their seats after the division, eager expectation was on every face, the air seemed to be charged with electricity, there was a hum, a murmur, a hush, a half audible whisper before the tellers appeared, and then a surging of the crowd at the bar of the house, a rising of the strangers in the galleries, a craning of necks and a strained and almost painful attention. The ayes were 318, the noes 313. The announcement had scarcely left the speaker's lips when, like the bursting of a pent-up storm, one great shout, or rather shriek and roar arose in the house. Never had such a scene been witnessed. It surpassed even that at the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, but this time it was on the side of the opponents of the measure. In one of the largest, if not the very largest division that had ever taken place within the walls of parliament, and after such a struggle,—for the government to have only a majority of five, was near enough to their defeat to cause a shout of exultation to rise alike from the opposition benches and from those where sat the malcontents, whose desertion had dwindled down a large majority to this small one. The Conservatives were even less uproarious than the Adullamites, who from the ministerial benches roared their triumph, while Mr Lowe,

his white hair glistening like silver over his face, purple with delight, almost danced as he stood up waving his hat in wide and triumphant circles over the very heads of the men who had been his antagonists. Such was the scene on that memorable morning, as repeated outbursts of cheering marked the near defeat of the government. Not till the voices of the shouters began to fail could the chancellor of the exchequer gain a hearing, but at last he rose, and amidst a sudden profound silence calmly said, “Sir, I propose to fix the committee for Monday, and I will then state the order of business.” It had been a memorable night. After one of the greatest orations ever delivered within the house, after a scene of unparalleled excitement, silence fell upon the assembly. The dawn was breaking as members went forth into Palace Yard, where a crowd was still waiting to cheer the supporters of the bill, which those who knew the parliamentary portents already feared was doomed to defeat.

The government had now to bring forward the bill for the redistribution of seats and the franchise bills for Scotland and Ireland. The plan for redistribution did not disfranchise any of the boroughs, nor did it alter the total number of members to be returned to the House of Commons, but some small boroughs were to return only one representative instead of two, and other boroughs were grouped together. By these means forty-nine seats were left for disposal, and it was proposed to give twenty-six of these seats to counties or to the divisions and subdivisions of counties, and an additional member each to Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Salford. The borough of the Tower Hamlets was to be divided with two members for each division. Chelsea and Kensington were made a borough returning two members, and a new member each was given to Burnley, Staleybridge, Gravesend, Hartlepool, Middlesborough, Dewsbury, and the University of London. The remaining seven seats were allotted to Scotland and Ireland. On the 14th of May the redistribution bill was read a second time, a fortnight afterwards the two bills were combined and went into committee with some

amendments which were required to form them into one measure

Amendments were again proposed. One by Sir R. Knightley that it should be an instruction to the committee on the franchise bill to make provision for the prevention of corruption and bribery at elections, was carried against the government, but Mr Gladstone said they would wait for the production of Sir R. Knightley's scheme. A resolution moved by Captain Hayter against the proposed system of grouping boroughs, issued in a long debate, in which Mr John Stuart Mill took part, and Mr Lowe again assailed the measure as one which would ruin the constitution. Earl Grosvenor eventually persuaded Captain Hayter to withdraw his resolution rather than run the risk of breaking up the government, and so during the critical position of European politics losing the services of Lord Clarendon Mr Disraeli thereupon severely attacked Lord Clarendon's policy. So the discussion went jangling on, resolution after resolution being proposed, till at length Lord Dunkellin, usually a supporter of the government, brought forward an amendment which was fatal to the bill and led to the resignation of the ministry. He proposed that the borough franchise should be based on rating instead of rental. In vain Mr Gladstone represented that this would involve a limitation of the franchise, and showed that there would be serious practical difficulties in the way of the operation of such a principle. The house divided on the question, and the numbers for the amendment were 315, against it 304. On the announcement that there was a majority of eleven against the government, the house was again a scene of extraordinary uproar—the triumph of the Adullamites was complete. Eight days afterwards it was made known that ministers had tendered their resignation to the queen, who was in Scotland, and that after some remonstrances her majesty had agreed that they should only hold office till successors could be appointed.

Mr Gladstone pointed out that the adoption of the proposed rating franchise would have been opposed to the principle of the government scheme. They had agreed for the sake

of conciliating opinion to combine the franchise and the redistribution bills, but the opposing amendments, supported as they had been against the government, and finally Lord Dunkellin's amendment, which was carried by a majority of eleven, made it impossible to carry on the bill, and left them no alternative but resignation and a persistence in resignation. The government had pledged itself to stand or fall by the bill. Such a pledge, he admitted, was one which a government should rarely give. "It is the last weapon in the armoury of the government, it should not be lightly taken down from the walls, and if it is taken down it should not be lightly replaced, nor till it has served the purposes it was meant to fulfil." The pledge had been given, however, under the deepest conviction of public duty, and had the effect of making them use every effort in their power to avoid offence, to conciliate, support, and unite instead of distracting.

Once more Lord Derby was called upon to form a ministry, of which Mr Disraeli was chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Stanley foreign secretary, and Mr Walpole home secretary. Viscount Cranborne, who had, of course, let loose much invective against the reform bill and Mr Gladstone, was made Indian secretary. Lord Derby made overtures to some of the Liberal party to include them in the ministry, but after having held a meeting they deputed Lord Grosvenor to reply that they could not accept the offer, though they might be able to give the ministry their independent support.

"Exornare aliquis ex nostris ossibus ultor!" It appeared that the declaration would be speedily fulfilled. The new ministry had not been formed till the first week in July, and there was little time for anything except to make the usual ministerial statements before the prorogation of parliament. Lord Derby, though he seemed not to be able completely to estimate the extent of public feeling, and while representing that he and his colleagues were free and unpledged on the question of reform, and that he should carefully adhere to an axiom once laid down by Earl Russell that

no government should undertake a measure of reform without seeing a fair possibility of carrying it, declared that that possibility depended on an understanding and joint action between the two great parties in the state. He added that he should be glad if an opportunity occurred for passing a safe and satisfactory measure. He would like to see a number of the class now excluded admitted to the franchise, but he feared that the portion of the community most clamorous for a reform bill was not that which would be satisfied with any measure that could be approved of by either of the great parties in the country. These utterances were the result of what had happened, but it soon became evident that the country was not altogether dependent on the two great parties in parliament, and that certain extra-parliamentary forces had been called into an active operation, which continued all through the subsequent discussions until a reform bill was passed.

Immediately after the defeat of Earl Russell's ministry demonstrations were made which showed that no other government could neglect the introduction of such a measure. A meeting was held in Trafalgar Square, where it was said 10,000 persons assembled, and there the late premier was censured for not having decided on a dissolution of parliament. This was significant. It appeared as though there was already a growing conviction that a general election would have given a majority in favour of a measure of reform as inclusive as that which had been rejected mainly through the opposition of those who had been avowed supporters of Liberal principles. During the recess, after the prorogation of parliament, these demonstrations continued both in London and in the large provincial towns. In many places the meetings were of imposing size, and the proceedings were of a very emphatic character. At some of them language was used which afterwards gave occasion for accusing the speakers of preaching democracy, republicanism, terrorism, revolution, and even anarchy, but there could at any rate be no longer a doubt that the large body of people were becoming very much in earnest in demanding such an extension of the fran-

chise as the members of the Conservative government had previously opposed and denounced. At one meeting at Brookfields, near Birmingham, there were said to be 250,000 persons present, who were addressed from platforms erected in various places in the open fields. At night another meeting was held in the Town-hall, and was addressed by Mr Bright, Mr Scholefield, and Mr Beales.

Mr Edmond Beales, a barrister of reputable position, was the recognized leader of the association known as the Reform League, and either presided or spoke at numbers of large meetings, especially those which were held in London. Mr Beales was, on the whole, an excellent president of such an association, and seldom or never lost self-control or failed to sustain a certain "respectability" in the proceedings so far as the platform was concerned. It was sometimes thought that this was aided by the persistence with which he displayed his degree of Master of Arts, the letters M A appearing after his name in the big "posters" and all the announcements of the meetings at which he presided. It was one of the harmless humours of the time never to mention the name of Mr Beales without parenthetically, but with much emphasis, adding "M A!" When the Reform Bill had passed, this gentleman very easily subsided and retired to the distinguished obscurity of a county court judgeship, but he carried on the work he had undertaken during the agitation with considerable tact, and with a gravity and earnestness which had a very remarkable effect. Perhaps the most conspicuous instance of his influence, and of the action of the council of "the League," occurred during the time of what were called the "Hyde Park Riots," a term rather in excess of anything that really happened, though the combined blundering and uncertainty displayed in the conduct of some of the authorities might easily have produced much more serious consequences than the overturning of the park railings and the sudden invasion of what was after all a public place by a rather noisy but not particularly mischievous or revolutionary mob. A number of the supporters of the government had taken alarm, and the government itself preferred to regard

the meetings which had been held, as assemblies called together for the purpose of political disturbances. At the same time Mr Lowe and some of the Adullamites were complaining of the manner in which they had been denounced and misrepresented by a few of the speakers. It was scarcely surprising, therefore, that when the council of the League proposed to hold a monster meeting in Hyde Park on the 23d of July (1866) for the purpose of showing the number and proving the determination of the reformers, a great deal of alarm was excited.

In opposition to the proposal of the council of the Reform League the government came to the weak determination to prevent the meeting in the park. The council had taken legal opinion on the subject, and were not without precedent, so that they did not withdraw their avowed intention though Sir Richard Mayne, the chief commissioner of the metropolitan police force, issued a notice forbidding the assembly, and was supported by Mr Walpole at the Home Office. No argument could prove that the holding of such a meeting was contrary to law, or that those who might attend it were not within their right in assembling at a public place, and supported by this assurance the Leaguers were prepared to put their claim to the test. But they did so in a way that was perfectly legal and eminently orderly. Mr Beales, who had held the office of revising barrister for Middlesex, a position from which it was afterwards stated he had been removed because of his political associations with the League, acted with considerable prudence, and both he and his colleagues proved that they were capable of organizing a large association in a manner which would prevent a breach of the law if they were let alone. It mostly happens, however, that any public movement maintained by monster meetings and demonstrations attracts numbers of disorderly and lawless persons who care little or nothing for its objects, and only make use of its assemblies for the purpose of robbery or riot. The prospect of a vast crowd assembled at Hyde Park would therefore have justified such precautions as might have enabled the police to deal with any attempt to resort to

violence or the destruction of property. As it was, steps were taken to deal, not with an unruly mob should occasion arise, but to use force for the purpose of preventing a political demonstration by members of the League.

Notices had been posted throughout London stating that the park gates would be closed to the public at five o'clock on the evening appointed for the meeting. At that hour thousands of persons were standing at the entrances to the park, which were kept by the police who were posted inside the gates. The council of the League had met in the afternoon and determined to abide by their arrangements. The members of the association, divided into sections, were to march from various parts of London in regular order, with their banners, to the place of meeting. For these processions the crowd was waiting, a crowd largely composed of idle and mischievous lads and rough fellows ready to take advantage of any chance of horse-play and willing to show impatience of authority. A few stones and two or three sticks were thrown, and the police were then marched outside the gates, before which they stood in a semicircle, the mounted constables in front of them. Presently the banners of the first procession were seen approaching the Marble Arch, and the mob greeted them with cheering, and made way for the leaders to pass towards the gates. Mr Edmond Beales, Colonel Dickson, and other active members of the League, came first in a carriage, from which they alighted. Mr Beales, speaking to the nearest mounted police officer, requested admission to the park, but was told that he could not enter. On his asking for a reason the officer said, "I have authority to prevent you." To the inquiry, "What authority?" he replied, "Our commissioner." The leaders of the party then returned to their carriage amidst the cheers and remonstrances of the dense crowd, which had been estimated to consist of at least a hundred thousand persons. The procession then reformed as well as it could, and turned back, following its leaders through Oxford Street to Trafalgar Square, where in a few words two resolutions were passed—one urging the prosecution of lawful and constitutional means for

extending the franchise, and the other thanking Mr Gladstone, Mr Bright, and others for remaining faithful to the cause of parliamentary reform while so many had basely deserted it

That was an end of the proceedings so far as the members of the Reform League were officially concerned, but the crowd about Hyde Park had not dispersed. They still hung about the railings, by which they were prevented from entering the park itself. There were, no doubt, many reformers among them, but they were certainly a small minority. The business of the day was over, and nothing exciting had come of it. A dense mass began to move towards Park Lane, where there was already considerable pressure. Nobody could afterwards prove whether the railings there, being already shaky, began to sway inward by the weight of those who stood leaning on them, or whether, finding them already loose, one person or twenty persons gave them a sudden push. Whatever may have been the immediate cause, they went down at one point, and in a few minutes the whole line of half a mile of iron rails followed, and the park was invaded by the shouting, screaming, triumphant mob, who, of course, resisted the attempts of the police to drive them back, and went scampering and leaping over the grass and trampling over the flower-beds. There were numerous free fights, truncheons were used with considerable vigour, stones flew, and several persons were badly injured. A detachment of foot-guards arrived and amidst the cheers of the mob took up a position by the gate, a body of life-guards were greeted in the same enthusiastic manner as they galloped off to another part of the park. It was against the police that the mob exerted itself, and doubtless many in that surging crowd regarded the police as their natural enemies, and tried to do them mischief. Many of them were seriously hurt, and it was not to be wondered at that they defended themselves and repeatedly charged their assailants. A second body of foot-guards arrived and were held in readiness to fire on the rioters if things became more serious, they aided the police in driving back and separating their opponents. Then

the life-guards reappeared. Hostilities wore themselves out, and eventually the park was cleared. That night half London had shared in the panic, which seemed to have originated with the government, but the next day all was quiet, and another, comparatively law-abiding and orderly, crowd was in Park Lane and about Piccadilly, curious to see the ruined railings and to walk over the scene of the conflict. That conflict was over. It had, strictly speaking, little or nothing to do with the question of the franchise, but it was asserted on all hands that it hastened a measure of reform such as the government of Lord Derby would not have proposed except under the pressure of what they supposed to be a threatening demonstration. It seems far more likely, however, that the attitude immediately afterwards assumed by the leaders of the League had that effect. Only two days had elapsed when Mr Beales, Colonel Dickson, and others who had sought to lead the procession into the park, and on being refused what they believed to be their legal right, had peacefully retired, waited upon the home secretary on his invitation to consult in reference to the disturbances in Hyde Park. Then was their opportunity. Mr Walpole was a kindly, humane gentleman, and was already deeply concerned that the prohibition he had ordered should have had such a painful result. It soon became evident that he was not quite sure of the ground he had taken, and Mr. Beales very solemnly and very truly represented to him that it was impossible to overrate the gravity of the crisis, that to restore order, it was necessary to withdraw the military and the police from the park. If this were done, he, Mr Beales, and his friends would use their best efforts to pacify the public. Mr Walpole thanked them for going to see him and for the conciliatory tone they had used in reference to the "unhappy proceedings." He was much affected by the interview, and it was said that he shed some tears. Perhaps he did, and they were certainly no disgrace to him, though they may have been an evidence that he was not made of stuff stern enough for the office he held and soon afterwards resigned. When the

Reform Leaguers left him it was with an understanding that had the government known they meant to try their right to enter the park in a legal way, they would have had every facility for doing so, and that if they would not, in the meantime, insist on their presumed right, and on condition that there were no disturbance and no attack on property, there should be no display of military or police in the park. The end of it was that notice was given by the League that there would be no further meetings in the park except only on the following Monday afternoon, "by arrangement with the government."

Amidst these disquieting events Mr Gladstone preserved a certain reticence. He took no part in the demonstrations that were made, but waited to see whether any measure, or what kind of measure, would be brought forward by his opponents.

There were members of the new cabinet who would have held out against the introduction of any bill dealing with the question of reform, but both Lord Derby and Mr Disraeli knew that the ministry would not be able to retain office for many days if they refused to make prompt advances to meet what had now grown to a loud and general demand. The difficulty chiefly fell on Mr Disraeli, as leader in the House of Commons. He had opposed the whole scheme proposed by his predecessors, had denounced the extensions it proposed, and had declared that it was calculated to change the character of the English constitution to that of America. The victory by which he had again come into office had been won by the division of the opposition, and the party which had aided him to defeat the Liberal government were little likely to accept any proposals for reform, without exercising the power of destructive criticism. It required all his adroitness to meet these combined difficulties, and a man less confident in his own dexterity would have shrunk from the task that lay before him. Two questions seem to have presented themselves to him. The first was how to bring in a reform bill which should be so plastic as to take its shape from the opposition, and so enable the ministry to retain office. the second, how to pacify

and persuade his colleagues that they might agree to present a bill wide enough to have a chance of being committed to discussion. The reference made in the royal speech to parliamentary reform was, "Your attention will again be called to the state of the representation of the people in parliament, and I trust that your deliberations, conducted in a spirit of moderation and mutual forbearance, may lead to the adoption of measures which, without unduly disturbing the balance of political power, shall freely extend the elective franchise." The latter part of this intimation was interpreted by many Liberals to mean, "There will be some changes, but no such alterations as will make any considerable difference in the result of elections, no disturbance of the political power enjoyed by the landed aristocracy." The meaning of the first part of the reference was soon apparent, for the ministry acted with remarkable promptitude. The session commenced on Tuesday the 5th of February, 1867, and on the following Monday the leader in the House of Commons was prepared with his statement of the government scheme. In a house crowded with anxious and curious listeners Mr Disraeli rose to speak, and his first communication was received with an outburst of laughter from the opposition, for it was to the effect that in the opinion of the government, parliamentary reform should no longer be a question which ought to decide the fate of ministers. It was soon to become evident that the Conservative government would neither destroy their bridges nor burn their boats, but would keep the means of retreat open and in repair. So far from Mr Disraeli being disconcerted by laughter, he had probably calculated on exciting it, and he went on to justify the opinion he had expressed by reference to the fact that all parties in the state had at one time or other failed in endeavouring to deal with the question, that successive governments had brought in bills and had not been able to carry them. This was all very well, but when as a consequence of his declaration he announced that it was intended to proceed with the bill by way of resolutions, it soon became evident that the house would

have none of them. These resolutions (there were thirteen of them) were, so to speak, "ready cut and dried," and were of a cleverly mixed character. Some of them may be said to have been obvious political axioms, or accepted statements on the subject of the franchise and electoral qualifications, but others presented such changes as it was thought the house might be induced to endorse, or at all events to accept with certain modifications. One of them proposed to base the occupation franchise in counties and boroughs on the principle of rating. Another declared in favour of a plurality of votes, to facilitate the settlement of the borough franchise, another that it was not expedient wholly to disfranchise any existing borough, and another proposed to leave it at the option of an elector to record his votes by means of polling papers. The thirteenth resolution was to ask for a royal commission to consider and submit a scheme for altering or determining the boundaries of parliamentary boroughs.

The opposition to these resolutions was as prompt as the action of the government. While they were being read to the House of Commons a meeting of working-men's trades-unions was assembled at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, where 20,000 persons were present. To this meeting Mr P. A. Taylor read the resolutions proposed to the house, and after some discussion counter-resolutions were passed to the effect that no improvement of the representation of the people in parliament would be satisfactory which was not based on the principle of the people themselves being personally represented, and that such direct and real representation could only be effected by means of residential and registered manhood suffrage, protected in its exercise by the ballot. There was no mistaking the decisive character of this opposition, and among the numerous demonstrations which were being held those of the trades-unions were undoubtedly not the least important, either in the numbers of people which they represented or in the completeness of their organization.

On the 21st of February a meeting of the supporters of the ministry was held, and the details of the measure to be brought before

the house were discussed. Lord Derby then declared that this would be the last time he would attempt to deal with the subject of reform, and that nothing would induce him again to accept the onerous post he then occupied.

But the measure which was brought before the house four days later was not the measure that had been decided on. It was another bill, said to have been got up in a hurry after a meeting of the cabinet at which some of the members had unexpectedly refused, after all, to lend their support to the more comprehensive measure that had been submitted to the previous meeting. Three of the ministers threatened resignation—the Earl of Carnarvon, colonial secretary, General Peel, war secretary, and of course Viscount Cranborne. Then, it was stated, another measure had to be prepared, and as the meeting of the cabinet was held only just before the hour at which parliament was to assemble to hear the provisions of the bill, there was no time to frame another measure. The abortive proposal introduced to the house on the 25th of February was therefore satirically named the "ten minutes bill."

The facts appear to have been (according to a statement afterwards made by Lord Derby in the Lords) that a part of the adroit proceedings of the ministry consisted in the preparation of two bills, the most comprehensive of which was to have been submitted to the house if the house had consented to proceed on resolutions. This was the bill which was to have been presented even after the resolutions were abandoned, one objecting member of the cabinet (Lord Carnarvon) waiving his dissent; but at the last moment two other members, General Peel and Viscount Cranborne, refused their assent, and the government then determined to bring before the house a less comprehensive measure which they seemed to have in reserve in case of opportunity or emergency—a measure which they did not themselves consider satisfactory, but which they hoped might for a time settle the question.

We need not detail the proposals of this bill, which, when it was presented to the

house, met with such an unmistakable rejection that it was withdrawn in almost as great a hurry as that in which it was said to have been prepared. On the 18th of March the "real original" bill was introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer in a long address.

The expected measure had already raised anticipatory dissatisfaction both in the government and the opposition. As we have seen it had caused a split in the ministry, and had been discussed and opposed and altered till everybody was wondering what would be its similitude either to the original proposition of its framers or to the measure which the Liberals had been obliged to abandon because of a provoking resolution by which they lost a majority and had in consequence to resign office and to see most of their proposals and intentions appropriated. The question now was, how far would those proposals be altered or modified in accordance with professed Conservative opinions?

Mr Disraeli afterwards said at the civic banquet at Guildhall "What is the Tory party if it does not represent national feeling

The Tory party is nothing unless it represent and uphold the institutions of the country. For what are the institutions of the country? They are entirely, in theory, and I am glad to see they are likely to be in practice, the embodiment of the national necessities, and the only security for national privileges. Well, then, I cannot help believing that because my Lord Derby and his colleagues have taken a happy opportunity to enlarge the privileges of the people of England we have not done anything but strengthen the institutions of this country, the essence of whose force is that they represent the interests and guard the rights of the people." This was an after-dinner speech, and was of course cheered to the echo. It was in effect a very bold and happy way of avoiding the recollection that Lord Derby and the Tories had remonstrated against parliamentary reform, that the premier had only yielded with the utmost reluctance and professed foreboding, that there had been divisions and resignations in the Conservative councils, and that the bill itself was, after all, very much a compromise. Still

a Guildhall speech is never to be criticised with cold exactitude, and the bill itself, as it was presented on the 18th of March, 1867, was listened to with anxious interest by a densely crowded house, though so many propositions had previously been submitted to members and to the country. It cannot be denied that the plan now proposed, when taken in connection with the difficulties and prejudices with which the authors of it had had to contend, was wide and inclusive in its character.

The franchise in boroughs was to be conferred on every man of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who for the whole of the preceding two years had been the inhabitant occupier, whether as owner or tenant, of any dwelling-house within the borough, and had during the time of his occupation of it been rated to all rates (if any) made for the relief of the poor in respect of these premises, and had before the 20th of July paid all rates due up to the preceding 5th day of January.

The franchise in counties was to be conferred on every man of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who on the last day of July in any year, and during the preceding twelve months, had been the occupier as owner or tenant of premises of any tenure within the county, of the ratable value of fifteen pounds or upwards, and had during the time of his occupation been rated to all rates made for the relief of the poor, and had paid before the 20th of July all rates due by him on that property since the preceding 5th of January.

In addition to the franchises thus made to depend on the ownership or occupation of property, it was also proposed that there should be an educational franchise, to be conferred on all graduates or associates in arts of any university of the United Kingdom, on any male person who has passed at any senior middle-class examination of any university of the United Kingdom, on any ordained priest or deacon of the Church of England, or minister of any other denomination, on barristers, pleaders, attorneys, medical men, and certificated schoolmasters.

A pecuniary franchise was also to belong to every man who on the 1st of July in any year,

and during the two years immediately preceding, had had a balance of not less than fifty pounds deposited in a savings-bank or in the Bank of England, or in any parliamentary stocks or funds, or had during the twelve months immediately preceding the 5th of April in any year been charged with and paid twenty shillings for assessed taxes and income-tax. Another clause of the bill, which was perhaps its most novel feature, provided that a person registered as a voter for a borough by reason of his having been charged with and paid the requisite amount of assessed taxes and income-tax, or either of such taxes, should not by reason of being so registered lose any right to which he might be entitled (if otherwise duly qualified) to be registered as a voter for the same borough in respect of any franchise involving occupation of premises and payment of rates, and when registered in respect of such double qualification he should be entitled to give two votes for the member (or, if there were more than one, for each member) to be returned to serve in parliament for the borough.

The provisions for the redistribution of seats were that Totness, Reigate, Great Yarmouth, and Lancaster should cease to return any member, that Honiton, Thetford, Wells, Evesham, Marlborough, Norwich, Richmond, Lymington, Knaresborough, Andover, Leominster, Tewkesbury, Ludlow, Rapon, Huntingdon, Maldon, Cirencester, Bodmin, Great Marlow, Devizes, Hertford, Dorchester, and Lichfield, should henceforward only return one, that the Tower Hamlets should be divided into two boroughs, each returning two members, that the following counties, or divisions of counties, should be divided into two parts, each returning two members to parliament: South Devon, West Kent, North Lancashire, South Lancashire, Lincoln (parts of Lindsay), Middlesex, South Staffordshire, and East Surrey, that Torquay, Darlington, Hartlepool, Gravesend, St Helens, Burnley, Staleybridge, Wednesbury, Croydon, Middlesborough, Dewsbury, and Burnley, and the University of London, should each return one member to parliament.

The bill was based on the principle embodied in Lord Dunkellin's motion. Thus, in-

stead of drawing a £5, £6, or £7 line to cut off what had been called the residuum, that is to say the class whose extreme poverty rendered them most liable to be bribed or improperly influenced, the government boldly adopted household suffrage, with the qualification of the payment of rates, thus excluding from the franchise compound householders, who did not pay their rates personally, and those whose rates, under various acts, were compounded for by their landlords, and all lodgers. Mr. Disraeli calculated that his bill would admit 237,000 additional voters, but would leave 486,000 still excluded from the borough franchise, and that the result of his whole plan would be that one quarter of the voting power would belong to the aristocracy, another quarter to the working-classes, and the remaining half to the middle classes. Such was his proposed "balance of political power."

When the question of the second reading was brought forward Mr. Gladstone, who had conferred with a meeting of his parliamentary followers at his own house, consented against his own opinion, but in deference to the views and wishes of a large portion of them, and to avoid disunion in the Liberal camp, to allow that stage of the bill to pass without a division. But he expressed the strongest objections to it, and enumerated the following features in it which he regarded as highly objectionable—The omission of the lodger franchise, the omission of provisions against traffic in votes of householders of the lowest class by corrupt payment of the rates, disqualifications of compound householders under the existing law, additional disqualifications of compound householders under the proposed law, a franchise founded on direct taxation, the dual vote, the inadequate redistribution of seats; the inadequate reduction of the franchise in counties, the proposal to adopt voting-papers, and the collateral or special franchises.

The dual vote, almost universally condemned, was withdrawn. After much discussion and with considerable difficulty the bill went into committee, and the formal clauses, containing the title and excluding from its operation Ireland, Scotland, and the two universities, were passed.

On the 5th of April about 140 members of the Liberal party met at Mr Gladstone's house to determine on the course which, under the circumstances in which they were placed, should be adopted with regard to the government bill. It was decided at this meeting that Mr Coleridge should propose the following resolution before the house went into committee on the reform bill — "That it be an instruction to the committee that they have power to alter the law of rating, and to provide that in every parliamentary borough the occupiers of tenements below a given rateable value be relieved from liability to personal rating, with a view to fix a line for the borough franchise, at which all occupiers shall be entered on the rate-book, and shall have equal facilities for the enjoyment of such franchise as a residential franchise." Much discussion took place with regard to this proposal, and some difference of opinion was expressed, but it was understood to be decided that the motion should be brought forward on the 8th of April, the day on which the house was to go into committee on the bill. However, on that very evening a meeting, consisting of between forty and fifty members of the Liberal party, was held in the tea-room of the House of Commons. At this meeting it was agreed that the persons composing it should unite for the purpose of limiting the instructions to be proposed by Mr Coleridge to the first clause of his resolution, which applied to the law of rating. They then appointed a deputation to Mr Gladstone to convey to him the feeling of the meeting, and to assure him that the members composing it would continue to give him a loyal support in committee. Mr Gladstone, finding that by the defection of so many of his supporters he was almost certain to incur a defeat, yielded to their demands, and the resolution was altered accordingly. Mr Disraeli accepted the altered resolution, and the house then went into committee on the bill. Thereupon Mr Gladstone gave notice of several important amendments, which Mr Disraeli declared to be the relinquished instructions in another form, and distinctly announced that if they should be carried, the government would not proceed with the bill. As most of

the members who composed the meeting at the tea-room still held together, and were known as "the tea-room party," a majority of twenty-one defeated the first of Mr Gladstone's resolutions. After this he could not hope to carry his remaining resolutions, he therefore announced his intentions in a letter to Mr Crawford, one of the members for the city, who had asked him whether he intended to persevere in moving the amendments of which he had given notice. In reply to this question Mr Gladstone wrote — "The country can hardly now fail to be aware that those gentlemen of the Liberal party whose convictions allow them to act unitedly on the question are not a majority, but a minority, in the existing House of Commons, and they have not the power they were supposed to possess of limiting or directing the action of the administration, or shaping the provisions of the reform bill. Still, having regard to the support which my proposal with respect to personal rating secured from so large a number of Liberal members, I am not less willing than heretofore to remain at the service of the party to which they belong, and when any suitable occasion shall arise, if it shall be their wish, I shall be prepared again to attempt concerted action upon this or any other subject for the public good. But until then, desirous to avoid misleading the country and our friends, I feel that prudence requires me to withdraw from my attempts to assume the initiative in amending a measure which cannot, perhaps, be effectually amended except by a reversal, formal or virtual, of the vote of Friday the 11th, for such attempts, if made by me, would, I believe, at the present critical moment, not be the most likely means of advancing their own purpose. Accordingly I shall not proceed with the amendments now on the paper in my name, nor give notice of other amendments such as I had contemplated, but I shall gladly accompany others in voting against any attempt, from whatever quarter, to limit yet farther the scanty modicum of enfranchisement proposed by the government, or in improving, where it may be practicable, the provisions of the bill."

The discussion of Mr Gladstone's first re-

solution showed that a very great confusion of opinion existed in the ranks both of the ministerialists and of their opponents, for while Sir William Heathcote, Lord Cranborne, and Mr Beresford Hope, all staunch Conservatives, strongly assailed the government, the measure was supported by Mr Roebuck and several advanced Radicals, who hoped, and as the result showed, not without reason, that they would be able to transform it into such a measure as they desired. The tea-room party were, in fact, able to take advantage of the discussions, and the evidently yielding tendency of the government, to obtain concessions practically identical with household suffrage in boroughs.

On the 17th of May Mr Hodgkinson, member for Newark, proposed to add to the third clause of the bill the following words, which would have the effect of abolishing the system of compounding for rates in parliamentary boroughs—"That no person other than the occupier shall be rated to parochial rates in respect of premises occupied by him within the limits of a parliamentary borough, all acts to the contrary notwithstanding." The system which this motion was designed to destroy had all along been regarded and represented as one of the great Conservative safeguards of the bill. The government, as was well known, had secured a majority. Mr Gladstone, aware of this, came into the house expecting, as a matter of course, that the motion would be rejected. Mr Disraeli's own colleagues entertained the same expectation, when, to the astonishment probably of every one present, Mr Disraeli, acting entirely on his own responsibility, accepted the amendment—which had the effect of nearly quadrupling the number of electors on whom the franchise would be conferred—and afterwards persuaded his colleagues that the adoption of this proposition was an improvement of the measure. When the committee again met, Mr Ayrton moved a resolution reducing the period of residence required for the franchise from two years to one. The motion was resisted by the government, but on a division was carried by 270 to 197. Mr Disraeli at once announced that he could not proceed with the

bill without consultation with his colleagues, and another ministerial crisis seemed to be impending, but on the following night he announced that the government had decided to bow to the decision of the house and persevere with their measure.

Meanwhile the bill went steadily forward, the Liberal leaders now hoping to make it all that they had desired, and the government, conceding a ten-pound lodger franchise, abandoning the fancy franchises, reducing the county qualification from £15 to £10, raising the standard of semi-disfranchisement from 7000 to 10,000, and consequently the number of boroughs condemned to lose one of their representatives to forty-six. They proposed to distribute the seats thus placed at their disposal in the following manner: two to Hackney, two to Chelsea with Kensington, one each to twelve boroughs which up to this time had not been represented. Additional members were to sit for each of the following counties or county divisions—West Kent, North Lancashire, and East Surrey, to divide South Lancashire into two, and Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Cheshire, Norfolk, Staffordshire, and Essex, into three electoral districts, each of them to be represented by two members. It was also proposed that the Universities of London and Durham should be combined for the purpose of returning a joint representative, instead of the member being given to London University alone, as had originally been intended.

Mr Disraeli, however, did not succeed in the attempt to amalgamate the High Church University of Durham with the somewhat Liberal and freethinking University of London. After two divisions, in one of which the word "university" was substituted for "universities," and in the other the motion to add the word "Durham" was rejected, the proposal made for extending to the counties the system of voting by papers, which had already been adopted for the universities, was also rejected.

It was evident that the new ministry, in spite of the previous declarations, was prepared, or had been persuaded, to recede from

almost any propositions founded on those declarations, should their persistence threaten to prevent the measure from passing Mr Horsfall's proposal for giving a third member each to Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham was at first strongly opposed by the government, but was at length conceded by Mr Disraeli, who also added Leeds to the list of towns which were thus to have increased representation

So often had the chancellor of the exchequer, representing the ministry, protested, hinted at a possible resignation, taken time to consider the position of the government, and yielded, that these proceedings had almost become formal observances when amendments were persisted in by the opposition At the beginning of the session, when the bill was disclosed in which it was proposed to proceed by resolutions, Mr Lowe had said a simple bill was wanted which would bring the question to an issue He was ashamed to hear, addressed to him as a 658th part of the house, such language as this "If the house will deign to take us into its council, if it will co-operate with us in this matter, we shall receive with cordiality, with deference, nay, even with gratitude, any suggestion it likes to offer Say what you like to us, only for God's sake leave us our places!"

It seemed as though Mr Disraeli had retained the principle on which he had proposed proceeding by resolutions,—that he was determined to pass a reform bill which should be composed of resolutions from both sides of the house, and to make those compromises which would enable the ministry to maintain its footing

Nor had he concealed this intention, for in the discussion on the second reading of the bill he had said "All I can say on the part of my colleagues and myself is, that we have no other wish at the present moment than, with the co-operation of the house, to bring the question of parliamentary reform to a settlement I know the parliamentary incredulity with which many may receive avowals on our part that we are only influenced in the course we are taking by a sense of duty, but I do assure the house, if they need such assurances

after what we have gone through, after the sacrifices we have made, after having surrendered our political connections with men whom we more than respected, I can assure them that we have no other principle that animates us but a conviction that we ought not to desert our posts until this question has been settled

We are prepared, as I think I have shown, to act in all sincerity in this matter Act with us, cordially and candidly, and assist us to carry out—as we are prepared to do, as far as we can act in accordance with the principles which we have not concealed from you—this measure, which we hope will lead to a settlement of the question consistent with the maintenance of the representative character of this house Act with us, I say, cordially and candidly, you will find on our side complete reciprocity of feeling Pass the bill, and then change the ministry if you like"

There could have been very little doubt of the difficulties which had been experienced, or of the surrenders that had been made by the time that the bill had passed The chancellor of the exchequer was believed to have controlled the ministry Mr Gladstone had not long before been charged with coercion towards his colleagues, and it was insinuated that he ruled his party It was now Mr Disraeli's turn to be assailed on the same ground

"I say if we wish to make progress with this bill," said Mr Bernal Osborne, "let us have no law Let us rely on the chancellor of the exchequer I say this without any innuendo respecting his sincerity I always thought the chancellor of the exchequer the greatest Radical in this house He has achieved what no other man in the country could have done As I have said before, he has lugged up that great omnibus full of stupid, heavy country gentlemen—I only say 'stupid' in the parliamentary sense It is a perfectly parliamentary word He has converted these Conservatives into Radical reformers In fact the chancellor of the exchequer is the ministry by himself, for it could not exist a day without him, and all the rest who sit near him are most respectable pawns on the board, their opinion being not

worth a pin, when I hear the chancellor of the exchequer say a thing I know it shall and will be so."

The invectives of Mr Lowe and of Lord Cranborne were repeated with interest at the third reading of the bill. The latter, who had resigned his position as secretary for India, in which he had displayed both assiduity and ability, was rendered more antagonistic still by the last concessions made by Mr Disraeli. "If you borrow your political ethics from the ethics of the political adventurer," he said, "you may depend upon it, the whole of your representative institutions will crumble beneath your feet. I entreat honourable gentlemen opposite not to believe that my feelings on this subject are dictated simply by my hostility to this measure, though I object to it most strongly, as the house is aware. But even if I took a contrary view, if I deemed it to be most advantageous, I still should deeply regret to find that the House of Commons had applauded a policy of legerdemain." He desired, he said, to protest in the most earnest language he was capable of using, against the political morality on which the manoeuvres of that year had been based. Above all he regretted that this great gift to the people, if gift it was thought to be, should have been purchased at the cost of a political betrayal which had no parallel in parliamentary annals, which struck at the root of all that mutual confidence which was the very soul of party government, and on which only the strength and freedom of our representative institutions could be maintained. Mr Disraeli replied at length, and with no small exercise of his remarkable power of retort, both to Mr Lowe and to Lord Cranborne, whose prognostications of evil he said he could treat with respect because they were sincere. At another opportunity, however, he took occasion to administer a stinging reply to Lord Cranborne for his personal attacks. One is led to suppose that it could only have been because he believed more in the sincerity of Lord Cranborne's political convictions than in that of his declarations that Mr Disraeli, when he had become Earl of Beaconsfield, gave office to Lord Cranborne, who had become Marquis of Salisbury

When the bill was taken to the House of Lords there was some disposition to discuss it fully, and to amend it pretty freely. Lord Derby was suffering severely from illness, and though he compelled himself to attend as much as possible to public business, he could not be present in the house at the time of the first discussions, and was obliged to leave the direction of the matter to Lord Malmesbury. Two important amendments were carried by Lord Cairns, who had been raised to the peerage five months before, one of these was to raise the qualification for the lodger franchise from £10 to £15, and the other to declare, that in any contested election in which three members were to be chosen, no elector should vote for more than two. This method of restricting the vote had been already well supported in the House of Commons, and went as near as was deemed practicable to secure the "representation of minorities" which had been much talked about. But Lord Derby could not leave the measure to the danger, either of being still more extended, or of being saddled with amendments that would provoke a serious conflict with the lower house. Ill and worn with pain, his arm in a sling, his face pale, and bearing the marks of suffering, he went down to his place in the house, and effected a reversal of the amendment on the lodger franchise. He also with much difficulty defeated some proposals from the other side. Before the bill passed Earl Russell severely censured some of Lord Derby's former intimations that it had been introduced for the sake of preserving the Conservative ministry. It was not very likely that Earl Russell could regard with perfect equanimity the spectacle of the appropriation by his opponents of the credit of a reform bill founded mostly on principles which they had denounced when he had himself endeavoured to introduce them, but he displayed little or no temper on that score. A measure which in its main points was really that for which he should have had credit, had been taken from him, and exploited by those who had been foremost in preventing him from carrying out those schemes of reform with which he may be said to have begun his political career. He was neither violent in his denun-

ciations nor vindictive in his criticisms, however. He thought the bill ought to be passed, and he said so, for he believed it would settle the question for a considerable time, and in this he was right. He was of opinion that the extension of the franchise would increase bribery, corruption, and treating, and till the mode of voting came to be altered he was perhaps not far wrong, especially as he qualified that opinion by saying that he did not believe much mischief would ensue, because vital points depended on the temper of the people. He did not think the scheme of distribution went far enough. In fact we have it on Earl Russell's own authority that though he assented to the necessity for passing the bill, he, like Lord Derby, regarded it as a leap in the dark, for he held that the right of voting for a representative body can only be founded on one of two principles—one being the Radical principle that every adult male who is subject to the laws of a country should have a share in electing its representatives, the other being the Whig principle that the persons endowed with the right of voting for the members of the House of Commons, by whom the whole state of the country is guided and directed, ought to be persons qualified by property and education for the discharge of so important a trust. Lord Derby's reform bill, he believed, answered neither of these descriptions. It did not comply with the Radical requirement, as hundreds of thousands of adult males were not admitted to the franchise. It did not comply with the Whig test, as many thousands of rated householders were in a state of ignorance and dependence.

It was the latter consideration which was made prominent by Mr. Lowe in his final onslaught upon the passing of the bill in the House of Commons, where—comparing Mr. Bright to Don Giovanni when he invited the commandatore to supper because he thought he could not come,—he said, “he invited household suffrage,—and it has come. you can never stop when once you set the ball rolling.”

I believe it will be absolutely necessary to compel our future masters to learn their letters. It will not be unworthy of a Conservative government, at any rate, to do

what can be done in that direction. I was opposed to centralization. I am ready to accept centralization. I was opposed to an education rate. I am now ready to accept it. This question is no longer a religious question—it is a political one. From the moment that you intrust the masses with power their education becomes an absolute necessity, and I believe that the existing system is one which is much superior to the much-vaunted Continental system. But we shall have to destroy it—it is not quality but quantity that we shall require. You have placed the government in the hands of the masses, and you must therefore give them education. You must take education up, the very first question, and you must press it on without delay for the peace of the country.” These words were significant, and are still significant, now that a public education act has been for many years in operation. We need not, however, conclude, in the words of Mr. Lowe, “Oh that a man would rise in order that he might set forth in words that could not die the shame, the rage, the scorn, the indignation, and the despair with which the measure is viewed by every Englishman who is not a slave to the trammels of party, or who is not dazzled by the glare of a temporary and ignoble success!”

The fact was that there were a great many thousands of Englishmen who were exceedingly glad that this reformed reform bill had passed. When it went back from the Lords it was to a House of Commons again crowded in every part. The Lords' amendments were quickly dealt with, and only on four of them was there much debating. The clause giving votes to copyholders of £5 annual value, struck out by the Lords, was restored. The proposal that in constituencies sending three members to parliament electors should have only two votes was endorsed by the House of Commons, and so was that restricting the number of votes of each elector in the city of London to three. Lord Cranborne's revival of the proposal for the adoption of voting-papers was rejected.

Thus confirmed or amended the bill became law. It had been the chief work of the session,

and on the whole the country had reason to be satisfied with it, for it went as far as any measure could, which would have been likely to find acceptance with both the larger parties in parliament

With the passing of the Reform Bill both Earl Derby and Earl Russell may be said to have disappeared from the working world of politics in parliament. Earl Derby resigned his position as head of the Conservative party to Mr Disraeli, who in February, 1868, achieved the height of that ambition which he had so many years before dared to express to Lord Melbourne, and became prime minister. In October, 1869, the earl who had so often led the great Conservative party, the "Rupert of Debate," who had so charged and scattered the forces of the opposition, died in his seventy-first year, leaving an unsullied name, a great reputation, and no successor in that line of parliamentary chieftainship, which may be said to have ceased when he no longer wielded the weapons of debate.

Earl Russell, in retiring from the leadership, left Mr Gladstone to take his place, and did so, not only because he felt that he would himself soon be physically unequal to a much longer continuance of the labour imposed on him, but because he foresaw that a question was likely soon to arise which required not only unusual strength but a remarkable combination of powers to enable any statesman to grapple with it—the question of the Established Church in Ireland.

We must return for a moment to the early part of 1866, for the purpose of noting the effects of the financial disturbance in commercial circles with which the year had commenced. For some time there had been a growing tendency among large speculative firms to continue their operations by means of what may be described as fictitious capital—capital, that is to say, derived from advances made by the great "discount-houses" on acceptances. To meet these the profits on future transactions were forestalled, the security frequently being goods which were in bond in the dock warehouses, or which were yet to arrive, and to be sold before they could be paid for, the profits on the sale going to make up

the payments of previous liabilities. Not only the regular "discount" or financial houses, but many of the private and some of the joint-stock banks, had for some time before, been launching into this business of "accommodation," and when the commercial prosperity of the country met with a temporary check, and certain industries began to be seriously affected by strikes and the operations of trades-unions, which drove some branches of trade to foreign manufactories, there came a crash which showed on what a rotten foundation many large enterprises had been erected, and included in the scene of ruin and disaster several genuine and reputable undertakings.

It was on Friday, the 11th of May, long afterwards known in the city,—and still remembered,—as "Black Friday," that the collapse of the great discount company of Overend, Gurney & Co (Limited), which had taken place on the previous day, carried consternation to its furthest pitch.

It was not till about half-past three o'clock on the Thursday afternoon that the secretary of the company announced that they were obliged to suspend payment. The liabilities were stated to amount to the enormous sum of £11,000,000, and at the time of the suspension the engagements of the company amounted to £19,000,000, and traders and speculators depended on its resources for a corresponding supply of "accommodation." Overend, Gurney & Co had been a private firm until the previous year, and was regarded with the utmost confidence, since it was believed, on pretty good authority, that it was supported by some of the wealthiest and safest of the Quaker capitalists. But in 1865 this "house" had been converted into a joint stock limited liability company, of which the capital was set down at £5,000,000 in 100,000 shares of £50 each, the paid-up capital being £1,500,000. As the profits of the concern, when it was a private firm, were said to have been £250,000 a year, it was supposed to be a safe speculation, and at one time the shares had reached 10 per cent premium. The bankruptcy of one large firm of contractors and the failure and frauds of another, shook the position of the company, and as it was re-

ported that it was doing business beyond its nominal capital, the shares went down to 3, 4½, and finally 9½ discount on the day that it closed its doors. On that afternoon there was tremendous excitement in the city Lombard Street and its approaches were filled by a crowd, through which applicants broke their way to find the house shut up. Cabs drove up in haste for their occupants to discover that the rumour of ruin was only too likely to be fulfilled. It was at first thought that the Bank of England would come to the rescue by advancing money on remaining securities, but, after conferring with the heads of other large banking establishments, and examining the books, it was found that no such assistance as could be given would be effectual to remedy the disaster.

On the Friday the panic was general and unreasonable. A few people who could afford to speculate, and kept cool heads, doubtless made remarkable bargains, for in some instances shares in banks and finance companies were offered for nothing. Holders of securities and brokers who acted for investors in such speculations hastened to get rid of them at almost any price, or to close all speculative engagements even at a considerable loss. The bank rate was raised from 8 to 9 per cent, and for special advances to 10 per cent. Only on bills of the most undoubted security could accommodation be obtained, and even at the high rate of discount the applications were so numerous that it was difficult to do business. The banking-houses were crammed with flushed and eager crowds. A concourse of people filled Lombard Street for hours, and at the closed doors of some of the large financial houses, stood men, moody or uncertain, waiting as though in the forlorn hope that some better intelligence might be forthcoming. It was a dreadful day. As though a financial earthquake devastated London ruin seemed to follow ruin. The English Joint Stock Bank failed for £800,000, and then the message came straight from the Stock Exchange that the great contractors Peto and Betts had gone for £4,000,000, and Shrimptons the railway contractors for £200,000. The Imperial Mercantile Credit Association and the Consolidated

Discount Company followed, and towards the end of the day the Agra and Mastermans' Bank was reported to be shaky, the shares which had been at 33 premium in January having fallen to 1 discount. Eventually the Agra Bank, with which Mastermans' was associated, stopped payment, although during the crisis of these few days it paid £3,000,000 over the counter. This was one of the cruel results of that scandalous misrepresentation which so often accompanies a financial panic. The failure had been caused by a run on the branches of the bank in India, in consequence of false telegrams having been sent to say that the London bank had stopped payment.

Of course these terrible calamities affected numbers of persons and whole families who were reduced from a position of comparative affluence to poverty, and the successive failures disclosed how dangerously speculative was the manner in which many large and important enterprises were conducted. Undertakings so reckless that they could scarcely be dissociated from fraud, fell like houses of cards, and carried ruin to hundreds who had neglected to inquire into, or had no opportunity of examining their pretensions. To individuals the disasters of these few days in 1866 were sad indeed, but happily the community, that is to say the whole nation, was moderately prosperous, the financial condition of the country was sound, nor was the entire balance of trade long or seriously disturbed. At midnight on that "black Friday" Mr Gladstone, after long and serious interviews with bank directors and representatives of great commercial projects, announced to the House of Commons that the government had determined to authorize the suspension of the Bank Charter Act. For the purpose of affording relief the Bank of England had extended its loan and discounts to above £4,000,000, leaving a reserve of only about £3,000,000.

We have already touched upon the war between Prussia and Austria, which followed the disputes raised in consequence of the occupation of Schleswig-Holstein, and a complete account of it would not necessarily belong to these pages, though the result has been of the

utmost importance in European politics. The old rivalry came to a definite struggle, brought about, as it appeared at the time, by the policy of Count Bismarck, who was bent on the aggrandizement of Prussia. The seizure of the duchies was effected by the two powers, because neither could afford to yield to the other the forward place as the representative of Germany. When they entered on possession disputes became inevitable. Austria could not annex any portion of the conquered territory, and it became a question how to prevent the Prussian minister from taking advantage of the situation. The dispute had been temporarily suspended in 1865, when King William met the Emperor Francis Joseph at Gastein. William was not then ready to commit himself to a high-handed policy against Austria, and an arrangement was made for Prussia to take the provincial administration of Holstein, and Austria that of Schleswig. It was almost impossible that the policy of the two governments would agree, and Austria proposed a settlement by the arbitration of the Diet. Prussia had little regard for the Diet or its decisions, and Bismarck had perhaps foreseen the opportunity for a rupture. Whether he did so or not, it was expedited by the rather ostentatious preparations made by Austria for increasing armaments. When fighting is looked upon as a near and a not very detestable probability, pretexts will not long be wanting. Prussia made the preparations on the part of Austria a reason for demanding of the minor German states that they should determine on which side they would range themselves. Austria, it was alleged, had broken the treaty of Gastein, and it was urgent for Prussia to know on whom to rely for assistance in case of being attacked or forced into war by unmistakable menaces. An alliance was entered into between Prussia and Italy, both to declare war on Austria at the same time should Prussia determine to do so, and to continue it till Venetia should be restored to Italy, and the Prussians be in legal possession of the Elbe Duchies.

Austria called upon Prussia to disarm, and the reply was that she would do so when Austria set the example, and that Austria's pro-

posals for disarmament were nullified by the preparations against Italy. War became imminent, and it was soon useless to disguise the fact. The armies were placed upon a war footing. Saxony made preparations which were denounced by Prussia, and supported by the Frankfort Diet, who determined to ask specific assurances from the Prussian government. Invitations for a conference sent by England, France, and Russia to Austria, Prussia, Italy, and the Diet were unavailing, Austria demanding as a previous stipulation that no territorial addition should be made to any of the contending states, and informing the Diet that no amicable arrangement could be come to with Prussia with respect to the Duchies. On the 12th of June, 1866, diplomatic relations ceased, Prussia declared war, and on the 15th Prussian armies were in Saxony and Hanover.

It was at first believed that the Prussian troops would be disaffected, or that the people would be half-hearted because of the dictatorship which had been exercised by Bismarck, and the suppression of popular representation. It was also assumed that the levies which had been taken into the Prussian army were no match for the trained soldiers of Austria, and that their generals were far inferior to those of the Southern forces under Benedek. Never were greater mistakes indulged in. The Prussians were apparently willing to condone past political tyranny for immediate military success, and the elevation of Prussia to the dominant position in Germany. The North German troops had been drilled, trained, and carefully exercised, and not only was that large army excellent in physique, but it was admirably equipped and armed with the breech-loading rifle, which had not at that time been regularly adopted by any other troops in Europe. As to generals, Bismarck had made prompt arrangements, and General Von Moltke had already settled the order of the campaign, as an accomplished chess-player might solve a problematic game against an antagonist with whose method he is well acquainted. Prince Frederick Charles and the Prince of Prussia were ready to lead their troops. It was important to obtain the first move. When the Diet, on the motion of Austria, voted the mo-

bilization of the army, with a view to Federal execution in Holstein, the Prussian government announced that the German confederation was dissolved, and immediately declared war. But its troops had already entered Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Hesse-Darmstadt, and three columns were advancing by different routes into Saxony. The Hanoverians, after a short defence, surrendered, Dresden was occupied, Schleswig, Holstein, and all Western Germany north of the Main, were taken with but little opposition. The Saxon forces retired before the larger invading army to join the Austrians in Bohemia, towards which Prince Frederick Charles advanced through Saxony, and by the Bohemian passes, the Prince of Prussia moving in a parallel line through Silesia. The arrangements for the two armies acting in concert were complete. They communicated by telegraph. The best of the Austrian troops, the German soldiers, were, it was said, in Venetia, the Italian and the Hungarian regiments in Bohemia were disaffected. In successive engagements the Prussians were victorious. Not only did they outnumber their opponents, but the rapidity and precision of their fire from the "needle-guns," and the training and regularity of the troops gave them a manifest advantage. At Nachod the Prussians of Steinmetz's corps were near meeting with a serious reverse, but they recovered in time to defeat the Austrian General Ramming, who brought into action 29 battalions, 16 squadrons, and 100 guns, against 22 battalions of Prussians, and lost 6000 men dead and wounded, beside 2500 prisoners, three standards, and six guns; the Prussian loss being 59 officers and 1132 privates killed and wounded.

The final great battle of Sadowa or Königgrätz took place on the 3d of July, and at this Moltke and the king were present. The carnage was dreadful, the Prussians losing in dead and wounded, or missing, 359 officers and 8794 men, or one twenty-third of their force, Austrians 1147 officers and 30,224 men, or one-seventh of their force engaged; or taking both sides, one-eleventh of the total force were killed or disabled. This was a much less proportion, however, than that of most of the

large battles that had been fought in former years. At Wagram the proportion was one-eighth, at Leipsic one-fifth, at Belle Alliance one-third, the same as at Borodino; while at the battle of Pittsburgh in the American war the loss was represented as a fourth.

The victory of Prussia at Sadowa gave her predominance in Germany. She annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Hesse-Darmstadt, and the army and foreign representation in the other northern states were transferred to her management, while the southern governments were quickly obliged by pressure from their subjects to apply for consideration and for admission to the new confederacy. We have already seen that by the cession of Venetia Italian freedom from Austrian rule was also completed.

It may be mentioned that in the Austro-Prussian war the ability and energy of the war correspondents of English newspapers became conspicuous. The news of the campaign, together with maps and plans, as supplied by the representatives of the London press, kept the English public almost as well informed of the progress of the war as though they had received intelligence direct from Von Moltke himself.

The gloom and foreboding which overshadowed the commercial outlook of 1866 continued to the end of the following year. Some of the great railway companies became embarrassed by serious difficulties, and the conditions which then affected the Brighton, the North British, the Great Eastern, the Great Western, and still more obviously the London, Chatham, and Dover lines, for a time affected the credit even of the more prosperous companies. But even the companies most deeply involved were able gradually to retrieve their position by an increase of traffic which represented the growth of their legitimate business, and by abandoning some of the projected branches and extensions which would have diminished their already insufficient resources. With banks and joint-stock financial enterprises the results were different, some of the former especially, having ruminously speculated in accommodation bills. The most

threatening of the conditions affecting national prosperity, however, was the action of some of the trades-unions, not only in organizing strikes and inducing workmen to refuse to work except during hours, and at a rate of wages, arbitrarily settled for them by their alleged representatives, and thus in many instances compelling large firms to close their works, or to reduce their production, because of their inability to compete with foreign rivals, but also in fostering a system of terrorism, for the purpose of preventing workmen from acting independently or accepting employment without the permission of "delegates" and "executives," who were ready to commit outrages upon the life and property of any one refusing to acknowledge the authority of the society

It was of course asserted that such outrages, of which deliberate attempts to maim or to murder formed a part, were not countenanced by the majority of the trades having unions for the regulation of wages and labour, but such particulars as had been made known caused widely spread uneasiness and no little indignation both among the community in general, and the reasonable members of trades associations. We have already seen how large a part these societies took in the reform demonstrations, though it is to be noted that the political ardour of many of the members composing them was of a rather fickle and unenduring kind. On the occasion of a great London trades demonstration, those attending which were to parade at Whitehall and march to Chiswick, the numbers of workmen, which everybody had been assured would be 200,000, did not exceed 30,000. The weather was inclement, and it requires a robust political enthusiasm to march along with a procession, or to take a tramp of five or six miles through the rain and damp for the purpose of demonstrating. At Beaufort House, which was the destination of the men who had been called together by notices sent some days before, only a portion of the assembly remained to hear the speeches of Mr Beales and others. Some did not arrive till the meeting had begun. It was there that Leicester the glass-blower made his famous

oration, in which he spoke of Mr Beales as one of the martyrs of the contest, and said the question was, Would they suffer those little-minded, deceitful, hump-backed, one-eyed scoundrels who sat in the House of Commons, to rob and defraud them any longer of their rights, and were those who had squandered the people's earnings like water, to continue to do so?

Mr Leicester seems to have travestied Mr Gladstone's quotation about certain crooked little men. He went on to ask, What had Lord Derby done? and replied by saying, he had translated Homer, but he could not make one of the beautiful specimens of glass-work which had been carried in procession that day, and that there was not a stocking-weaver in Leicester, or a clodhopper in the kingdom, rendering service to the state, who was not quite as useful as Lord Derby.

There was, of course, a great deal of rather frothy, and not very significant oratory at that period, but the working-men were in the main loyal to the crown and to the useful institutions of the country. Of their loyalty to the queen a good instance occurred at another meeting at St James's Hall, where Mr Ayrton used some words censuring her majesty for not personally recognizing the people when they assembled in such numbers in front of one of her palaces. Mr Ayrton was a man with a cantankerous twist. If there was an opportunity of saying anything disagreeable he seldom missed it, and he could scarcely ever pay a compliment except in terms which changed it into an imputation. He seems to have been moved more by irritability of temper and impatience with stupid people—which of course often meant people who did not think as he did—than to have displayed calculated denunciation, and he practised the art of taking things by their wrong handles, till his own constituents of the Tower Hamlets could no longer bear with him, and meetings and deputations shunned him. On this occasion,—at the meeting at St James's Hall,—Mr Bright gave him a reproof which must have burned deep if he had much feeling, and in spite of his truculent disregard of the feelings of other people he was not wholly insensible to rebuke

"I am not accustomed to stand up in defence of those who are possessors of crowns," said Mr Bright, "but I could not sit and hear that observation without a sense of wonder and pain. I think there has been by many persons a great injustice done to the queen, in reference to her desolate and widowed position. And I venture to say this, that a woman, be she the queen of a great realm or be she the wife of one of your labouring men, who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and affection, is not at all wanting in a great and generous sympathy with you." These were good words, and the loud and ringing cheers which greeted them were as good a demonstration as could have been gained, that the men of the London trades who had met in the name of parliamentary reform, did not lack genuine loyalty.

The general prosperity of the country to which reference has been made was, as we have said, not inconsistent with serious commercial disturbance and ruinous monetary convulsion, nor could it neutralize the temporary effects of that financial panic. Still less could it avert the consequences of strikes and sudden interruptions in the labour market. The effects of the operation of trades-unions was seen in the widely-spread distress of the followers of unskilled labour. In the east end of London,—Bethnal Green, Limehouse, and Poplar,—there was great suffering among the poor during the severe winter of 1866-67. At Deptford there were attempts to commence a bread-riot, and large numbers of the dockyard labourers were out of employment. The operations of the poor-law in these districts were insufficient to relieve the daily and increasing wants of the people during the bitter weather, and various organizations were formed for the purpose of providing food, clothing, and shelter for famished and houseless families. Public indignation was excited by the heartless conduct of some of the workhouse officials and poor-law ("relieving") officers at that time, and the vast number of applicants for the shelter and food which the law ordered should be provided at the casual night-wards of the London workhouses, afforded appalling evidence of the reality of the want and destitu-

tion among the poorer class. The anomaly—an anomaly not yet rectified—was, that the shopkeepers in these neighbourhoods, though the universal distress had deprived them of their customers, and they were themselves sinking into destitution, were called upon to pay enormous rates for the relief of the poor, while in the parishes of London inhabited by wealthy householders the rate was comparatively inconsiderable. Some expedients were afterwards adopted to approximate to an equalization of the rates, but they were never carried to complete and effectual legislation. Still charitable efforts were not wanting: subscriptions poured in; the local clergy and active permanent committees of relief made arrangements for distributing food, clothing, money, and all kinds of comforts to the starving and the unemployed. This went on for some time till a strange and serious result was observed. The poor from other districts began to seek temporary, if not permanent, dwellings at the east end of London. House-rent and the charge for lodgings rose considerably. Even single rooms were at a premium. The idle and the careless began to take advantage of the reports that Poplar and Limehouse had become a land of plenty. Trades-unionists, whose unions had not supplied them with funds for keeping their families from semi-starvation, saw how to obtain a little further relief. The dock companies found that there was no absolute need to raise the wretched wages of their labourers, since in times of moderate prosperity the parish would give outdoor relief, and so supplement the insufficient wages out of the rates, and in times of scarcity benevolent people would subscribe to make up the want of wages by gifts of meat, coals, soup, and clothing. So the dock shareholders, as well as other employers of underpaid labour, kept up their dividends, so far as they were kept up, by retaining a low rate of payment. It will of course be said that this is inevitable, and that the commodity of labour will necessarily find its price and be quoted according to the laws of supply and demand. Quite so. But the effects of certain side issues as well as of main issues in this scientific way of treating the question were, at that period, very deeply impressed on people's

minds by what was taking place daily before the relief committees, and the questions were once more asked, with some emphasis, How are paupers made? and, How are the suffering poor to be effectually relieved by having a share in the world's work found for them? All this time the question was rendered far more difficult by the action of some of those trades-unions, which, being associated with benefit-clubs, punished any of their members who consented to work overtime or agreed to take reduced wages, by refusing to give them the advantages to which as subscribers to the clubs they were justly entitled. There were employers of unskilled labour who did not (perhaps could not) afford to pay more than would suffice to support the individual, who was therefore obliged to seek charitable aid for his family, and there were employers of skilled labour who were ready to pay wages that could have enabled the workers to maintain themselves and wives and children, but whose gates were closed because the unions forbade any of its members to accept a lower rate of wages or to work for a greater number of hours than had been decided on at their meetings. At the same time hostile measures were taken against all those workmen who refused to join the unions. They were followed, insulted, and in many instances assaulted. At the gates of builders' yards, of factories, and of large workshops pickets of union men were stationed for the express purpose of dissuading the hands to continue their engagements, or of preventing them from doing so by physical violence.

At Sheffield the outrages committed by avowed members of the unions had long been notorious for their diabolical malice. When the Social Science Congress was held in Sheffield in 1865 a great meeting of working men was summoned to meet Lord Brougham and other members, and about 3000 assembled at the Alexandra Music Hall. The veteran addressed them in an introductory speech chiefly concerning the importance of making the homes of working men comfortable to themselves and their families, as a measure lying at the root of all social improvement. Several other speakers followed, mostly in a tone of conciliation and with remarks

adapted to the appreciation of the audience. Mr Thomas Hughes, however, took the opportunity of speaking some plain and wholesome truths, and with no little daring ventured to say in reference to advocacy of the claims of the working men, that the difficulty which had stood in his way was that this had been constantly thrown in his teeth. "Oh, have you heard of the last trade outrage in Sheffield? Have you heard that a house has been blown up with gunpowder, and that another man's wife and child have been attacked because he did not — Did not what? Because he did not obey the laws of a union of which he was not even a member? If trades-unions are to fight the battle of the working men they must set their faces against practices such as this." The men of this town lived in the very heart, in the midst of the intelligence of England, and, as working men, they received the highest rate of wages, and yet he was told they were opposed to the introduction of machinery, whereby they were driving away from the town a large branch of industry for which they had been celebrated for hundreds of years. Well, he was brought up in an agricultural district, and was just old enough to remember the machine-breaking which took place in that part of the country. Those acts of folly produced a sad amount of destitution and misery, but by-and-by the men found out their mistake, and now there were reaping-machines and thrashing-machines working all through the district, and what was the result? That wages had risen 50 per cent since the introduction of machinery. He would warn the men of Sheffield, if they were opposed to machinery, that there could be only one result—that they would drive the industry of the town into towns where the men were not so short-sighted. Then he heard that there were rests used, the use of which was enforced by the trade, but the effect of which was to double up the man's arm and make it useless after a few years, while they had a rest which produced no such results, and which, if used, would enable a man to work ten, fifteen, or twenty years longer. If that were not true, let them contradict it. To his mind it was necessary that he should, in

this great centre of trades-unions, where they had it nearly all their own way, tell them the plain truth, and in so doing he repeated, with regard to machinery, that if what he had heard was true, they had adopted a course by which they would gradually lose the confidence of the best part of their fellow-countrymen, and by which they would not hold their own in the great industrial race of the country

It required some courage to speak like this, and though a few of the men present were pushed forward by their companions to contradict some of these statements, no effectual answer was given to them. Nor were the practices which Mr. Hughes denounced, discontinued. They became intensified, and while the trades-unions denied that they were encouraged by their body, and asserted that the outrages were committed by violent and lawless men whose actions they were unable to control, they seemed never to have put forth the strong influence which they possessed for the purpose of denouncing and preventing such infamous offences. At length, after a number of crimes had aroused public indignation, the miscreants concerned in them proceeded to what appeared to be deliberate murder, and the officers of the unions becoming alarmed, utterly repudiated any connection with the offences said to have been committed at their instigation, and demanded that the charges made against them should be investigated by the trades-unions commission which had been appointed by Lord Derby's government, and was then sitting to inquire into the operations and effects of these associations

The investigations of this commission proved that not in Sheffield only, but in Manchester and other manufacturing towns, a number of atrocious offences had been committed, and in many instances had been planned or suggested by officers of trades-unions. Some employers who had hired non-union men to do their work were threatened and assaulted. Others actually gave up business in the dread of being maimed or murdered. One brick-maker had his shed burned down with naphtha and some valuable machinery destroyed. Brick-makers who were non-unionists found the clay which they went to handle, filled

with needles. Watchmen employed to protect property were shot at, wounded, and even killed, in one case a valuable horse was slowly roasted to death in revenge against its owner. These dark places of the earth were full of cruelty

The number of the atrocities at Sheffield was appalling, and the worst of them were traced to the instigation of one man named Broadhead, the secretary of the saw-grinders' union. In many other instances the methods pursued by the unions were infamous and tyrannical, but even the worst of them were scarcely suspected of the crimes which were discovered during an inquiry instituted by Mr. Overend, Q.C., who had been appointed to investigate the working of the Sheffield societies. As he had authority given him to grant a free pardon to any persons who would fully disclose what they knew of the iniquitous transactions, a searching examination elicited details which were so horrible that the account of them affected even the witnesses themselves, and sent a thrill of indignation through the country. The actual perpetrators of these crimes came forward to confess them in evidence, as they thereby escaped the penalty that they had long feared, and the miscreant Broadhead himself took this way of escaping, and during his presence in the court adjured one of his companions to "tell the truth" and "tell all"

A witness named Hallam disclosed several outrages, and at length confessed to having been concerned with another man in shooting a workman named Linley, who had incurred the displeasure of the members of the union by refusing to join them and to desist from working

Hallam became much agitated in giving his evidence, and twice fainted in the court. He said, "Crookes joined with me in shooting Linley. I compelled Crookes to shoot him. He shot him with an air-gun." On being asked if any other person had set him on to do this, his reply showed with what fiendish cunning Broadhead had made these men his tools.

"I asked Broadhead one day what he was doing with Linley, and he said he would have

a conversation with me the next day I saw him the next day, and he asked me if I recollected the previous day's conversation. I said I did. He asked me what I would do with him. I told him I would make him as he would work no more. He asked me what I should want for doing it, and I asked him if £20 would be too much. He said, No, he should think not. I said I would do it."

Being asked if he had told Broadhead how it was to be done, he answered that he had not. "I saw Crookes on the following day, and told him I had got the job to do Linley. He asked me whom I had seen, and I told him I had seen Broadhead, and that we were to have £20. He said he thought we should not get £20. I saw him again the week following. We went to Broadhead's to see what we were to have. Crookes saw him alone. When he returned to me he said we were to have £15, that was all he would give. I then went upstairs to Broadhead, and he told me he would not give more than £15 for the job. I agreed to do it. I got £3 from him, and bought a revolver. Crookes got an air-gun." It was with that gun that the unfortunate victim was shot. The two wretches followed him about from place to place nearly every night for five or six weeks before they could get the opportunity they sought. They did not intend to kill him, but Crookes, who was "a pretty good shot," and had been seen by his accomplice to shoot rabbits in Eccleshall Wood, was to aim at the man's shoulder, and so to disable him from working. At last, one night at dusk, having followed him to the Crown public-house, where he was sitting in a room with other persons, they remained in the yard. Linley was sitting near the window. At first Crookes refused to shoot him, but Hallam declared that he would do it himself, and he had also found a way by which they might escape out of the yard. Crookes then raised the air-gun and shot the man just as he was leaning forward in earnest conversation. It was intended that the ball should strike him under the shoulder, but it glanced upward and wounded the back of the head, inflicting an injury of which he afterwards

died. The assassins fled, and the money which had been promised was paid.

Crookes, the man who committed the crime, came up to add his evidence to that of Hallam, and it was to him, as he passed into the court before the commission, that Broadhead called out, "Tell the truth, Sam, tell all." Broadhead himself had already come forward to save himself by confessing to a list of outrages for which it would almost appear he had no very deep remorse, or at all events no overwhelming shame, though he expressed abhorrence of his crimes and wept during his confession. The reason alleged for shooting Linley was that he had hired a number of boys to work, and was injuring the trade. Another man was "blown up" for having been brought into the trade contrary to rule. They expected if he was admitted a member they would "have him on the box," by which they meant receiving money from the support fund, and it was to drive him from the trade that he was blown up. Crookes had been hired to lame Helliwell by shooting him, but did not get an opportunity. Another man was hired to find somebody to shoot a person named Parker, the price for which was £20 to £30, and, to pay this, Broadhead embezzled from the funds. Somebody was to have £5 for blowing up the boilers of a manufacturing firm at Sheffield, to whom Broadhead wrote a letter, saying, "If I but move my finger you are sent into eternity as sure as fate." A man named Baxter, who had "held aloof from the trade" when Broadhead thought he ought to contribute, was punished by having a canister of gunpowder thrown down his chimney. Another man's house was to be blown up, the blowing up of the houses of those who employed non-society men, the flinging of canisters of powder down chimneys, hamstringing horses, cutting the bands or destroying other portions of machinery, were all devices employed by these conspirators. The inquiry disclosed a systematic resort to criminal means for establishing the authority of the so-called unions, which for a time naturally aroused much public feeling against them. It was with something like reluctance that the promise to let these witnesses go free in return

for their confessions was kept Broadhead disappeared for a short time, and afterwards was heard of in various parts of the country as a lecturer on trades-unions or similar subjects, but he gradually sank out of notice

The revelations made to the commission did much good, they enabled honest and reasonable associations for the purpose of advancing the interests of the men by regulating wages and hours of labour, to disavow all sympathy with violence, and to claim some support in their legitimate endeavours

It should be remembered, however, that the lawlessness and violence of some of the associations may have been the result of earlier declarations of the legislature, which denied to labourers the right of peacefully combining for the purpose of promoting their own interests Where any union of workers for the purpose of influencing the operations of a particular trade, and of combining for the common purpose of obtaining better conditions of employment, is made an offence against the law, men who are brooding over their supposed wrongs and smarting with a sense of injustice will too often abandon efforts to act in accordance with the claims of order, and will disregard the demands of common humanity beyond the pale of which they conceive that they have themselves been removed

People here knew but little of Abyssinia except that it was an almost unexplored country bounded by the Red Sea, Nubia, and Senaar, and spreading on the north-west to unknown tracts, inhabited, where they were inhabited at all, by the Gallas, the Shoans, the Wanikas, and other wild tribes Missionaries and a few enterprising travellers, who had penetrated the arid plains and dense thickets of that vast territory, informed us that the whole country formed a great irregular table-land, projecting from the high regions south of the line into the comparatively level tracts bounding the basin of the Nile, and forming a succession of undulating plains of various altitudes deeply cut into by numerous valleys and water channels, which often descended 3000 or 4000 feet clear down below the level plains that reached the great height

of 8000 or 9000 feet The population consisted chiefly of three races—one resembling the Bedouin Arabs, another, the Ethiopians, and a third representing wild tribes distinct from each There were also numbers of negroes held as slaves The majority of the Abyssinians professed a religion which was a peculiarly corrupted form of Christianity, or rather appeared to be a strange mingling of Islamism with some of the observances of the Romish Church The people were of debased character, the two principal tribes were the Shoans and the people of Tigré, both of whom were hardy and warlike, but the chieftains of all the tribes were jealous and distrustful of each other, and though Ras Ali, a powerful leader, held the title of Emperor of Abyssinia in 1848 and 1849, when our consul, Mr Plowden, contracted a treaty of commerce with him, a great change took place two years afterwards, when De-jajmotch Kasai, a brave and able chief of another tribe, gained decisive victories over the Gallas, the Shoans, and the men of Tigré, and assumed the sovereignty under the title of "Theodorus, king of the kings of Ethiopia and Emperor of Abyssinia" This man, Theodore, as he was called here, had the cruelty and tyranny of the semi-savage, and an overweening ambition which, combined with arrogance and personal vanity, rendered him almost insane He claimed to be the descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and imagined that he could demand an alliance with France and England on equal terms But what he most coveted was the recognition of equality from England in the form of a letter from Queen Victoria and an amicable treaty He had refused to identify himself with the Church of Rome or with its priests, to whom his own Abuna or bishop had a great objection, and he professed to rely on an ancient prophecy which declared that a king named Theodorus would reform Abyssinia, restore the Christian faith, and become master of the world He made his capital at a rocky fortress called Magdala, a lofty and almost inaccessible height, and he displayed great anxiety to attach Englishmen to his service

In 1860 Mr Plowden, the British consul, while on a journey, was attacked by a band of

one of the rebellious tribes, and received a wound of which he afterwards died. Theodore, who had a great regard for him, signally avenged his death, but this and all his assumed liking for the English appears to have been a part of his ardent ambition to conclude a treaty with this country. In 1861 Captain Cameron went to Abyssinia as consul, but, as it was understood, only for the protection of British trade, and, as he was afterwards reminded by Lord John Russell, holding no representative character in the country. The English government distinctly refrained from interfering in the disputes of the tribes on the frontier of Egypt and Abyssinia, but the object of Theodore was to secure such an interposition as would enable him to claim support against the Turks. At the end of October, 1861, he addressed a letter to the queen, declaring that it was his mission to overthrow the Gallas and the Turks, to restore the country with himself as emperor. He acknowledged the arrival of Captain Cameron with letters and presents, and requested that the queen would give orders for the safe passage of his ambassadors everywhere on the road, that they might not be molested by the Turks, who were his enemies. This was a crafty attempt to endeavour to secure what would have been, in effect, an alliance with England against the Muslims. The letter was forwarded by Captain Cameron, and Theodore waited for a reply. Meantime, however, the consul paid a visit to the frontier province of Bogos, an injudicious step for which he was afterwards rebuked, but his excuse was that the Christian inhabitants there were under the protection of the British consul, and that he had been commissioned by the foreign office to report on the suitability of Suakim or Massowah as a consulate station, and also on the trade of the latter place.

But this visit roused the jealous suspicion of Theodore, who was already furious at not having received any reply to his letter to the queen, which, by some strange oversight, had been mislaid or left unnoticed in the foreign office. Earl Russell (then minister of foreign affairs) wrote to Consul Cameron, but did not mention the "emperor's" communication, and

this slight, together with the journey of the consul, who, he said, "went to the Turks, who do not love me," so incensed the savage conqueror that he took revenge by making prisoners of Mr Cameron, his secretary and attendants, and all the Europeans he could lay hands upon, including German and other missionaries, and several artisans and workmen, who had been induced to remain in the country. Several of these captives were placed in irons and shut up in squalid comfortable huts or stone buildings carefully guarded, and most of them were treated with alternate severity and kindness according to the half-insane whim of the tyrant, who caused them to be removed from place to place, retaining some of them in duration in his camp that he might summon them to his presence either to threaten them, or to reassure them of his good intentions. Occasionally he would visit them in a free-and-easy manner, taking with him wine or some kind of feast, and after having caused them to be released from their fetters, would sit and drink, and be familiarly merry. At other times he would have them before him, and with boding face seem to gloat over the sufferings which he had in reserve for them. It appeared as though the first attempt to enforce the release of the prisoners by sending an invading army would be the signal for their torture and execution, and the government therefore determined to authorize a messenger to open negotiations for their liberation. The envoy chosen was Mr Rassam, who was partly of African descent, had held the office of assistant British resident at Aden, and was known to have aided Mr Layard in his explorations of the remains of Nineveh and Babylon. Dr Blanc, a French physician, and Lieutenant Prideaux accompanied the embassy, which arrived in Theodore's camp in January, 1866, and was received with some pretence of consideration, but Mr Rassam and his companions were then added to the number of the prisoners, Theodore was almost entirely given up to the idea that the English government and the queen were intentionally neglecting him, and full of jealous suspicion and sullen fury he remained

with his army and the captives in the fortress city of Magdala. Among the prisoners were the wives of two of the missionaries and of a few of the workmen, and several children. The sufferings of some of the men were extreme, for the climate was exhausting; they were kept in close captivity in wretched quarters; the fetters became almost imbedded in their swollen limbs. Mr Stern and Mr Rosenthal, two of the German missionaries, were treated with great severity, presumably because they were not disposed to display abject terror, and remonstrated in emphatic language with Theodore against his treachery and cruelty.

In vain the Armenian patriarch at Constantinople endeavoured to interpose by asking for clemency towards the prisoners. In vain did he send an archbishop named Sahak to endeavour to obtain by a personal interview the favour which had been denied to a letter. This was early in 1867, and by the time the Derby administration had taken the place of that of Earl Russell in England, armed interference seemed to have become inevitable. At length Lord Stanley sent a letter, saying that unless the captives were released within three months, war would be declared. Either this letter never reached Theodore, or, like other semi-savages, he thought that he could terrify the English government by threats and outrages, holding the lives and safety of innocent people as hostages against retribution. He had become famous as a successful warrior, and still believed in the courage and determination of the troops which were left him, though his tyranny and the cruelties he had perpetrated had caused numbers of the tribes to fall away from him, and his army was dwindling. When he became convinced that the British forces were advancing to invade his territory he was for a short time boastful, but soon relapsed into a condition of gloomy foreboding, watching for auguries of his fate in the clouds.

Preparations for the expedition were rapid and effective. The sum of two millions was voted by parliament to pay the cost. It actually cost above four millions, with contingencies which brought the amount eventually

to nine millions, but though there was some grumbling at this expenditure, there was on the whole a sense of satisfaction, for there had seldom or never been a more prompt, decisive, and complete organization than that which distinguished the army that landed in Abyssinia. Advantage was taken of new appliances and inventions. Elephants were brought from India, mules for transport were bought in Egypt and in Spain, hospital ships were fitted out, apparatus for distilling sea-water was provided in case the supply of fresh water should run short. Forage, food, saddlery stores, and machinery, as well as arms and ammunition, were ready in an incredibly short space of time. General Sir Robert Napier, commander-in-chief of the army of Bombay, was appointed to command the expedition, which consisted of 11,770 soldiers, mostly Indian native infantry, and about 14,000 followers attached to the land-transport train, commissariat department, and regiments. The magnitude of this contingent may be explained by the fact that the troops might have to depend entirely on a supply of provisions from their own camp from the time they left the sterile sun-scorched rock of Aden for Massowah. In order to keep up communication with the depot of the camp and a naval contingent at Annesley Bay on the coast, railways were constructed for several miles, and telegraphic stations for a hundred miles further into the country. The natives, who were already waiting for the overthrow of Theodore, were willing to sell bread and grain, but they took no further part in the matter. The advance upon Magdala was fatiguing and difficult, but the place was reached early in April, 1868. The Abyssinians made a desperate attack, but their wild courage was ineffectual against the discipline and the weapons of their opponents. Again and again they were swept back, and their loss was about five hundred killed and three or four times as many wounded, while our loss was only nineteen wounded. The rock fortress was difficult of access, and on two sides appeared to be impregnable, but roads, or rather paths, were cut in the steep slope of the ascent, and light artillery was taken up by mules, elephants, and gangs of men. Before any parley

was permitted Sir Robert Napier called for the surrender of the prisoners. After refusals and delays Theodore found his condition becoming desperate, and delivered them all up. They were taken under the protection of the British troops, and then nothing remained but for the tyrant himself to surrender. This he obstinately refused to do, and it became necessary to attack the stronghold. The guns which Theodore had relied on to protect it were useless, some bursting at the first fire. Had the defenders of the place held it with any intelligent courage they might have inflicted much loss on our army, for it stood on a precipice inaccessible except by two narrow pathways, but the assault was sudden and powerful, the natives were driven out and fled, the place was taken, the bodies of some of the chiefs were found lying in the gateway, and on the hill above lay the corpse of Theodore with a grim smile on the face. He had shot himself with a pistol in the moment of defeat. The stronghold was destroyed, and the British expedition returned to the ships and left the country. Its object was accomplished, and not a rood of territory had been taken, nor a word of interference uttered in relation to the struggles of native chiefs for supremacy, except to recommend for the sake of peace that one of them should receive the obedience of the people. This chief was afterwards defeated and his opponent chosen king, so that the recommendation had little effect. The widow and family of Theodore were consigned to the care of Mr Rassam. The widow died in the English camp before our troops had left the country. Theodore's son Alamayou, a child seven years old, was taken to India, where, the queen having ordered that he should be taken especial care of, he was educated for a short time, and was then brought to England. Notwithstanding the attention given to his health and mode of living, he died not very long afterwards.

The successful general of the Abyssinian expedition received the title of Baron Napier of Magdala. Mr Disraeli, speaking as premier when the thanks of parliament were voted to the commander and his army, said—"He led the elephants of Asia bearing the artillery of

Europe over broken passes which might have startled the trapper of Canada and appalled the hunter of the Alps. Thus all these difficulties and all these obstacles were overcome, and that was accomplished which not one of us ten years ago could have fancied even in his dreams, and which it must be peculiarly interesting to Englishmen under all circumstances to call to mind; and we find the standard of St George hoisted upon the mountains of Rasselas."

During the period now under review, Irish troubles urgently demanded the serious attention of the government. Remedial measures for improving the condition of the people and promoting political liberty were being earnestly considered by just and patriotic men, but the enemies of Ireland and of England were busy. There has seldom been any genuine and practical attempt made to redress Irish grievances, and to give liberty and security to the country, which has not been frustrated by professional agitators who persistently thrust themselves to the front, and by fomenting violence and inciting to crime, maintain a system of terrorism. The result has been that, in order to vindicate the law, harsh and severe measures have been taken, and "terrorism" has been met by "coercion." This coercion, however, is unequal in its operation. It too often falls on the innocent instead of on those who are the real offenders, whose protests are menaces, their policy the secret ruin of property, the maiming of cattle, the bodily injury or murder of innocent people, sometimes of women and children, their remedies for the ills which they are themselves most potent to perpetuate, are assassination and indiscriminate destruction.

It should be understood that these remarks are not intended as a denial that some of the political associations and even the political conspiracies in Ireland were directed by honourable men of high moral and patriotic feeling. Such men, however, would never have encouraged or condoned the crimes that were perpetrated in the name of Irish freedom.

At the time of which we are speaking it

was not chiefly in Ireland that conspiracy was fledged, though it had been hatched there. The name "*Fenians*" had been taken by an association in Ireland as early as 1858, but the chief representatives of that body now hurled their anathemas at England from the other side of the Atlantic, and concocted their plans in the security of New York. Many of them were Irish-Americans, who, though they had never seen the country of their fathers, still had for the Green Isle a sentimental regard, which had grown up in their minds among the most cherished traditions, and was powerful in proportion to the influences to which they were subject. A number of these men, some of them quite young fellows, had been soldiers on one side or the other in the American war, as numbers of previous immigrants had also. While the conditions between England and America were so strained during the civil war, and the disputes about Southern ships of war issuing from English dockyards led to hostile words, these Irish-American "*Fenians*" anticipated with unconcealed delight the probability of the Northern States declaring war against this country. The notion was fostered by the importance which was necessarily given to Irish votes during the states elections, for the Irish electors were numerous, and the devices to secure their support were frequent and flattering. From the point of view of violent Irish patriotism in favour of rebellion, the expectation of war between America and England would be welcomed, since it would possibly afford an opportunity for a "*Fenian*" army to hold Ireland during an insurrection, and to aid in an invasion of Canada. This was in fact the scheme which was formed at the time, and though the attempts afterwards made to carry it into effect were altogether abortive, the plan, as seen from the Fenian stand-point, may have seemed justifiable. But among those who came to direct and to control the conspiracy were several whose plan it had ever been to declare war by secret machinations against law and order. The Fenian association, like other confederacies, showed too plainly that there were in Ireland deep grievances to redress and monstrous abuses to abolish, before the people

could be expected to become contented or to refrain from signs of exasperation. Both English and Irish statesmen and philanthropists, and Irishmen who were patriots without being conspirators, were already earnestly considering by what measures past injustice and neglect might best be retrieved, when the disorders that arose in the country and the injuries inflicted on private individuals impelled the government to take the long, backward step of again suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. Many beneficial changes were delayed, though they were not permanently prevented, several irrational and horrible crimes were perpetrated, public indignation was aroused, and then when comparative order was afterwards restored, and some retarded measures of conciliation were effected, they were represented by the so-called "*Fenians*" of the dagger and the mask, to be concessions wrung from the British government through terror. This was the kind of declaration which enabled professional seditious to obtain additional subscriptions from their dupes both in Ireland and America.

"Is it fair to forget that there are nearly two millions of persons who were born in Ireland living in the United States, and perhaps as many more, the offspring of Irish parents, all of whom are animated with the most intense hatred towards England. New York city alone at the last census had 260,000 Irish, actually more than the population of Dublin in 1851, thus making New York the greatest Irish city in the world." These had been the words of Cobden in a letter written to Mr T B Potter in February, 1865, on the subject of English protests in relation to America during the war, when in the United States, Irish voices were loudest and most threatening against England. The feeling of resentment was not groundless. It cannot be denied that the existence of such a persistent antagonism showed that there must have been faults on both sides. This was the contention of Mr Bright and Mr Cobden, and they did not fail to say so with considerable emphasis in the debates for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Acts in 1866. Mr John Stuart Mill also took part in the discussion, and his argument was

that if the captain of a ship or the master of a school had continually to have recourse to violent measures we should assume without asking for further evidence that there was something wrong in his system of management. Of course there was another word to be said in answer to this. If the captain or the school-master found he had constantly to deal with murderous mutineers and secret violators of all law, who incited others to crime, steps might have to be taken to suppress, or to expel these members of the crew or the school, before conciliatory or gentle measures could be so applied as to work an influence. The worst of it is that the disease and the supposed remedy appear to be reproductive. Suppression in Ireland has always meant fresh attempts to form secret conspiracies. But political conspiracies and even seditious meetings, treason, and attempted rebellion are all different things from assassination, from the endeavour to institute a reign of terror by the force of mere fiendish destruction, or by murder, and the malignant infliction of injury for the purpose of showing capabilities of violence.

Most secret associations are liable to be made use of by those who have no "cause" that will prevent their being traitors to their companions, or by fanatics who would urge their fellows down the road of insanity. Probably few organizations could be more liable to abuse than that which was adopted by the "Fenians." It was not original, and it was not effectual for the purpose for which it was designed. It was constructed on what has been called a cellular system. No individual member knew what were the limits or the functions of any other member, and the further a member was from the centre of direction, either because of his insignificance or his ineligibility, the less information he was intrusted with. All that the larger number of members had to do was to obey any orders without question. The implied or supposed penalty for disobedience, or for such independent variation of an order as might produce discovery, would be "removal," or, in other words, secret assassination. It will easily be seen that there was no protection against the machinations of mere dealers in sedition, nor was there the en-

couragement that attends an intelligent exchange of confidence. The larger number of members of such an association may be mere instruments of a few arch-conspirators, who trust them with nothing, and yet expose them to destruction, or they may be the tools of murderers and sedition-mongers who may some day sacrifice them by turning traitors to the cause.

The "Fenian" organization was apparently formed among the Irish in America. The name Fenian has been variously represented to mean *Finnian*, from the descendants or coadjutors of a chieftain named Finn, or to be taken from the name given to the old Irish militia, and to the ancient singers or reciters of the Celtic legends. Whatever may have been the origin of the name, it sounded warlike and implacable.

The association was at first a political, or rather an insurrectionary one, for the purpose of effecting a revolution in Ireland. It was commenced in the year 1858, and during the American civil war increased to very large dimensions. Men who had emigrated from Ireland under conditions of poverty and distress, which they believed had been caused by English misrule, were not likely to correct their impressions about the causes of their expatriation, even though they may have been more prosperous in the new country. On the contrary they had many of them been so accustomed to send home money for the relief of their relations in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, that they were pretty sure to subscribe without reluctance to a society for the deliverance of all Ireland from the evils of a government, which they had been taught was the cause of the poverty and misery which they so well remembered, or the accounts of which had come to them from their parents. The association was formed into a regularly organized institution at a convention or congress held in Philadelphia. Its headquarters were near Union Square, New York, and it assumed the position of a regular administration, supported by funds derived from contributions and subscriptions. Its leading officers, who were supposed to be constantly employed in the work, appear to

have taken their pay out of the funds, and there was money forthcoming for the support of those who were deputed to carry out their orders. All authority converged towards one centre, "the head-centre," as he was called, and in Ireland this head-centre was a man named James Stephens, who began with some spirit and boldness, and then most inexplicably and unexpectedly collapsed. Stephens, it was said, had laid down the system, and to him alone all its intricate ramifications were known. He had been a civil engineer, and had belonged to the Young Ireland party of O'Brien and Mitchel. After the arrest of O'Brien, Stephens, who had endeavoured to stir up an insurrection during the famine of 1847-48, sought safety in France, whither another of the young Irishmen named O'Mahoney had preceded him. Stephens spent his time in going backward and forward to Ireland, but O'Mahoney went to the United States, where, having been instructed by Stephens in the "Fenian" organization, he became the American head-centre. Stephens continued to promote the association in Ireland, and thither a number of strange visitors soon came, they were Irish-Americans, and some of them had old friends still in the old country. They had undertaken the duty of trying to raise rebellion, and they brought news that there were thousands of Irishmen in the United States who were members of the Fenian brotherhood, that the subscriptions from Irish labouring men and women in America were helping to pay for an army to come and help the people of the old country to throw off the rule of England, and to have a government of their own. At the same time American journals contained accounts of the preparations that were being made by the Fenians in the States for sending an army to help the Irish insurrection.

Of course the English government was prepared to take prompt action. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, a number of persons were arrested, some of them while they were holding seditious meetings. In November, 1865, Stephens, coming to Dublin, was apprehended and lodged in Richmond prison. From this he contrived to escape, as it was

believed through the help of a night-warder, in whose room was found a copy of the Fenian oath, and a padlock similar to that which fastened the door of the cell. Whatever may have been the means used, he regained his liberty, but nobody seemed to know what had become of him. Then the usual fate of such associations overtook the Fenian brotherhood. It was divided into two factions, each of which claimed to represent the real constitution, but while one party was for doing something near at hand, and urged an invasion of English territory in an attack on Canada, the other adhered to the Irish programme, and vehemently proclaimed that Ireland was ripe for successful rebellion. Both were utterly mistaken, though there were those who, professing to know their counsels, afterwards declared that the mistake arose from a conviction that the Northern States of America would join in hostilities towards England. Happily these states did nothing of the kind. On the contrary their government acted with international honesty and loyalty, and when a body of Fenians attempted hostilities by crossing Niagara and occupying Fort Erie, after driving back the small party of Canadian volunteers who opposed them,—the American authorities insisted on rigidly preserving the frontier, arrested some of the leaders, and prevented any further crossing of the river. This was probably the best thing which could have happened, for by that time reinforcements had arrived on the Canadian side, some of the assailants were taken prisoners, and the rest fell back, recrossed the river, and gave up any further idea of invasion.

Perhaps, if Stephens had not suddenly made his appearance in New York as the chief of the convention and the original head-centre, the Fenian leaders would not have pursued the intention of making an attempt in Ireland, but he announced that he was prepared to strike a blow there, and he once more disappeared. It was supposed that he was in Dublin, or, at all events, making his way through the rebellious districts to rouse the people, and numbers of the Irish-Americans embarked during the winter months to join in the insurrection. When they reached Ire-

land they discovered that there was no determined disposition among the people to combine in a general rebellion, and all that could be done was to wait till the spring, when, it was surmised, Stephens would reappear with some plan and with an armed force, that they might be able to commence active hostilities.

They could not at first realize that they had been deceived, and that not only were the peasantry mostly unarmed and unprepared, but the majority of the Irish people were opposed to any such attempt as an insurrection led by a number of strangers, and supported by a confederacy of which, after all, they knew little or nothing.

Several of the Irish-Americans who came, as they supposed, to aid in the achievement of a separate nationality were honest and disinterested. They had either retained the bitter hostility to England caused by former conditions, the effects of which Englishmen as well as Irishmen were anxious to remove, or they had only been able to estimate the real state of affairs by the representations of those who dealt largely in metaphor. The grievances under which the Irish people were suffering were real, the injustice to which they were subjected was obvious enough to find indignant expression from the mouths of many earnest men, but the "wrongs of Ireland" were not exactly of the kind or the degree which they were sometimes represented to be. At any rate there were few signs that the majority of the people of Ireland were ready to seek redress by violence or insurrection, and it was evident that the government had been made acquainted with all that the Fenian convention had proposed, and had taken measures to prevent it.

Among those who came to act as leaders were some who had acquired distinction in the American civil war, and several had occupied a position of social influence in the States. They arrived in Ireland to find that they had been deceived. There would be no general uprising of the people, no combined attempt of any importance unless they could succeed in provoking it, and unfortunately this was what a number of them endeavoured to do. But first some startling demonstration must be made, a blow

must be struck which would show that they were in earnest. It was perhaps a proof of the utter misapprehension which existed among these men, that they formed a wild scheme by which the Fenians in England were secretly to make their way to Chester, where they were to meet at a certain date in February, 1867, and to take forcible possession of the castle for the purpose of obtaining the arms that might be found there. They were then to cut the telegraph wires to prevent any alarm being sent after them, and to proceed to Holyhead, where they might seize some steam-vessels in which they could reach the Irish coast. There was an audacity about this plan which almost neutralized its absurdity, and, at all events, it was of such a nature that it presented a marked contrast to other attempts which were made for the purpose, or with the result of inflicting serious injury on individuals by destroying life or property. The government had received timely intimation of the attempt that was to be made, and Chester was so well watched and guarded that the Fenian contingent was obliged to abandon the enterprise. It was then made known to the confederacy that a general rising should be attempted in Ireland in the following month. The failure was conspicuous, and though several attacks were made on the police barracks in various places, where several persons were shot or otherwise killed, there was nothing like an insurrection. More mischief might have ensued if the armed bands of desperados had been able to take to the hills or the lonely passes, but a continuous snow-storm prevented them from seeking these as a refuge. The first attempt was a failure, it had never for a moment looked like success.

Numerous arrests were made, and among the prisoners were men who had believed in the cause which they came to support, and having failed, were ready to die if their lives were to be forfeited for the crime of having sought to promote a revolution which they had heard was already imminent. Among the more prominent leaders who were arrested was Colonel Burke, who had served as an officer in the Southern "Confederate" army during the American war. He, a companion named

Doran, and some others were sentenced to death, chiefly on the evidence of informers, who were necessarily the principal witnesses of the government in many such cases

A very strong feeling was manifested against the execution of this sentence. That men coming from another country had committed treason in consequence of misrepresentations, was of course no legal defence, but the men were brave men, they had been deceived, and their crime was not that of dastardly conspirators or of assassins. The English people knew how to discriminate, and even to sympathize with prisoners like Burke. A great meeting was held in St James' Hall, consisting chiefly of English working men, and Mr John Stuart Mill addressed them with great earnestness.

A petition was presented to parliament by Mr Bright against the "excessive and irritating severity" of the sentence, and stating that the punishment might be more applicable to men "whose crime and whose offence are alike free from dishonour, however misled they may be as to the special end in view, or the means they have adopted to attain that end." There was some discussion on the language employed in this petition, and a proposal was made not to receive it, but there was no disrespect expressed to the house, and it was therefore accepted and ordered to lie on the table. The extreme sentence was not carried out, and though disturbances continued in various places, and other arrests were made, there was comparatively little of that bitterness of feeling against the Fenians which was afterwards manifested when they committed crimes which appeared to be mere wanton attempts to inflict injuries without regard to any appreciable political result, and altogether revolting to the common sentiments of humanity.

Six months after the remission of the sentence on Burke and his companions a desperate attack was made in Manchester for the purpose of rescuing two Fenian prisoners, a police-constable was shot, and though the apologists for the perpetrators of the deed represented that this also was only a political offence and not deliberate murder, the lawlessness of the

act and the evidence which it afforded of an intention to set all authority at defiance produced some reaction in public sympathy.

Two men had been arrested on suspicion in Manchester, and charged with being vagrants. By the evidence given in their examination before a magistrate they were proved to be two Fenian conspirators known as "Colonel" Kelly and "Captain" Deasy. The examination took place on the 18th of September (1867), and they were remanded for further inquiry, and taken to the prison-van which was to convey them to the jail, a short distance out of the city. Some suspicions of an attempted rescue had been excited by the manner of two men who were seen hanging about the court, and one of them was apprehended after resisting the officer by endeavouring to stab him with a dagger. It was therefore thought necessary to put the two prisoners in irons before taking them to the van, which was guarded by eleven policemen. The van had been driven some distance on the journey to the jail, and had reached a point where the road was crossed by a railway bridge, near a number of clay-pits, when a tall fair man who had been looking out for the van from the top of a mound of clay came into the road followed by between thirty and forty companions, all armed, and most of them with revolvers.

This man, whose name was William O'Meara Allen, fired at the driver of the van, next at the officer who sat beside the driver, and then shot one of the horses. The unarmed police, three of whom were wounded, fell back before a volley from their assailants, who were three to one against them, but they bravely returned and repeatedly endeavoured to rescue the van, which was full of male and female prisoners, and was now brought to a stand with one of the horses dying, and the other struggling on the ground. Three police-constables were wounded, one by-stander was killed. The Fenians surrounded the van, threatened to shoot any one who attempted to prevent the release of the two prisoners, and shouted to the sergeant, who was sitting in charge inside, to hand out the keys which would open the door of the van and the separate cells or closets on each side of the vehicle, in which

the prisoners were confined. The sergeant, whose name was Brett, positively refused to give up the keys. Allen called a number of his gang to attempt to break in the roof of the van, and, armed with heavy stones and other implements, they clambered to the top and tried to smash the wood, which, however, offered too great resistance. Shots continued to be fired, the women who were in the van, fearing for their lives, uttered piercing screams. Brett, who remained firm in his refusal, had been looking through a small louvre ventilator in the top of the door when one of the women, two or three of whom had not been locked in the cell, but stood in the gangway which ran from end to end of the vehicle, pulled him away. Allen threatened that if he did not deliver the keys he would shoot him. A pistol was exploded against the lock of the door, but failed to burst it open. Allen again demanded the keys, and almost immediately afterwards thrust a stone into the trap or ventilator, so that it could not be shut, and afterwards fired his revolver at it, shooting Brett through the head. One of the women, in terror for their lives, then took the keys from Brett's pocket and threw them out. The van was entered by two men, who opened the doors of the cells in which Kelly and Deasy were confined, and enabled them to escape across the fields. Allen was heard to say, "Kelly, I'll die for you," and this was afterwards spoken of as though he contemplated a kind of martyrdom, but of course he made all the efforts he could to get away, and would have done so but for the prowess of a young man named Hunter, who was not only a swift runner, but a bold and powerful fellow. He pursued Allen and ran him down, wresting from his hand the pistol with which he threatened to shoot him. Another of the conspirators was run down by a second athlete in the same manner, and the police having rallied, arrested some others. Several were in custody before the next day.

The escaped prisoners were never recaptured. One of them had entered a cottage at some distance, where his companions knocked off his irons with a hatchet, using the stone edge of the kitchen sink for an anvil. Five

men out of the number who had been arrested were found guilty of the murder of Brett. Their names were Allen, the leader, Larkin, O'Brien, Shore, and Maguire. The arrest of Maguire was afterwards proved to have been made in error. He was moving about in the crowd, but it was not proved that he had any hand in the fray, and he was able to show that he had served for several years as a marine in the royal navy. He was afterwards not only respited but restored to his position. Against Shore, who pleaded his American citizenship, the evidence connecting him with the actual murder was not altogether complete, and he was respited from the capital charge. Some people attributed this clemency to a desire on the part of the ministry to propitiate the American government. Allen, with Larkin and O'Brien—the two men who had released the prisoners—were found guilty. They all denied that they had fired the shot that killed Brett, and it was contended that his death was accidentally caused by the attempt to burst open the lock, but the evidence of the prisoners in the van contradicted this assertion. Efforts were again made, by those who still retained sympathy for the political or national protests which were associated with Fenian demonstrations, to obtain a remission of the capital sentence for the prisoners, but the public feeling had undergone a revulsion. Even the proclamation of the American Fenian "senate" or "convention," that the acts of the conspirators were not directed against the English people but against a government which oppressed both the English and the Irish, did not assure the inhabitants of our large towns. To be shot, stabbed, blown up, or seriously injured in person or estate by an appointed agent of outrage, or by a gang of ruffians, or even by a patriot with a craze for murder as a ready means of manifesting political purpose, is not an experience the effects of which are to be dissipated by an expression of regret for an alleged mistake or by an appeal to a common love of freedom. The Fenians here were taking precisely the wrong way to maintain the sympathy which a just cause may evoke. All those who profess to uphold it set not

only justice but civilization and humanity at defiance

The three men convicted of the murder of Brett were executed at Manchester in presence of a smaller number of persons than might have been expected, who preserved a quiet and even a solemn demeanour. Raids upon gunsmiths' shops and seizure of gunpowder were repeatedly made by the conspirators in Ireland. Their offences were frequently of a kind to provoke indignation, and indignation was daily increasing, when the attempt to blow down the wall of Clerkenwell prison for the purpose of rescuing Burke and Casey, who were still confined there, was attended with consequences which aroused the public temper to a pitch that made it dangerous for any one in London to profess to belong to the Fenian body or to act in such a way as to be suspected of any connection with it.

It may perhaps be assumed that there were members of the Fenian conspiracy whose hearts and consciences revolted from the atrocities which were contemplated by their fellows. At all events, on an early day in December the police authorities in Scotland Yard received an anonymous letter informing them that an attempt was about to be made to rescue Burke from Clerkenwell house of detention, that the plan to be adopted was to blow up the wall of the exercise yard with gunpowder at between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, the hour at which this prisoner was supposed to be in the yard for exercise, that the signal to ~~him~~ would be a white ball thrown up on the outside of the wall. In consequence of this information the prisoners were kept in their cells at the time of the day when the attempt was expected, but singularly little care seems to have been taken to keep watch and guard outside that part of the prison where the attack was to be made. Perhaps the authorities thought it probable that the letter was a ruse, but they should have remembered the consequences of leaving the prison ~~van~~ at Manchester to be guarded by only a few constables unarmed, against a strong party of Fenians carrying revolvers.

On the afternoon of the 13th of December, two days after the warning was given, all London was startled by a terrific explosion. The Fenian conspirators had proved themselves to be not only capable of atrocities, but of such utter recklessness of the lives of other people, including innocent women and children of the poorer classes, that their blundering eagerness to injure and destroy would have included among the victims the very prisoners whom they desired to release, had not the governor kept them confined to their cells in another part of the jail. Some men and a woman had been seen in a narrow lane, one side of which was formed by the prison wall, the other side consisting of a row of four-storied houses, from the roofs of which a view could be obtained of the prison yard. Several suspicious-looking persons had been seen going in and out of one of these houses during the afternoon, but nobody had been examined or arrested. Two men and the woman wheeled a truck along the lane, and took from it a 36-gallon beer cask, partly covered with a piece of tarpaulin. This cask was placed against the prison wall, and while one man rapidly went away with the truck the other thrust a fuse, which looked like a squib, into the bung-hole of the cask, lighted it, and ran away, the woman also making off at a rapid pace. All this was done so quickly that before any one could interfere a tremendous explosion had blown down a large portion of the wall, leaving a gap from 30 to 40 feet in width. So tremendous was the force of the charge contained in the cask that a volley of bricks was driven across the exercise yard and made deep indentations in the wall of the prison. The effect upon the adjacent houses was appalling, two were destroyed, five or six were shattered, windows were broken at the distance of a quarter of a mile. Amidst the fall of timber and the crashing of roofs was heard the screams of women and children, the groans and exclamations of wounded men. Fifty-two persons, some of them too aged to be able to make much effort to escape, and others mere infants, were seriously injured, and had to be conveyed to hospitals. One was killed on the spot, and four others, in-

cluding a little girl, who was fearfully burnt and lacerated, died during the night. It was said that forty poor women, who were about to become mothers, gave premature birth to children, twenty of whom died immediately.

The crime produced universal horror, but it was regarded less with fear than with detestation. The fact is worth noting that some military officers who visited the ruins were of opinion that the explosion was caused not by gunpowder, but by some more powerful substance, such as nitro-glycerine. One of the staves of the barrel was found on the roof of a house sixty yards distant from the spot where the explosion took place. Two men and a woman were arrested by police constables, assisted by some by-standers, immediately after the explosion. One of the men named Allen had been loitering about the prison, and had been seen by the chief warder on the top of one of the neighbouring houses. The woman had been accustomed to visit the prisoner Casey while he was under remand, and had taken him his dinner that very day. When Burke and Casey were afterwards brought up to the police court on remand, Dr Kenealy, a barrister whose name was afterwards to be notoriously associated with another trial, and who had been retained for their defence, at once abandoned their case, since, though he did not believe that they were themselves parties to the crime which had been committed, some of those who had instructed him on their behalf probably were, and he could no longer continue to represent them.

Public subscriptions were made for the sufferers by the explosion, and much indignation was manifested. The perpetrators were brought up on a charge of wilful murder, and remanded for further evidence. Rewards were offered for the apprehension of the man who actually fired the match. On the 15th of January, 1868, two men were arrested at Glasgow for unlawfully using firearms on the Green. On being taken before a magistrate they were discovered to be prominent members of the Fenian conspiracy, and were sent to London in custody. On arriving there they were identified for being concerned in

the Clerkenwell outrage, and one of them—Barrett—was distinctly sworn to as the man who fired the barrel. The capital charge was proved against him, and he was executed, the others being sentenced to terms of imprisonment. There was, of course, much public excitement, and all kinds of rumours kept men's minds in a state of suspicion and alarm. Only a week before the Clerkenwell explosion Her Majesty's Theatre was almost entirely destroyed by fire, and the houses in the Opera Arcade, and those in Pall Mall, were seriously injured. The flames were seen at a great distance, and though the firemen used every effort the building was burned out, and property to the value of £12,000, including scenery painted by Telbin, Grieve, and Calcott, was consumed, along with the grand organ, which cost £800. Madame Tietjens, the famous singer, lost jewelry to the value of £1000, and some very valuable pictures were consumed in the galleries of Mr Graves, the print-seller, in Pall Mall. This fire originated with the overheating of some flues, but for a time any such occurrence added to the popular agitation, which had unhappily been justified by evidence of the malignant intentions of Irish conspirators. On the 17th of December there came news of the explosion of a quantity of nitro-glycerine, which had been taken from Newcastle to Newcastle Moor, there to be thrown into a waste gully. This substance was declared on inquiry only to have been intended for manufacturing purposes, but it was removed, in accordance with the law, because of the danger of leaving it in the midst of the town. In attempting to dispose of it the substance exploded, and a policeman and the two carters who conveyed it to the moor were blown to pieces, the town-surveyor, who accompanied it, was so injured that he died shortly afterwards, and the sheriff, who was also present, was seriously hurt.

Nitro-glycerine, or, as it was also called, blasting oil, was in use in the Welsh slate-quarries and in mining and blasting operations. It was causing some uneasiness. Not long before, a ship in which a quantity of it formed part of the cargo, had exploded at an American port, and with such violence that

the vessel was destroyed, a number of lives were lost, and the pier or breakwater was wrecked. It was noticed, too, that the bodies of the dead did not present the appearance of having been burned or scalded.

The Newcastle Moor explosion was not shown to have any connection with the Fenian plots, but there were too many offences with which they were obviously associated, and reports were made almost daily of secret meetings in London under pretence of "raffling" watches or on other pretexts. At Queenstown a party of Fenians seized a Martello tower occupied by two coastguardsmen and carried off a quantity of gunpowder. In Cork during daylight and in a frequented thoroughfare eight Fenians entered a gunsmith's shop and stole a large quantity of gunpowder and a number of revolvers. It was scarcely surprising that some calamities which were evidently accidents were at first connected in the public imagination with the conspiracy which was working so much mischief. The blowing up of Hall's powder-mills at Faversham on the 28th of December, 1867, was of this kind. Three of the buildings there were destroyed in succession, and no explanation of the cause of the accident could be obtained. It had commenced in the "cornering" mill, and that was all that could be known, for all the eleven men who might have explained it were blown to atoms, it was feared the whole building and magazine would perish, for the powder in the glazing-house lay in heaps, and the walls (six feet thick) were heated and much shaken.

The Fenian atrocities, however, were apart from such accidents, nor did they create an actual panic. An enormous procession in Dublin in memory of the Manchester murderers increased the feeling of resentment. People in the large towns began to show something of that dogged determination which is a British characteristic, and is usually dangerous to conspirators and assassins. In London a considerable number of men of all ranks attended at Guildhall to be sworn in as special constables. It was a time of much distress and hardship among the poor, and injuries like those caused by the ruffians who had apparently taken the lead of the Irish poli-

tical associations were an additional grievance and aroused feelings of abhorrence.

These feelings were soon afterwards intensified by telegraphic despatches which seemed to show that even in our colonies the insane wickedness of the confederates might be unexpectedly revealed. The Duke of Edinburgh had proceeded on a voyage aboard the *Galatea* to the Australian colonies, to which he had agreed to pay a visit. On the 12th of March he was making excursions in New South Wales, and while at Sydney had agreed to attend a picnic at a place called Clontarf. The entertainment had been proposed partly in his honour, but advantage was taken of the occasion to make subscriptions to the funds of a sailors' home. Soon after his arrival, and in view of a large number of people assembled there, the prince was standing talking to Sir William Manning, while the governor and the lord chief-justice of the colony stood close by. A man was seen suddenly to raise a revolver, with which he took deliberate aim and fired one barrel, the ball from which struck the prince. His royal highness fell forward on hands and knees, exclaiming that his back was broken. Sir William Manning made a dash at the assassin, who threatened him with the revolver, to avoid the shot from which Sir William stooped, and in doing so lost his balance and fell. The villain pulled the trigger, but the second shot did not explode, and a third entered the ground, for at that moment his hands were seized and his arms pinioned by a person named Vial, who held him till he could be secured. The concussion of the ball, which struck the prince just behind the right ribs, made the injury feel more serious than it turned out to be, the bullet having traversed the course of the ribs superficially, and lodged at no great depth in the muscle of the abdomen. He was conveyed to his tent, and though he had lost much blood and suffered from the shock, he felt well enough to send out a message to the persons assembled, saying that he was not much hurt, and should be better presently. Farrell, who barely escaped being lynched, was much mauled and buffeted. After his apprehension it was reported that he was the agent of a Fenian

conspiracy, and this suspicion was to a considerable extent supported by the statement of the prisoner himself, who said that he had written an address to the people of Ireland, and had sent it to the printers of two Irish publications, implying that he was one of an organization. He declared, however, that there was no truth in this, and that no one but himself was concerned in the attempt, for which he seemed to be penitent.

The prince soon began to recover from his wound, but was advised to leave the colony, the relaxing climate of which at that season was unfavourable. Before he left he called on the governor to intercede for the man who had endeavoured to shoot him, but Farrell was afterwards tried and executed, the governor probably thinking that if he went unpunished there would be some serious disturbance.

If any proof had been needed that the members of the royal family did not distrust the Irish people, but believed in their loyalty and honour in spite of the evil counsels of Fenian conspirators and their wretched followers, it would have been found in the fact that the Prince and Princess of Wales went on a visit to Ireland on the 15th of April, landed at Kingston, and proceeded by road in an open carriage to Dublin, where they were received with enthusiasm. They afterwards visited Punchestown Races, and on the 18th the prince was inaugurated a Knight of St. Patrick. One object of the visit of the prince was to unveil the statue of Burke, and during their stay they made a round of visits and joined in a series of entertainments without displaying apprehension, and with a just reliance on the good faith and good-will of the population. But the difficulty was still there, the difficulty of removing from the government of Ireland those inequalities which had grown into bitter wrongs, and had justified political combinations and confederations, which, if they are made in secret, too often grow into conspiracies. In the names of such secret societies offences are often committed, and crimes are perpetrated for which there can be nothing but stern condemnation.

Speaking in Lancashire of the condition of

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the country with regard to Irish affairs and the evil that had been wrought by Fenian outrages, Mr Gladstone, referring to what they had seen during the last few weeks, said that in the present state of the public mind, after occurrences so wicked and detestable, he wished to urge upon the public and upon himself these two fundamental cautions—first, that in considering those outrages they should endeavour to preserve an equal temper and perfect self-command, the second was that they should not confound the cause of Fenianism with the cause of Ireland.

Leniency to political offenders he believed to be alike wise and just, but he altogether denied—and he was speaking now not of persons but of acts—that acts such as they had lately seen were entitled to the partial immunities and leniency that ought to be granted to offences properly political. He knew not whom it might please or whom it might offend, but his conviction was that there was a deep moral taint and degradation in the thing which was called Fenianism. He arrived at that conclusion when the Fenian invasion of Canada took place. Canada was notoriously and perfectly guiltless in respect to Ireland, and he said that to carry fire and sword within her borders merely because it was dreamed or supposed that through Canada some disgrace or wound might be inflicted upon England, was the very height and depth of human wickedness and baseness.

It was, to say the least, a matter of sadness that, after six hundred years of political connection with Ireland, that union of heart and spirit which was absolutely necessary for the welfare of that country had not yet been brought about. It was impossible to exaggerate that fact or the gravity of the responsibility which it brought to the government of this country. There was no doubt that, even as matters stood, there was a great improvement upon the past. Civil rights had been extended, odious penalties had been removed; religious distinctions that formerly existed had been effaced, and a better and a milder spirit had recently taken possession of British legislation with regard to Ireland. At the same time, if we wished to place ourselves in a condition to

grapple with the Irish problem as it ought to be grappled with, there was but one way to do it—to suppose ourselves in the position of Irishmen, and then say honestly whether we would be satisfied with the state of things that now existed

Nearly thirty years had elapsed since (in 1838) the great grievance of the tithe system in Ireland had been mitigated by the conversion of tithe into a rent-charge payable by the landlord. It was thirty-five years since the church "cess" (which in England was called church-rate) had been totally abolished, but one of the most conspicuous complaints of the Irish people was that a Protestant church had been established and imposed upon them, and was maintained even in districts where, except the clergyman, his family, and his officers, all the inhabitants were Roman Catholics. After three hundred years of trial since the establishment of the Protestant church in Ireland not above one-seventh or one-eighth of the people of Ireland were Protestants of the Established Church. It is not to be wondered at that this grievance rankled, nor that the adoption of a plan of general education in Ireland should have been less successful because of the opposing claims of the clergy. In Ulster the proportion of Roman Catholic and Protestant children in the National Schools were about in proportion to the number of each denomination in the population, but the same proportion does not seem to have been maintained in the southern portion of the island. Not only was the Irish Church a source of perpetual discontent, but the injustice of the laws under which land was held by tenants in the southern portion of Ireland were such as to arouse the bitter feeling of the population. Nearly a century before, Grattan had spoken of Ireland as "a people ill governed, and a government ill obeyed," and in his speeches in the Irish parliament, had described the hardships suffered by cottagers who were forced to pay tithes for their potatoes till they were left in a state of impoverishment, ruin, and despair. In 1788 Grattan said, "In three-fourths of this kingdom potatoes pay no tithe, in the south they not only pay, but pay most heavily. They pay frequently in

proportion to the poverty and helplessness of the countrymen.

What so galling, what so inflammatory as the comparative view of the condition of his majesty's subjects in one part of the kingdom and the other! In one part their sustenance is free, and in the other tithed in the greatest degree, so that a grazier coming from the west to the south shall inform the latter that with him neither potatoes nor hay are tithed, and a weaver coming from the north shall inform the south that in his country neither potatoes nor flax are tithed, and thus are men, in the present unequal and unjust state of things, taught to repine, not only by their intercourse with the pastor, but with one another."

This condition of things was abolished along with tithe and cess, and the Encumbered Estates Acts, brought in by Sir Robert Peel, tended to ameliorate the condition of landholders, but it took long even partially to undo the ill government of four hundred years, still longer unhappily does it take to apply healing remedies to old and deep wounds, and to convince the Irish people that apparently tardy governments have been anxious to repair the injuries inflicted during the four centuries from 1430 to 1829, when the evil policy was, as Earl Russell said, to check the industry, to repress the manufactures, to persecute the religion, and to confiscate the rights of the Irish people.

The Catholic Relief Act of 1829, the abolition of cess and tithes, the extension of the poor-laws to Ireland in 1838, and acts for the sale of encumbered estates, which put an end to a large amount of pauperism and misery, were all efforts to promote the equality and to remedy the wrongs of Ireland. The Church of Ireland had been freed from many abuses; a system of national education had been extended and improved, and on more than one occasion the position of the Irish Church had been threatened. It was discussed in 1835, inquired into in 1836, but was not yet disestablished and disendowed. Again, to quote Earl Russell, "Truth and justice in England make sure but slow progress, parliamentary reform caused great agitation in 1780, but it was not carried till 1832, the slave-trade pro-

voked much indignation in 1780, but it was not abolished till 1807. Measures to promote free-trade were proposed in 1823, but the work was not completed till 1862, even if it can be said to have been then complete. The corporation and test laws were repealed in 1828, the edifice of religious liberty was only completed by the admission of Jews to parliament at a later time."

The claims on behalf of Ireland were still that the country should be released from the burden of an alien church, that a system of education should be provided suitable for the condition of the people, and that there should be a legal acknowledgment of the rights of tenants to profit by such improvements as they might have made in their holdings, and to enjoy a more equitable mode of tenure.

The land question was in reality the most important, and it had been associated with much of the crime that needed to be repressed or punished.

We should not lose sight of the fact, that while in one part of the kingdom the tenants mostly held their land on equitable terms, and could claim something like adequately adjusted reward for improvements, in the other there was neither inducement to labour nor reward for the results of knowledge and experience.

It may have been the case that the tenant rights granted in Ulster, and known as the Ulster right or custom, could not be entirely applicable to neglected and unprofitable lands in other places. One reason for its not being so applicable was, that the tenants were too impoverished to make improvements which needed agricultural implements, proper fences, and the ordinary appliances of farm-work. To raise the wretched crops from their neglected unfenced patches, they only scratched the surface of the ground, or at the best kept part of it in cultivation by spade and hoe. What hope could there be for an agricultural country where the people who had to live on the land, and by what it produced, held their plots or farms at the pleasure of the landlords or their agent? The Ulster "custom," which had the effect of law, recognized the claim of the tenant to undisturbed possession as long

as he paid his rent, and if he gave up his holding entitled him to compensation for unexhausted improvements. It also enabled him to sell the good-will of his farm to anyone whom the landlord was willing to accept as a tenant. In fact he possessed to a great extent the privileges of a farmer holding his land on a long lease.

In Ulster there was comparative prosperity, for the holder of land profited by his own industry. His improvements had a market value, even after he had reaped some of the benefit from them. In the south, and wherever the tenants were little more than tenants at will, the condition of the people was wretched, and their fields were neglected. In such a condition it was not very surprising that they became the prey of political agitators, or that they were ready to defy the law, which they believed, from bitter experience, was calculated rather to suppress than to protect or encourage them. It is not necessary to contend that the Ulster custom would not have worked to equal advantage among a people different in character and temperament to those of a province colonized or chiefly colonized by men of another race. The experiment was not made, and the inequality was therefore indefensible. Neither industry nor thrift could well be expected of people to whom the inducements to improve their position had been denied. The increased cultivation of their land, they too often had reason to believe, would be followed by the raising of their rents—the improvements that they could contrive to make in it might be liable to confiscation by the landowner in favour of another tenant who would offer higher terms for occupation. That was the condition of the peasant landholder, and it was no answer to the complaints against it that a number of the proprietors of the soil acted with reasonable fairness, and neither exacted exorbitant rentals nor permitted the unjust eviction of their tenants. There was no law giving actual security of tenure. The alleged rights of property in the soil have many a time stood in the way of just legislation in England as well as in Ireland, and have frustrated the attempts of honest and earnest statesmen to

deliver the holder and cultivator of the land from the position of a tenant on sufferance. The landholder in Ireland was in fact living under something of a feudal law, as the tenure was much the same as that granted by the conqueror to the tiller of the ground. Hundreds of years before, conquest had given a kind of title to restrict the tenure to a mere privilege, and there had been no law passed to alter that state of things. At a remote period there had been open war, the victors had taken possession of the land, the vanquished could therefore only be tenants at will. Generations had passed—land had changed hands by purchase or otherwise—tenants had come and gone. All was altered but the feudal tenure. Government had failed to secure the holders of land against the assertion of an obsolete authority. Some of the holders listened to the evil counsel that a remedy might be found in a conspiracy to defy the government, to refuse both rent and possession of the land, and to assassinate landlords who took steps to recover either.

In 1866 Mr Gladstone and Earl Russell were together in Italy, and there they discussed the question of the Established Church in Ireland. "I found that he was as little disposed as I was to maintain Protestant ascendancy in Ireland," wrote the earl in his *Recollections*, "and from that time I judged that this great question would be safer in his hands than in mine."

This and some subsequent remarks seem to show that it was to bring forward a measure on the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church that Mr Gladstone took the place of the earl as leader of the House of Commons.

On the retirement of Lord Derby Mr Disraeli had been commanded to form a new administration. The only changes that were made, however, were the appointment of Lord Cairns as lord-chancellor in place of Lord Chelmsford, and that of Mr Ward Hunt to the chancellorship of the exchequer, Mr Disraeli, of course, becoming first lord of the treasury.

It was not till the end of February, 1868,

that the new ministry was formed, and when in March Parliament had settled to business, Mr John Francis Maguire proposed that the house should resolve itself into a committee to take into immediate consideration the condition of Ireland. The debate that ensued showed that the government was not prepared to indicate any distinct policy on the subject. It was evident that the question of the Irish Church must be brought forward, and the ministry was not prepared to yield to the demands that would be made.

Lord Mayo, the secretary for Ireland, spoke of the wisdom of "levelling up" instead of levelling down, and appeared to suggest that religious equality should be secured by supporting the various denominations, but it was not represented that he uttered the opinions of the government, and the resolutions of Mr Maguire were opposed during a debate which lasted for three nights. Mr Gladstone in the course of the discussion had, in referring to the Irish Church, mentioned the word disestablishment, and the applause with which the expression had been received was significant,—so significant that Mr Disraeli, who followed him, declared his determination to resist with all his power any attempts that might be made to overthrow the Established Church in Ireland, and in his argument maintained the inseparable alliance between church and state.

On the fourth night a decisive blow was struck. Mr Gladstone unhesitatingly declared his opinion that the Established Church in Ireland must cease to exist as an institution upheld by the state. Religious equality must be established, difficult as it might be, but not on the principle of levelling up. His object also was to promote the loyalty and union of the Irish people, but it was idle and mocking to use words unless they could be sustained by the unreserved devotion of definite efforts. "If we are prudent men, I hope we shall endeavour as far as in us lies to make some provision for a contingent, a doubtful, and probably a dangerous future. If we be chivalrous men, I trust we shall endeavour to wipe away all those stains which the civilized world has for ages seen, or seemed to see, on

the shield of England in her treatment of Ireland. If we be compassionate men, I hope we shall now, once for all, listen to the tale of woe which comes from her, and the reality of which, if not its justice, is testified by the continuous migration of her people—that we shall endeavour to

‘ Raze out the written troubles from her brain,
Pluck from her memory the rooted sorrow ’

But, above all, if we be just men, we shall go forward in the name of truth and right, bearing this in mind—that, when the case is proved and the hour is come, justice delayed is justice denied ”

The government was unprepared for this sudden declaration, and Mr Disraeli complained that at the very outset of their duties the new ministry should be called upon to deal with a difficulty, all the elements of which had existed while Mr Gladstone, who had been converted by Mr Bright and the philosophers, was himself in office

The majority of the house was, however, manifestly in favour of the proposal to bring the question forward without delay, and Mr Maguire having withdrawn his proposition, Mr Gladstone lost no time in presenting to them the following resolutions, to be moved in committee of the whole house —“1 That in the opinion of this house it is necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property 2 That, subject to the foregoing considerations, it is expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage, and to confine the operations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland to objects of immediate necessity, or involving individual rights, pending the final decision of parliament 3 That an humble address be presented to her majesty, praying that, with a view to the purposes aforesaid, her majesty will be graciously pleased to place at the disposal of parliament her interest in the temporalities, in archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in Ireland and in the custody thereof ”

When it was proposed to bring these reso-

lutions before the house in committee, Lord Stanley moved, “That this house, while admitting that considerable modifications of the temporalities of the united church in Ireland may, after the pending inquiry, appear to be expedient, is of opinion that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or disendowment of that church ought to be reserved for the decision of the new parliament ” He advocated this resolution on the ground that it would leave the parliament, which would be elected by the enlarged constituencies under the new Reform Bill, free and unfettered, but Mr Gladstone was not slow to note that the admissions involved in such a resolution were a decisive proof that the days of the Irish Church were numbered. In one part of his powerful address he denied that the existence of that church was necessary for the maintenance of Protestantism in Ireland. Though the census of 1861 showed a small proportionate increase of Protestants, the rate of conversion was so small that it would take 1500 or 2000 years to effect an entire conversion if it went on at the same rate. The final arrangements in this matter might be left to a reformed parliament, but he proposed that they should prevent by legislation, this session, the growth of a new crop of vested interests

Lord Cranborne spoke with bitter emphasis against the proposal of Lord Stanley, which had received the support of the ministry, and after events showed that his attack was not unjustifiable. The amendment, he said, was ambiguous, it either indicated no policy at all, or a policy which the ministry was afraid to avow. The leader of the opposition offered them a policy, the foreign secretary offered them a paltry excuse for delay. The attitude assumed by ministers was neither wise, firm, nor creditable. The amendment was too clever by half. He was prepared to meet the resolution of Mr Gladstone by a direct negative, but not to support an amendment to gain time and keep the cards in the hands of ministers to shuffle just as convenience or exigency might suggest

Mr Gathorne Hardy followed on the next evening with a speech which deeply impressed

the house by its eloquence and earnestness. It was probably as powerful an appeal as could well have been made for the maintenance of the Established Church in Ireland, the cry against which he declared was a party cry. This declaration failed to strengthen even if it did not injure the cause he was advocating. Mr Bright replied to one portion of it by saying that the Episcopal Church in Ireland, so far from having made Catholics Protestants, had made Catholics more intensely Roman than they were in any other country of Europe.

Mr. Lowe attacked the ministry and their policy with effective criticism. The attempt to link together the Irish and the English Church was like that of the tyrant Mezentius, who fastened a dead to a living body. The effect would be not to revive the dead but to kill the living. The Irish Church was founded on injustice, on the dominant rights of the few over the many, and should not stand. It was called a missionary church, but if so its mission was not fulfilled. As a missionary church it had failed utterly, like some exotic brought from a far country, with infinite pains and useless trouble, it was kept alive with difficulty and expense in an ungrateful climate and an ungenial soil.

Mr. Disraeli rose to reply. There had been much that was personal in the remarks of Lord Cranborne, much that was pungent and irritating in the speech of Mr. Lowe, and with his knowledge of the political atmosphere he must also have felt that he was fighting against almost certain defeat, but he could fight for a lost cause, and in retreat, with as much courage and address as most men display when they are advancing to victory. He turned sharply upon Lord Cranborne, who, he said, was at no time wanting in imputing to the government unworthy motives. The noble lord was a man of great talent, and there was great vigour in his language and no want of vindictiveness,—“I admit that now, speaking as a critic, and not perhaps as an impartial one, I must say I think it wants finish. Considering that the noble lord has studied the subject, and that he has written anonymous articles against me before and since I was his

colleague,—I do not know whether he wrote them when I was his colleague,—I think it might have been accomplished more *ad unguem*.” The references to Lord Cranborne’s contributions to the *Quarterly Review* and other periodicals was telling, nor was the retort upon Mr. Lowe less so. “What is more remarkable than his learning and his logic, is that power of spontaneous aversion which particularly characterizes him. He hates the working-classes of England. He hates the Roman Catholics of Ireland, he hates the Protestants of Ireland. He hates her majesty’s ministers, and until the right honourable gentleman, the member for South Lancashire, placed his hand upon the ark, he seemed almost to hate the right honourable gentleman for South Lancashire.” This was in the characteristic vein of the Disraeli of a good many years before, and perhaps the house was reminded of those days, for when the speaker went on to say that he had never attacked any one in his life, there arose cries of “Oh! oh!” and “Peel,” but when silence was regained the sentence concluded with, “unless I was first assailed.” It was good heavy fencing of a sort, but what followed was more serious than fencing. He was, it may be supposed, thinking of the disposition of Irish Church endowments or grants which were under the royal authority when he intimated that his opponents were, he believed, about to seize upon the supreme authority of the realm, and announced that he would to the utmost of his ability oppose their attempts.

Mr. Gladstone afterwards said that there were portions of this speech which appeared to be due to the influence of a heated imagination; and the same explanation might have been given to a subsequent declaration made by Mr. Disraeli, that there were symptoms of a conspiracy between High Church ritualists and Irish Romanists,—a confederacy in the hands of which the Liberation Society was a mere instrument. These representations, the first of which was made on the last night of the debate, were repeated with the remark about the Liberation Society, in a letter to a clergyman (one of Mr. Disraeli’s constituents)

who had asked for an explanation of the assertion made to the house

That they were intended to apply personally to Mr Gladstone cannot be safely assumed, but that a good many people did so apply them can scarcely be doubted

The argument, that if the proposed plans for disestablishment should be adopted, nearly two-thirds of the property of the Irish Church would remain in the hands of its ministers, and that they would be placed in a position as free as those of any dissenting body in England, probably had some effect Lord Stanley's amendment was lost by a majority of 61 The motion for going into committee was gained by a majority of 56, among whom were five Conservatives, seven Liberals voting against it The majority in a house where only 33 votes were wanting was larger than had been anticipated The Liberal party was remarkably united Large meetings were held in various parts of the country, one at St James's Hall, at which Earl Russell presided, was considered of great importance

It may be mentioned that, in opposition to the proposed measure, various personal accusations were brought against Mr Gladstone, to the effect, that when at Rome he made arrangements with the pope to destroy the church establishment in Ireland, and to make other changes, he being a Roman Catholic at heart that he had publicly condemned all support to the clergy in the three kingdoms from church or public funds that when at Balmoral he refused to attend her majesty at Crathie Church that he received the thanks of the pope for his proceedings respecting the Irish Church that he was a member of a High Church ritualistic congregation "These statements, one and all," wrote Mr Gladstone, in a letter to the public journals, "are untrue in letter and in spirit, from the beginning to the end."

The Easter vacation arrived, and the measures which were to have been brought forward by the government were suspended When the house again met some of the business was pushed on, the budget was brought forward, the results of the Abyssinian war were announced, and the ministry gave no

sign of their intentions After eleven nights' discussion a division took place on Mr Gladstone's first resolution, and the majority against the government was 65 Mr Disraeli then stated that this vote of the committee altered the relations between the government and the house After an adjournment the house was informed that he had waited on the queen and tendered the resignation of the ministry, at the same time advising her majesty, that though the representatives of the existing constituencies were, no doubt, as morally competent to decide the question of the disestablishment of the Irish Church as the representatives of the new constituencies would be, it was the opinion of ministers that efforts should be made to appeal to the new constituencies

The position was this. If parliament were immediately dissolved the new elections would be those of the constituencies already existing, because the provisions of the new reform bill had not been brought into operation, the result of this would be that the new parliament would cease after a few months of existence Thus the ministry would be able to press forward government measures, with the alternative, that if they were defeated, an immediate dissolution would have the effect of necessitating two general elections within a very short period

The tactics of the ministry were condemned by the opposition as being unconstitutional, and it was contended, that after such obvious defeats they should have resigned without recommending a dissolution Much sharp questioning as to the statements made to the queen ensued, but it need scarcely be said that Mr. Disraeli was not led into admissions that would implicate the government He had, temporarily, what is commonly called "the whip hand" of the house, but though the ministry recorded their strong opposition to the two remaining resolutions on the Irish Church, no division took place, and both were carried.

It is no new experience, that when the Liberal party appears to be having all its own way it begins to fall asunder The reason is not far to seek The independence of thought which is its boast is often fatal to that cohesion,

we might even say to that loyalty to its leaders, which is essential to secure the success of measures which it has been most earnest in promoting

No sooner had Mr Gladstone's resolutions been carried than a Scotch member, Mr Aytoun, persisted in proposing, as a distinct supplementary provision, that the Maynooth grant and the Regium Donum should be discontinued. The grant to the Irish College of Maynooth had been a well-gnawed bone of contention for many years, because the extreme Protestants of the house had grumbled over it during successive sessions, contending that it was in effect an endowment of the Romish Church. It had been originally conceded as a contribution towards the secular education of youths who were intended for the Irish priesthood, and who would, therefore, be teachers of the people. The question, it was argued, lay between helping them to acquire the knowledge that would enable them to be intelligent members of society, or leaving them almost as ignorant as the people over whom they were to exert not only spiritual but social influence. These were the grounds on which the grant was defended, and its appropriation was, at all events to some extent, guarded in accordance with the principle on which it had been voted, but the very fact of giving money for the support of a Roman Catholic college was regarded by many as a direct encouragement of Papacy.

The Regium Donum had existed from the time of Charles II, and was a grant of money from the crown for the support of Presbyterian ministers in Ireland. James II discontinued it, but it was revived by William III, who made it a charge upon the customs of Belfast.

In vain did Mr Gladstone explain that both these grants would be dealt with when the whole scheme was under consideration. Mr Aytoun and those who agreed with him refused to leave the matter to any general arrangement. The house was in an uproar. Amidst the shouts and exclamations of contending disputants the occupants of the ministerial benches departed and left their opponents to fight it out. Amidst continued

yells and violent denunciations Mr Disraeli returned, and sardonically observed that it was just what he had expected, the gentlemen on the opposite side were quarrelling *over their booty*. The sarcasm added another discordant element to the scene, and at last, with considerable difficulty, a rider was added to the propositions, that when legislative effect should be given to the first resolution it would be right and necessary that the grant to Maynooth and the Regium Donum should be discontinued, due regard being had to all personal interests.

The amount represented by these two grants was about a million and a quarter.

The position which the ministry had taken had its effect in urging the house to deal promptly with deferred bills. The navy estimates, three months overdue, were passed, and it was necessary to hurry the Scotch Reform Bill before the dissolution. It was proposed to increase the number of members of parliament in order to give Scotland a fair share in the representation; but there was a general impression that there were already too many members, and Mr Baxter moved that before the house went into committee on the bill there should be an instruction to the committee that they should have power to disfranchise English boroughs which the census returns of 1861 showed had fewer than 5000 inhabitants. This would disfranchise ten boroughs, and was in direct opposition to Mr Disraeli's declaration that the reform bill of 1867 would not disfranchise a single borough. Sir R. Knightley therefore moved that the ten seats required for Scotland should be obtained by taking a seat from every borough whose population was below 12,000, a motion which Mr Disraeli warmly supported. On the division this motion was defeated by 217 votes to 196, and a subsequent proposition made by Mr Bouverie, that the rate-paying clauses should be struck out as regarded Scotland, was also passed by a majority of 22 votes. This decision was declared by Mr Disraeli to affect the principle of the Reform Act, and was corrected by a compromise founded on a resolution that no elector in Scotland should be allowed to exercise the franchise who was

not rated to the poor, and had not paid his rates

The Irish Reform Bill and other measures were rapidly pushed onward, one of them being the Bribery Bill, which was settled by reverting to the original proposition that the jurisdiction of the house over bribery cases should be transferred to the judges. The bill enabling the government to purchase the electric telegraphs from various private companies who were then working them, also passed through the house.

On the last day of July parliament was prorogued, and preparations were made for an appeal to the new constituencies, though the actual dissolution and the commencement of the elections did not take place till November.

The exertions on both sides were strenuous, and the excitement of the election was very great—for it was to test the sentiments of the country with regard to the two great parties of the state, and the question had to be decided how far some of the new constituencies would go in the direction of modern Radicalism. It was almost universally recognized that Mr Gladstone, as leader of the Liberals, had entered upon a policy which would involve widely-reaching measures and many important changes, for which timid politicians or those who sought shelter under the title of "Liberal-Conservatives" were not prepared. The Conservatives were active, and their plans were organized with considerable attention to those points of the contest by which they might obtain the most advantage. They had carried the war into the country of their foremost opponent, and though, in South-west Lancashire, when Mr Gladstone appeared at the hustings, there appeared to be a great majority in his favour, and he called with some confidence upon his former constituents, he was defeated at the poll on the following day, two Conservatives, Mr Cross and Mr Turner, being elected, the former by 7729 and the latter by 7676 votes, while Mr Gladstone, though he had preponderating numbers among the Liverpool electors, polled only 7415, and Mr Grenfell, the other Liberal candidate, 6939. The probability of such a result had been foreseen by others, though it would

appear not by Mr Gladstone himself, therefore without his solicitation, and without any expense to him, the Liberal electors of Greenwich had put him in nomination along with Mr Alderman Salomons, and he had already been elected as their representative by 6551 votes, Mr Salomons polling 6645, and the two Conservatives 4661 and 4342 respectively.

The result of the general elections proved that the Liberals had the national voice in their favour. At the same time there were some remarkable changes with regard to the public estimate of former Liberal representatives, and still more remarkable evidences, that the new constituencies had their own opinions of certain aspirants for parliamentary honours, and understood the difference between the real and supposed claims of those candidates who sought to represent the working-classes.

Among former Liberal representatives who were rejected was Mr John Stuart Mill. He failed in the endeavour to resume his former place, and was defeated by Mr W H Smith, a gentleman of education and of moderate Conservative opinions, who, as the head of a firm of news-venders and booksellers, had achieved considerable commercial success by having obtained from most of the principal railway companies concessions enabling him to place stalls on the various station-platforms for the sale of books and newspapers.

There were several indications that Mr Mill was not to be numbered with the popular representatives. With a philosophical simplicity, which may perhaps be regarded as a want of judgment, he recommended other candidates to other constituencies, and none of them were returned. In former pages we have had something to say about Mr Mill's peculiar training and education, and probably he was a little too much of the philosopher for his former constituents. He was thought to be "viewy"—to have political crotchets which were all very well as cold theories, but would not bear the test of practical experience. Some of these "crotchets," like "women-suffrage" and women's title to independence, have since come from the region of mere theory, and are substantial or imminent questions.

If the people of Westminster had grown tired of Mr Mill, the people of Sheffield appeared to have been offended by some of the utterances of Mr Roebuck, who certainly seldom concealed his opinions for the sake of propitiating anybody in or out of parliament. His pugnacity seemed to have increased with years, or, at all events, it had taken the form of frequent displays of what seemed like irritability, and the nickname of "Tear-'em" which had been applied to him was supposed to express his honest irrepressible tendency to go at anybody or anything opposed to his own convictions or even his own prejudices, and to worry and bark at supposed abuses, as a terrier does when he has a suspicion of rats. True to his convictions, he had with his usual courage dared to oppose the trades-unions, and strong in his prejudices, he had displayed bitter antagonism to the Northern cause during the American war. The Sheffield voters rejected him, and elected Mr Mundella, who very soon took an eminently useful part in some of the most beneficial work of successive parliaments. Sir Wentworth Dilke, who had represented Wallingford, failed to regain his seat, but his son (Charles Dilke) was returned for Chelsea. Mr Milner-Gibson was defeated at Ashton-under-Lyne, and made no further effort to get into parliament. He had done good service to the state in the great battle for free-trade and afterwards, and was entitled to retire from public life. Mr Bernal Osborne, whose sallies had so often roused and amused the house, and whom Dr Gifford, when editor of the *Standard* newspaper, had happily named "the stormy petrel of debate," was among the rejected, but was afterwards returned to parliament. Mr Lowe, as we have already noted, was returned as the first representative for the University of London.

One of the most marked contests was that between Lord Hartington and the younger son of Lord Derby—we might almost say between the houses of Cavendish and Stanley—for North Lancashire. Mr Frederick Stanley was the successful candidate by a large majority, and it was only some months afterwards that Lord Hartington obtained a seat for the Radnor boroughs, and was included

in the new ministry formed by Mr Gladstone.

It was very significant that those who professed to found their claims on being eminently fitted to uphold working-class interests were unmistakably rejected. Mr Ernest Jones, Mr Mason Jones, even Mr Beales, were not acceptable, and Mr Odger, an actual working-man of no little ability, was not successful in commanding the suffrages of his fellow craftsmen.

The social and political aspect of the House of Commons was not much changed, but there had been a remarkable transposition of members. In several places which had formerly been conspicuous for Radical opinions, Conservatives had achieved the greatest success. The county of Lancaster had returned eight Conservatives, representing the whole of the divisions of the county, and in some of the towns equally unexpected changes had taken place. There could be no question, however, that the aggregate increase of Liberalism was equally remarkable. In the boroughs there were only 95 Conservative members returned as against 214 Liberals, while in Scotland the Liberal votes were overwhelming, the Conservatives taking only 7 county seats against 23, and receiving none in the burghs. An analysis of the election of 1868 showed the total Liberal vote in England and Wales was 1,231,450, the Conservative, 824,057—majority, 407,393. The total Liberal vote in Scotland was 123,410, the Conservative, 23,391—majority, 100,019, a few additions for undecided votes making the majority slightly greater. The total Liberal vote in Ireland was 53,379, the Conservative, 36,082—majority, 17,297. Thus there was a gross Liberal vote of 1,408,239, and a gross Conservative vote of 883,530, leaving a majority in favour of the Liberals of 524,709. But it is to be noted that the 92 constituencies gained by the Liberals throughout the elections contained a population of 6,611,950, while the 69 won by the Conservatives contained only a population of 5,177,534, leaving a balance on the side of the Liberals of 1,434,416. There were no fewer than 227 out of the whole number of members

returned who had no seat in the previous parliament, being upwards of one-third of the entire House of Commons

The situation of the Conservative government was so obvious that Mr Disraeli announced the resignation of ministers without waiting for the verdict of the house. On the 4th of December Mr Gladstone was summoned to receive the queen's command to form a new ministry. On the 9th he had completed it, and had succeeded in persuading Mr Bright (who was still disinclined to hold office) to accept the position of president of the Board of Trade. For no other minister than Mr Gladstone would he have consented to become a member of the cabinet, and he felt it necessary to assure his constituents in words of much pathos and evident sincerity that he should neither change his sentiments nor sacrifice his strong convictions because of his association with the ministry, though it might be necessary for him to abstain from the expression of independent opinions for the purpose of maintaining the united action which would be essential to the maintenance of the government. In fact Mr Bright did not altogether abstain from taking independent ground outside the cabinet, but he felt that with Mr Gladstone at the helm, and having in view that legislation for Ireland which they had both so earnestly advocated, he could not refuse to strengthen the Liberal policy by accepting a place in the ministry.

Lord Clarendon was foreign secretary, Lord Granville secretary for the colonies, Mr Bruce, home secretary, and to the calm and methodical Mr Cardwell was committed the war secretaryship, an office in which he had to carry out important measures of army reform. The Duke of Argyll was secretary for India, Lord Hatherly (Sir Wilham Page Wood), a staunch Liberal, became lord-chancellor, the Earl of Kimberley, lord privy seal, and Mr Childers first lord of the admiralty. Lord Dufferin had a place in the ministry as chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Earl Spencer became lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with Mr Chichester Fortescue as chief secretary. The Marquis of Hartington was made postmaster-general, and Mr Lowe chancellor of the exchequer, an experiment the consequences

of which will be briefly noted hereafter. On the whole it was a strong government and well organized, and it was popular. The fact of Mr Bright having become a direct coadjutor of the premier had great weight with those of the Liberal party who looked forward to decisive measures for the satisfaction of Irish claims.

In an address to his constituents at Greenwich Mr Gladstone sounded the note of advance, not only with regard to the question of the Irish Church, Irish education, and the tenure of land in Ireland, but in other matters with which he knew that the government would have to deal promptly and decisively. The Irish Church came first. Amidst a storm of violent abuse, invective, and denunciation uttered at public meetings by noblemen, leading Orangemen, bishops, and clergy, as well as by his opponents in parliament, he braced himself to the task of bringing forward the complete scheme, of which his resolutions had been the intimation. "We confide," said the premier, "in the traditions we have received of our fathers, we confide in the soundness both of the religious and of the civil principles that prevail, we confide in the sacredness of that cause of justice in which we are engaged, and with that confidence and persuasion we are prepared to go forward."

On the 1st of March, 1869, he rose to bring forward the scheme which had been proposed. For three hours the dense crowd which filled the benches, the galleries, and every point from which he could be heard, listened with almost breathless interest.

A speech full of detail, full of strong appeal, but a speech, so Mr Disraeli said, in which there was not a redundant word.

The scheme provided that the existing Ecclesiastical Commission should cease, and that a new commission should be appointed for ten years in which the property of the Irish Church should be vested (making provision for life interests) from the time of the passing of the bill. This new commission was to be appointed immediately after the passing of the bill, so that disendowment would practically commence at once. The Irish Church would in effect be made a free Episcopal Church, and

during the transitional period no new vested interests were to be created

Disestablishment would commence on the 1st of January, 1871 (unless the date should for sufficient reasons be altered by the government), when the union between the churches of England and Ireland would be dissolved. The Irish Church would cease to be recognized by the state, all Irish ecclesiastical courts would be abolished, and ecclesiastical laws would remain only provisionally in force, not as laws, but as a voluntary compact between clergy and laity until they should be altered by the governing body of the disestablished church—a kind of synod elected to represent the clergy and laity and recognized by the queen in council as a duly constituted representative body to be legally incorporated. The crown was to resign the right to appoint Irish bishops, and Irish bishops would no longer sit in the House of Lords.

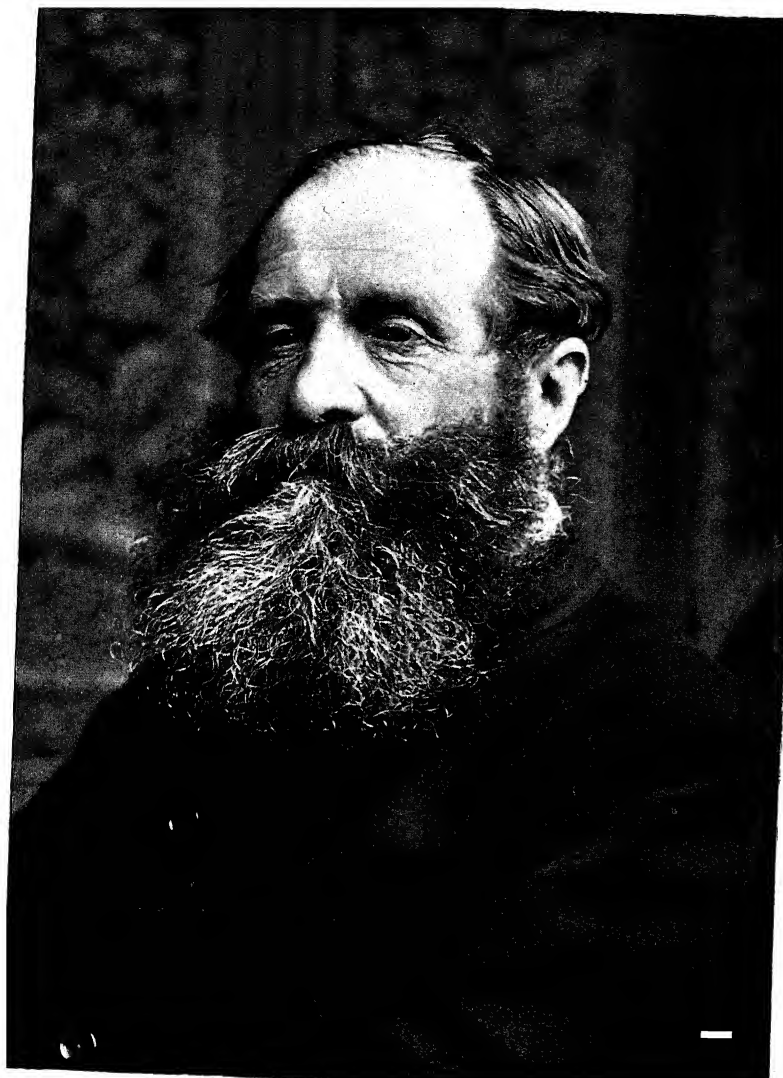
In the interval between the passing of the act and the date of January 1st, 1871, and during the reorganization of the church, appointments were to be made to spiritual offices, but they were not to carry with them the freehold or confer vested interests. In the same manner appointments would be made to vacant bishoprics, but only on the prayer of the bishops to consecrate a particular person to a vacancy, and these appointments would carry with them no vested interests and no rights of peerage. Crown livings vacant during the same period would be filled up on similar principles.

This was the plan for disestablishment. That for disendowment was more complicated, and its practical settlement would be more difficult, since the titles to many of the claims that would be made were intricate. There were vested interests of incumbents, including bishops and dignitaries as well as beneficed clergy, receiving certain annuities from the property of the church, and the commissioners would ascertain the amount of each incumbent's income, deducting what he paid for curates. Such incumbent might then either continue to receive the annuity as long as he continued to discharge the duties or might have it commuted into an annuity for life.

Permanent curates, or those who had been employed in the same parish from January 1, 1869, to January 1, 1871, or had left their employment not from their own free-will, or through misconduct, would be entitled to the same kind of compensation as the incumbent, and such compensation would be paid by the incumbents. "Transitory" curates were to be dismissed with a gratuity. Private endowments arising from money contributed from private sources since the year 1660, and not including churches and glebe house, would not be touched, and would be the only marketable property conveyed to the church. Glebe houses were not marketable property, for though there could be traced an expenditure of £12,000,000 upon them their annual value was only £18,600, and there was a quarter of a million of building charges upon them which the state would have to pay on coming into possession. If the governing body paid the building charges they might acquire the glebe houses and could purchase glebe land at a fair valuation.

When the proposed governing body made an application, and declared that they intended either to maintain any church for public worship or to remove it to some more convenient position, it would be handed over to them. Churches not in use and incapable of being restored for purposes of worship would be handed over to the Board of Works, with an allocation of funds sufficient for their maintenance. The burial-grounds adjoining churches would go with the churches, all existing rights being preserved, and other burial-grounds would be transferred to the guardians of the poor.

Presbyterian ministers, recipients of the *Regium Donum*, would be compensated on the same principles as the incumbents of the disestablished church. In these cases and with respect to the grant to Maynooth there would be a valuation of all the interests at 14 years' purchase of the capital amount annually voted. An elaborate scheme for the final extinction of the tithe rent charge in 45 years, provided that landlords would be allowed, if they chose, to purchase it at 22½ years' purchase, and if they did not accept the offer,



JOHN POYNTZ SPENCER
FIFTH EARL SPENCER

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIOTT & FRY, LONDON

they would come under another and a general operation. There would be a compulsory sale to them of the tithe rent charge, at a rate which would yield $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and, on the other side, they would be credited with a loan at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, payable in instalments in 45 years. The power of purchase would remain in the hands of the tenants for three years after the passing of the act, and it was also proposed that the tenants should have a right of pre-emption of all lands sold by the commission, and that three-fourths of the purchase-money might be left on the security of the land.

The following were the particulars of the expected results—The tithe rent charge would yield £9,000,000, lands and perpetuity rents, £6,250,000, money, £750,000—total, £16,000,000, the present value of the property of the Irish Church. Of this the bill would dispose of £8,650,000, viz vested interests of incumbents, £4,900,000, curates, £800,000, lay compensation, £900,000, private endowments, £500,000, building charges, £250,000, commutation of the Maynooth grant and the Regium Donum, £1,100,000, and expenses of the commission, £200,000. Consequently, there would remain a surplus of between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000, and the question then arose, "What shall we do with it?" Mr Gladstone held it to be indispensable that the purposes to which the surplus was applied should be Irish. Further, they should not be religious, although they must be final, and open the door to no new controversy. Government proposed to apply the surplus to the relief of unavoidable calamities and suffering not provided for by the poor-law. The sum of £185,000 would be allocated for lunatic asylums, £20,000 a year would be awarded to idiot asylums, £30,000 to training schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind, £15,000 for the training of nurses, £10,000 for reformatories, and £51,000 to county infirmaries—in all, £311,000 a year. Mr. Gladstone claimed that by the provision of all these requirements they would be able to combine very great reforms, and they would also be in a better condition for inviting the Irish landlord to accede to a change in the county cess, as they were able

to offer by this plan a considerable diminution in its burden.

The debate was characterized by eloquent speeches from both sides. Mr. Gladstone had scarcely ever approached, and has never exceeded the magnificent effort which he made on that occasion, an effort which received the admiration and encomiums even of his opponents. Mr. Disraeli's contribution to the discussion was witty, brilliant, and telling, but there were evidences, that though he professed to offer unyielding opposition, he spoke under the conviction that the measure would be triumphantly carried. He spoke of the title of the church being stronger than that of any other landlord, and called disendowment spoliation, if it were effected without reason, and confiscation whether the reason were valid or not; but when he came to apply the argument he used suggestions and illustrations which were afterwards spoken of as being conspicuously illogical and delusive, especially when he pictured one set of landless Irish gentry demanding, from no other motive than jealousy, the confiscation of the estates of those who were more fortunate, or the unendowed hospitals of London claiming the revenues of St Bartholomew's, Guy's, or St Thomas's.

Mr. Bright brought to the debate the influence of his incisive statements and his great eloquence. He said, "I observe honourable gentlemen talk of the Protestants of Ireland as being one-fourth of the whole population—of being a million and a half. All that is fanciful exaggeration. According to the census the Episcopalians are not more than 700,000, and let honourable gentlemen bear this in mind, when the census enumerators go round, if a man is not a Catholic or a Presbyterian, he is put down, unless he can state he is of some other sect, as an Episcopalian. And judging from what we know there must be out of the 700,000 a considerable number who never go to church, and, politically or religiously, have no interest in it. Therefore, I believe, speaking correctly, it would not be possible to show that there are Episcopalians in Ireland in intimate connection with the Established Church to the amount of more than from 500,000 to 600,000."

"Now, this will not come to more than 100,000 families, that is, will not be very much more than the population of Liverpool, or Manchester, or Glasgow, so that, in point of fact, this question, which is held to be a revolution—this great question—affects only a population equal to that of the city of Glasgow, or of Liverpool, or of Manchester. And it is for a population so small as this, I am told—for I am not versed in computations of this kind,—you have no less than twelve bishops and archbishops, and that you have devoted for their service—for their religious services—not less than the annual income arising from a capital sum estimated to be, at least, ten or twelve millions sterling. Now, if their system of teaching is really very good, I must say there ought to be in Ireland a more perfectly moral and religious population among the Church Protestants than there is in any other country in the world. What, then, are we about to do? . . . If the house accept the advice of the majority sitting on this side what will be done? We are not going to commit any vital wrong upon that one city population of 500,000 or 600,000. . . . We shall leave them in as comfortable a position as the majority of the people of Scotland are in at this moment. We shall leave them as well off as eight or nine tenths of the population of Wales are; we shall leave them as well off as half, and not the least religious half, of the people of England are, we shall leave them as well off as the English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish people who form the population in our colonies, whether in North America or Australia. And what can be more monstrous than for gentlemen to come here from Ireland—and there may be some from England—and tell us we are bringing about a revolution, that we are committing an enormous oppression, that we are hazarding the loyalty of the people of the north of Ireland, when, after all, the most and worst which any of us proposes to do is that the church population of Ireland will be left at least as well off as any of the various populations of the empire I have just described? I hope honourable gentlemen opposite will be convinced that it is not a bottomless abyss we are going to plunge their friends into."

Mr Gladstone having replied to some of the chief objections brought against the bill, the house divided, and 368 votes were recorded in favour of the second reading, only 250 appearing against it. The majority showed not only that the Liberals could command a secure position, but that as a party they had become more completely organized. The bill had still to be discussed in committee, and legislation on other matters was sadly behindhand. The army and navy estimates were in arrear, the budget had to be brought forward, and the troubles caused by Fenianism in Ireland were so serious that it was feared another coercion bill would be necessary.

Mr Lowe brought forward his financial statement on the 8th of April, and though it provoked no enthusiasm it was eminently satisfactory. The reductions made (chiefly in military and naval expenditure) provided for the expenses of the past year, including the balance for the war in Abyssinia. This, however, left only £32,000 as a surplus, and the chancellor of the exchequer proposed a new plan of collecting taxes, transforming the assessed taxes into excise licenses payable at the beginning of the year, and making the income-tax, land-tax, and house duty payable in a single payment early in the year between January and April. This, it was calculated, would place at the disposal of the government £3,350,000, and make the actual surplus of the year £3,382,000, which would enable them to take a penny off the income-tax, abolish the shilling duty still remaining on corn, and entirely remit the duty on fire insurance. There was to be some rearrangement and reduction of assessed taxes, an abolition of the licenses for the sale of tea, and the taxes on post-horses and hair-powder, and a reduction of the cab and carriage duties, these changes would come into operation during the current year, and a net amount would be left of about £442,000.

Meetings against the Irish Church Bill continued to be held not only in London but by its opponents in Ireland, where the speeches were often violent and scandalously vituperative against Mr Gladstone and the chief pro-

moters of the measure Threats of forcible opposition and outrage were frequently expressed by clergymen as well as laymen In parliament the discussions on the third reading were long and excited, but the division showed a majority of 114, and it then had to be sent up to the Lords

More meetings were held, and it was sought to defeat the measure on the second reading by the peers At one time this result seemed possible, and awkward rumours were heard Mr. Bright, in a letter addressed to a Birmingham meeting, had said that if the Lords persisted in thwarting the national intentions they might "meet with accidents not pleasant for them to think of" This was, of course, considered to be very indiscreet language for a cabinet minister to use, but Mr Bright, in pursuance of his usual personal independence, had not spoken as a cabinet minister, though, perhaps, the indiscretion remained At any rate the words he used seem to have produced some effect Some of the newspapers hinted (apparently without authority) that the expedient of creating a number of new peers might be adopted Probably a great majority of the Lords did not for a moment contemplate a rejection of the bill, though there were some among them who did so Lord Derby lifted up his voice in the house for the last time in speaking against a measure the operation of which he did not live to contemplate Lord Cairns was one of its most powerful opponents, but he foresaw that it must be accepted, and therefore set himself to secure such amendments in committee as would, he thought, help to neutralize its effects This was the course recommended by the Duke of Richmond, and ultimately followed On the Episcopal bench the Archbishop of Canterbury, though he could not approve of the bill, spoke with great moderation. Other prelates were more emphatic in their opposition One striking exception was the eminent Dr Thirlwall, Bishop of St David's, the scholar and historian, who had once been at the chancery bar, and who was as much admired as a scholar and an orator as he was respected for his character He declared that the vain and superstitious notion that church property was

in any sense divine, or that material offerings might be accepted by the Most High as supplying some want of the divine nature, was heathenish. Miss Burdett Coutts's market at Spitalfields was as religious a work as Mr Guinness's restoration of Dublin Cathedral He was as eager as any one for Protestant ascendancy, but ascendancy of a religious, moral, and intellectual character, the ascendancy of truth and reason over error Of that ascendancy he did not believe the Irish Church to be a pillar He had no fear of, because no belief in, the power of the pope Everywhere he saw it on the decline, and a serious blow would be dealt at it in Ireland by removing a grievance which gave the priesthood an artificial hold on the sentiment of the people

On the other hand, Dr Magee, the new Bishop of Peterborough, attacked the bill by a slashing onslaught which elicited considerable applause from those who agreed with him Neither of the English archbishops voted, but the Archbishop of Dublin voted against the bill, which was supported by the solitary vote of Dr Thirlwall The Bishop of Oxford (Dr Wilberforce), though present, did not vote Thirteen English and two Irish bishops pronounced against the bill, while there were many absentees, including the Bishops of Carlisle, Exeter, Manchester, Salisbury, and Winchester

The second reading was carried by 179 against 146—majority for the bill, 33 This was the largest division in the House of Lords within living memory, no fewer than 325 peers having taken part in it. It eventually passed through committee by 121 votes to 114, and under a protest signed by Lord Derby and forty-three temporal and two spiritual peers. The amendments made in committee, however, were most of them rejected when the bill went back to the House of Commons, some of the proposed modifications and one or two alterations were accepted, and the bill was sent back. After much contention, a stormy discussion, and the application of some rather unparliamentary names to Mr Gladstone, an agreement was arrived at that a conference should be held between Lord Granville and Lord Cairns, the end of which was

that a compromise was effected, which Mr Gladstone said was a satisfactory settlement. Comparatively little change had been made. Mr Disraeli endorsed the compromise as a wise, well-considered, and conciliatory arrangement, and the bill became law by receiving the royal assent on the 26th of July.

The work of the "commissioners of the Church temporalities in Ireland" was not soon or easily accomplished. Not till the end of the year 1880 had they completed the task imposed on them by the Irish Church Act as far as it was possible without further legislation. Some remarkable facts appeared in their report respecting the life incomes commuted and the commutation money paid, including cases where 12 per cent bonus was allowed. The amount depended, of course, on the age of the holder. The net annual value of the Archbishopric of Armagh was £10,225, commutation money £88,442, Bishopric of Derry, annual value, £6847, commutation £111,867, Archbishopric of Dublin, £8845, commutation £93,045, Bishopric of Cork, £2485, commutation £18,500. The following were the net annual values of some of the benefices and the commutation—Clogherney, £1563, commutation £19,124, Louth, £1329, commutation £12,941, Carnteel, £1167, commutation £9469, Clones, £1290, commutation £13,298, Killoughory, £905, commutation £16,450; Cappagh, £1234, commutation £18,527, Carrigallen, £819, commutation £12,495. The least valuable benefice was Balcaddan, in the diocese of Dublin, which was worth only £4 a year, and was commuted for £47. Examples were given of the values of vicar-generalships and registrarships, which were held by laymen, and the sum for which they were commuted. The smallest income stated was that of the vicar-general of the dioceses of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, which was only £37, and the largest the registrarship of the province of Dublin, which was £1015. The others generally averaged about £400. All commutation monies were calculated at 3½ per cent, and the average of the lives of all the clergy at 109 years' purchase. The total number of ecclesiastical persons who com-

mutated up to the end of 1874 was 2282, their net incomes being £589,665, and the commutation money £7,546,005. The number of lay commutants was 2857, their net incomes being £33,060, and the commutation paid £454,700. The total paid under the compensation clauses, including all heads, was £11,343,703. The sales of all the property vested in the commissioners by the act realized £9,794,790, of which a sum of £3,362,648 was received in cash. The commissioners in January, 1881, had no actual balance in the nature of a surplus, but had instead an annual income, partly permanent, partly terminable, of £574,219.

For a short time members were able to take breath after the struggle on the Irish Church Bill, and some useful measures were pushed forward before parliament was prorogued. The exertions which he had undergone had affected Mr Gladstone's health. During the recess a meeting of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland was held in St Patrick's Cathedral to draw up a constitution suitable for the altered condition of the church. A "solemn protest" was issued against the recent act of the legislature, and a scheme was adopted for the formation of a church body from the clergy of each diocese to elect representatives varying in number, the total for Ireland being 124. One dean and one arch-deacon for each united diocese, and the regius professor of Divinity, Trinity College, were to be ex-officio members, the provost and fellows of the college returning one member, questions of doctrine and discipline were to be reserved for the bishops and clergy.

This was the movement made in reference to the act which had been passed for the redress of the first Irish grievance.

In relation to another which it was now sought to remove, the Catholic clergy had published a series of resolutions, adopted at a meeting in Maynooth College on the education and land questions, condemning the mixed system of education, demanding complete secular education on purely Catholic principles, a share of the funds of the royal and endowed schools, and a rearrangement of the Queen's College on the denominational system.

The meeting had added a general resolution expressing the belief, in which the majority of the people of this country agreed, that the settlement of the Irish land question was essential to the peace of the kingdom.

It was known that a land bill for Ireland would be brought in. It was inevitable that some considerable change should be made. Before the introduction of the church bill, even before Mr. Maguire's motion which preceded it, the necessity for dealing with both the land question and the church question had been discussed by leading members of the house, and notably by Mr. Bright, whose speeches both in and out of parliament were uttered without reserve, and with his usual emphasis even when he was addressing audiences of Irishmen. In the house he had declared—"All history teaches us that it is not in human nature that men should be content under any system of legislation, and of institutions such as exist in Ireland. You may suppress the conspiracy and put down the insurrection, but the moment it is suppressed there will still remain the germs of this malady, and from these germs will grow up as heretofore another crop of insurrection and another harvest of misfortune. And it may be that those who sit here eighteen years after this moment will find another ministry and another secretary of state ready to propose to you another administration of the same ever-failing and ever-poisonous medicine."

The house reassembled on the 8th of February, 1870, and on the 15th of February Mr. Gladstone brought forward his proposals. The work that lay before the government was almost appalling. There were other measures of great importance to be considered: bills for the improvement of the constitution and procedure of the superior legal tribunals, for settlement of the religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge, for regulating the application of large sums of money raised by local rates; for amending the beer and spirit licenses, for relieving the members of trade combinations from certain disabilities which prevented their joining in acts that were perfectly legal, and mutually beneficial, for improving the law of

succession to the estates of intestates, and for regulating merchant shipping. To endeavour to pass all these would be like attempting to drive six omnibuses abreast through Temple Bar, Mr. Bright said. Mr. Forster replied that the plan would be for the six omnibuses to follow one another in safety. Probably he scarcely expected that all would get through, but he was just preparing to take the reins of one that required skilful coaching, namely, the Elementary Education Act, for which some preparation had been made by the Endowed Schools Act of the previous session.

But immediate and undivided attention was first called to the Irish Land Bill, and again the house was crowded to hear the exposition which Mr. Gladstone was ready to offer. He called attention to fallacies, such as that the land laws were the same in Ireland as in England, and ought therefore to produce the same results in both countries, that Ireland had been prospering for the last twenty years, and that the people had no occasion to exhibit feelings of discontent. With regard to this last item he showed that the rate of wages had not risen within the previous ten years, that the number of persons receiving poor relief had increased, the cost of subsistence had risen, and some of the most imprudent and violent interferences with the fixed usages of the country had occurred. The course of legislation for the past fifty years, though intended in a beneficial spirit, had possibly been detrimental to the interests of the occupiers. The Act of 1793 giving the franchise to Roman Catholics had induced the creation of 40s freeholds, and the abolition of the franchise in 1829 vastly extended the mischief, and, perhaps, under the circumstances of Ireland, the still greater mischief of mere yearly tenancy. The Encumbered Estates Act, which had since passed into the act for dealing with the sale of landed estates, by not protecting the improvements of the tenants, had operated as an extensive confiscation. Parliament also, during the previous half century, had completely changed the conditions of eviction against the tenants. Speaking broadly, Mr. Gladstone asserted that after we had been legislating for a century in favour of Ireland, it was a matter

of doubt whether, as far as the law was concerned, the condition of the occupier was better than before the repeal of the penal laws

The bill brought forward was of a decisive and comprehensive character. In the first place it proposed the enlargement of the power of the limited owner in regard both to lease and rate. Assistance was to be given by loans of public money to occupiers disposed and able to purchase the cultivated lands then in their occupation, where the landlords were willing to sell. Facilities would also be given to landlords, by means of loan, to prepare waste lands for occupation by the making of roads and the erection of necessary buildings, and to assist purchasers of reclaimed lands upon the security of the seller and buyer, or the provision of other security of an adequate nature. These transactions were to be managed by the Board of Works in Dublin. With regard to occupation, the new law was to be administered by a court of arbitration and a civil-bill court, with an appellate tribunal consisting of two, and in case of necessity three, judges of assize, the judges having power to reserve a case for a court for land causes in Dublin, to be composed of equity and common-law judges.

At that time there were four descriptions of holdings in Ireland, which Mr Gladstone thought it his duty to keep specially in view. The first of these was known as the Ulster custom. This custom, where it existed, the bill was to convert into a law, to which the new courts would give effect. The second class of holdings were those which prevailed under customs and usages other than that of Ulster; and these, too, were to be legalized, subject to the restriction, that the tenant might claim the benefit of them as an absolute right only in cases where he was disturbed in his tenancy by the act of his landlord, if he had not been evicted for non-payment of rent, and had not sublet or subdivided his holding without the landlord's consent. All arrears of rent and all damages done by the tenant to the farm might be pleaded by the landlord as a set-off, and the landlord might bar the pleading of any such custom if he chose to give his tenant a lease for not less than thirty-one years.

Where the buildings were not connected with any custom, there was to be a scale of damages for evictions. In the case of holdings above fifty pounds a year, the parties might contract themselves out of the scale of damages on the landlord giving a thirty-one years' lease, and undertaking to execute necessary improvements.

In cases of eviction the following was to be the scale of damages. If the holding was not valued in the public valuation over £10 a year the judge might award the holder a sum not exceeding seven years' rent, between £10 and £50 a year, a sum not exceeding five years' rent, between £50 and £100 a year, a sum not exceeding three years' rent, and above £100 a year, not exceeding two years' rent.

In addition to this the question of permanent buildings and the reclamation of land had to be dealt with.

For the purpose of promoting improvements, advances of money would be authorized to landlords, to enable them to defray any charge made against them in the way of improvement in the case of tenants retiring by an act of their own. The principle on which it was proposed to deal with improvements was, that they must have a rentable value, and be suitable to the holdings, and the burden of proof was to be laid on the landlords. In other words, improvements should be the work of the tenant, and the landlord should show that they were not necessary, and the measure was not to be limited to future improvements, but was to be extended to those already made. No claim would be allowed for any improvement made twenty years before the passing of the act, unless it was an improvement of the nature of a permanent building, or a reclamation of land, nor if the tenant held under an existing lease or contract which forbade it; and in the case of past improvements the court might take into consideration the terms for which, and the terms on which, they had already been enjoyed by the tenant. No claim would be allowed in respect of improvements contrary to a future contract voluntarily entered into by the tenant, and which were not required for the due cultivation of the farm.

As to lands under lease, a landlord might exempt his lands from being subject to any custom except the Ulster custom, provided that he agreed to give his tenant a lease for thirty-one years, but the lease must leave to the tenant at the close of that term a right to claim compensation under three heads—namely, tillages and manures, permanent buildings, and reclamation of lands

From the moment the bill was passed every Irishman was to be absolutely responsible for every contract into which he entered. Non-payment of rent would be held as a bar to any claim on the landlord, reserving, however, discretion to the courts in certain cases. Notices to quit were to be for twelve months instead of six, and to date from the last day of the current year, and the notice must have a stamp duty of two shillings and sixpence.

The bill also proposed to deal with the question of the county cess, which it would assimilate to the poor-rate. In every new tenancy it would have to be paid in moieties by landlord and tenant, as the poor-rate was then paid, and in every old tenancy under £4 a year the occupier was to be at once relieved.

Such were the principal provisions of the bill. Mr Gladstone, in concluding his explanation, said that the government were far from believing it to be a perfect measure, and invited in thorough good faith the co-operation of all parties to make it as nearly perfect as possible, for their desire was that it should become a great gift to Ireland, and be the means of putting an end to the grievances and sufferings that had so long been associated with the tenure of land in that country. "I am sanguine," said Mr Gladstone, "in the hope that it will pass, not as the triumph of a party, but as a great work of good-will for the common good of our common country, and that its result will be to diffuse the blessings of peace, order, and industry over a smiling land."

Mr Gathorne Hardy, acting for Mr Disraeli, seemed disposed to receive the proposed measure in a more frank and friendly manner than was afterwards displayed by his chief, who, touching upon the various objections which had

been taken, wound up by saying that a more complicated, or more clumsy, or a more heterogeneous measure, had never been brought before parliament. He ended in his satirical vein, ridiculing the proposed tribunals for settling claims, and wound up with the advice to the house to decide in a becoming manner upon the matters to be brought under their consideration.

Of course there was a strong opposition, especially on the part of some Irish landlords, who regarded as revolutionary the changes which gave the tenant an interest in the land. They virtually argued that land was either a privileged possession or a commodity for freedom of contract. Mr Gladstone had pointed out, that though the general effect of the measure might be to impose the possibility of an immediate loss on the landlord, he would not be ultimately a loser. There was a huge fund of national wealth in the soil of Ireland yet undeveloped. By imparting a stimulus to the agriculture of the country the price of labour also would be raised because of the increased demand for strong arms to carry on the necessary work. On the second reading a division was insisted on by a few members who had determined to vote against it. Mr. Disraeli and all but four or five Conservatives went into the lobby with the government, and a minority of only eleven (chiefly Irish members who were not satisfied with the proposed changes) were left to make their demonstration. In the course of the bill there were three hundred notices of amendments, since such a movement in favour of Ireland was calculated to arouse demands in the interests of English tenants. Every clause of the bill was jealously examined. When it went to the Lords, final amendments were proposed, but ultimately, without any serious alteration, it passed both houses, and received the royal assent on the 1st of August.

To Mr Forster as vice-president of the council fell the arduous duty of dealing with the subject of National Education, a question which at intervals during nearly the whole period with which these pages have been occupied had repeatedly been discussed, though even the approximate settlement of it had been

frustrated because of the apparent impossibility of reconciling the demands of the various religious bodies. By certain sections of Non-conformists and Dissenters it had been argued that the state had no claim to introduce or to support religious instruction, and that, therefore, no state aid should be given to schools of any religious denomination, that the rates contributed by Roman Catholics, Protestants of all denominations, Jews, and persons of no religious persuasion whatever, should not be devoted in any degree to the teaching of tenets to which the contributors were opposed, and that those schools alone should receive grants for their support in which the teaching was strictly secular. Many speakers represented that the larger part of the state-aided schools had for years been under the influence, or wholly under the control of the clergy of the Established Church, and that numbers of persons who had conscientious objections to sending their children to be taught doctrines from which they themselves differed, were compelled to avail themselves of schools supported by voluntary contributions, or of private schools of an inferior class where the teaching was inadequate.

These "genuine non-cons," as they were sometimes called by their admirers, did not, of course, object to the teaching of religion, but they opposed its introduction into any national system of education in elementary schools, contending that it was the duty of the schoolmaster or schoolmistress in such institutions to impart only secular instruction, religious teaching being left to the ministers of religion, the parents, or the conductors of Sunday-schools.

It is no part of our present purpose to discuss the question how far it is possible to give lessons in history, or to carry on the education of children at all, without some kinds of appeal, in which an extreme analysis might discover religious doctrine, but it may be mentioned at once that a very large number of those who strongly objected to the introduction of what may be called dogmatic or denominational teaching did not insist on the entire exclusion of Scripture reading, nor oppose references by the teacher to those sanctions

which are acknowledged by most religious sects. The necessity was, they thought, to secure the schools against any ordination of denominational teaching, or even religious teaching, as a part of the regular instruction for which aid was given by rates or government grants, and to provide "a conscience clause," by which parents might obtain for their children the full benefit of the secular instruction without being compelled to keep them at school during the reading of Scripture or any other observance which could be reasonably regarded as religious teaching.

Again, however, there were large numbers of persons belonging to various religious bodies, who were unable to believe that there could be any true or effectual teaching at all which did not include, and even depend upon, that religious influence which, they contended, could alone make it of real worth.

These were the conditions under which the "Elementary Education Act" was brought forward, and the chief difficulty against which it had to contend was the resistance of those uncompromising Nonconformists, of whom Mr. Richard (representing the Welsh dissenters), Mr. Miall, and Mr. Dixon were regarded as the champions. The difficulty was increased by the fact that these gentlemen had been firm supporters of Liberal measures.

Nearly everybody agreed that something should be done. In agricultural districts the church schools had held some sort of authority, but the actual amount of secular teaching was often so meagre that the children were committed to an unintelligible routine which left them ignorant even of the elements of education. In the large towns, such as Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, and Liverpool, to say nothing of London, there were hosts of children between the ages of three and thirteen who received scarcely any primary instruction at all. In Leeds only 19,000 out of 58,000 were at school, in Manchester 25,000 out of 60,000, in Liverpool 30,000 out of 90,000, in Birmingham 26,000 out of 83,000. In London it was not easy to estimate the amount of ignorance, for though free schools, parochial schools, and so-called national schools provided a very defective and inadequate elementary

education for a large number, there was a vast horde of neglected and destitute children who roamed the streets and appeared to be without parental care or responsible guardianship, while a still larger number were either kept in ignorance because they were able even in infancy to contribute to the family support, or only occasionally attended the "ragged" or evening schools provided by the voluntary efforts of benevolent subscribers and unpaid teachers. No system was in existence possessing the controlling power or the settled resources which alone could ensure even the primary instruction of the poorer class of children. Nearly every church and chapel seemed to make an effort to provide day-schools or infant schools, many of which languished for want of funds and employed inefficient teachers, who frequently had to perform their duties in buildings not only inadequate but dangerously unhealthy. In many schools which claimed and received grants of money the conditions were so hopelessly unsatisfactory that various expedients had to be adopted to secure the attendance of a sufficient number of children to obtain external support, while in some cases endowments were misapplied, and funds originally intended for the maintenance of an efficient foundation had been diverted, either because there were few poor inhabitants remaining in the district, or because there was no authority which could compel the parents to avail themselves of the teaching provided for their children, even if it had been in accordance with modern requirements.

The provision of the means of education was not the chief difficulty. The problem was how to overcome the indifference of parents, and to compel them to take advantage of such a provision. How could the vast number of boys and girls, amounting to two-thirds of the juvenile population, be brought under instruction? In large towns, and especially in London, destitute, neglected, and apparently friendless children formed a phalanx which appalled benevolence, and dismayed the administrators of justice. Boys and girls, untaught and uncared for, were to be seen in the large thoroughfares as well as in byways and slums, some of them making pre-

tences of selling matches or sweeping crossings, others begging or haunting the doors of eating-houses and taverns, many of them hanging about the markets to seize upon the refuse, or to pilfer from the stalls. What were known as "the dark arches of the Adelphi," that series of arches which ran along the river bank at the upper part of the Strand, and spanned the steep lanes and alleys leading to remote and mostly solitary wharves—were the resort of a horde of wretched children who slept there at night, and by day sallied forth starving, wretched, and with the scared cunning look of hunted creatures. The number of neglected children in London had been more than a disgrace and a reproach, it had become a terror and a danger for the future. Magistrates, because of the want of any regular provision, were unable to deal with prisoners whose heads (to use the phrase of police-court reporters) "scarcely reached above the level of the dock." To send them to prison was to brand them with the criminal mark, to promote their graduation in dishonesty and vice. Nor were the industrial schools, the schools providing for a comparatively small number of children convicted of offences against the law, much better than the prisons. The evil was, that no provision had been made for friendless, houseless boys or girls, except they had made themselves of some importance to the state by committing crime. The urchin who lacked food and shelter, but who had too much virtue or too little courage to pilfer from a shop-door, or from the back of a market cart, was an unconsidered fraction in the national estimate. Only by committing an offence against the law did he or she become an integer of some social importance—of sufficient importance to be arrested, charged at a police court, and sent somewhere to be fed and warmed and clothed, and taught,—what?—perhaps to become an habitual criminal by the artful communications of fellow-convicts, or by the difficulty of obliterating the prison taint. The Elementary Education Act aimed at remedying this condition of things, and to a certain extent it diminished the number of "gutter children," by directing its officers to seek out the parents and bring them under

the compulsory clauses which demanded that the children should be sent to school, but as a matter of fact, the schools which came to be established did not for a long time lay hold of this class. The actually homeless and destitute children they could not bring under instruction, for the provision of food and clothes came first, and there were no elementary breakfast and dinner tables. To voluntary efforts, which had chiefly grown out of the ragged-school movement, the most necessitous of the children of the large towns were left, and are left still. Industrial schools, however, now include refuges as well as reformatories. Crime is still regarded as a primary claim to participation in the advantages of schools where the reformatory system is adopted, and such schools are entirely apart from the provisions of the Elementary Education Act, but the school-boards, through their officers, make use of industrial schools for the purpose of rescuing children who are so friendless that they are not eligible for the board-schools. Like many of the institutions of this country, the two systems have come to work affinitively, though they differ so greatly that at first they appeared to be opposed in principle. The authorities of the board-schools, supported partly by rates, partly by government grants, and partly by fees paid by parents, soon discovered the value of schools originally founded by benevolent contributions, as refuges for the reception of the homeless and the destitute, and many of these institutions were made certificated industrial schools, supported partly by benevolent support, partly by the government grant—which is now in some instances their chief dependence.

While philanthropists were almost disheartened by the aspect of large towns, and especially of the metropolis, with regard to the condition of destitute children, there were agricultural districts in which no less stringent measures were needed to protect children employed in farm or field labour.

A commission of inquiry into the employments of women and children in 1865-66 had disclosed a large amount of suffering among a million and a half of young persons and

children, occupied in various manufactures and employments not coming under the regulations of the Factories Act. The details of the evidence elicited on the subject were so painful that bills were brought in to place all manufactures previously carried on without government inspection under regulations analogous to those under those acts. The sixth and final report of the commission, however, related to women, children, and young persons engaged in agriculture, and its revelations respecting the system of employing agricultural gangs, or companies of young persons and children of both sexes, in Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Nottinghamshire, and to some extent in Bedford, Rutland, and Northampton, were appalling.

Gang-masters,—mostly depraved and drunken ruffians,—were employed to provide field labour, and they did so by collecting from the surrounding villages, companies of boys, girls, and women—some of the children being mere infants, whom the parents, miserably poor, sent out with the rest for the sake of the few pence they could earn. The gang-masters had almost entire control of the children, for they alone could find them regular employment, and that employment could scarcely have found a parallel in negro slavery, for the gangs were driven to labour under conditions in some respects worse than those to which slaves on plantations were subject. Of children of eight years old, or even younger, and lads and girls of 14 or 15, or older, these gangs were composed, and the report on the evidence says—

“When the gangs are working at a considerable distance from home the children leave as early as five in the morning and do not return before eight at night, and the few who attend the Sunday-schools after the labours of the week are described as in a state of exhaustion which it is distressing to witness. A little boy only six years of age is stated to have regularly walked more than six miles out to work, and often to come home so tired that he could scarcely stand. Walking, the gang-masters themselves admit, is more trying to the children than working. When the gang

has a long distance to go the children become so exhausted, that the elder ones are seen dragging the younger ones home, sometimes carrying them on their backs. In winter the children often return from the fields crying from the cold. 'Last night,' said the mother of a little boy seven years of age, 'when my Henry came home he lay up quite stiff and cold, he is often very tired, and will fall down and drop asleep with the food in his mouth.' In some parts of the fen districts the children are compelled to jump the dykes, an exertion causing frequent accidents, and one poor girl died from the effects of an effort beyond her strength."

"It is a common practice for the gang-master to carry a stick or a whip, but rather, it is said, to frighten the children with than for use; but the treatment depends entirely upon his disposition. There is no control or possibility of control, for the children know that remonstrance would be immediately followed by expulsion from the gang, and the parents, having a pecuniary interest in their labour, would but too certainly shut their ears to any complaints. Instances are not uncommon of severe and lasting injuries having been inflicted by brutal gang-masters, and gross outrages, such as kicking, knocking down, beating with hoes, spuds, or a leather strap, 'dyking,' or pushing into the water, and 'gibbeting,' i.e. lifting a child off the ground and holding it there by the chin and the back of the neck, are said to be frequent."

The labour in the wet fields was dreadful, the worst being stone picking, at which exhausting toil children worked eight or nine hours a day, but turnip pulling was nearly as bad, and, indeed, the manner in which the work was often urged on by a brutal taskmaster had effects, which need not be repeated here, but were quite as serious as many of those recorded in the worst accounts of West India slavery.

The physical consequences were horrible enough, the moral consequences worse. In those mixed gangs of women, boys, and girls the depravity was beyond description. All purity, even the semblance of it, often disappeared. A policeman, speaking of the gangs in his

district, and especially of the gross immorality of the girls at an early age, said that although he had been employed for many years in detective duty in some of the worst parts of London, he never witnessed equal boldness and shamelessness, and that the obscenity of their conversation and of their songs was such as needed to be heard to be believed. And this was only a generation ago.

It was not till July, 1867, that a bill, brought in by the Earl of Shaftesbury, forbade the employment of girls of less than 13 years old in agricultural labour for hire, or the employment of women under 18 in public gangs. Yet there existed schools supported by voluntary subscriptions, and having no connection with the government, and schools aided by the state and under the control of the committee of the privy-council of education. There were Dissenting schools, Church schools, national schools, infant schools, there was an education department, administering a sum of money annually granted by parliament "to promote the education of children belonging to the classes who support themselves by manual labour." The means employed were to aid voluntary local exertion, to establish or maintain schools for the elementary instruction of children, or for training teachers in normal schools. The schools were to be in connection with some recognized religious denomination, or to include besides secular instruction the daily reading of the Scriptures from the Authorized Version. Aid was given to establish schools, and to support such as were open to inspection by appointed inspectors, upon whose reports the grants were made. There were thus building grants and annual grants.

Whatever may have been the endeavour to make these provisions into a system of national education, it had signally failed, or rather it had never approached success. On all hands it was felt that a wide and inclusive measure must be brought in, and the act introduced by Mr Forster was received with serious interest. It was, he explained, intended to secure by enactment efficient school provision in every district in England where it was wanted. The districts were to be the civil parishes. Any

district supplying a sufficient amount of primary secular instruction would be let alone so long as it continued to do so. Schools entitled to government aid were to be efficient according to a fixed standard, and compulsory inspection would be applied to every school without any denominational conditions, while the adoption of a conscience clause would be the condition of any grant, whether for building or any other purpose. The bill was calculated to establish a system of schools under the direction of school-boards throughout England and Wales, each board to have powers to frame bye-laws, and to compel the attendance of children in the district who were between five and twelve years of age.

The reference of the compulsory clause to the boards offended the extreme sticklers for absolute compulsion, the compromise of a conscience clause for some time alienated hard-and-fast advocates of secular education only, while a third party objected to the provision of funds by the mixed method of school fees, rates, and government grants for efficiency. Though free schools were to be provided in districts where the poverty of the inhabitants made gratuitous instruction necessary, there were some who advocated the provision of free education all round. We need not further discuss the questions which arose, many of which continued for some time after the vigorous exertions of the boards had multiplied schools with amazing rapidity. The first chairman of the London School-board was Lord Lawrence, whose powers of organization were well applied to this important work, and he was ably assisted by Sir Charles Reed, who, after the death of the famous Indian administrator, became chairman, and carried on the work with a vigour against which there were some remonstrances, though the answer was to be found in the statistics, published by the board, of the number of children still waiting to be received.

The government could not satisfy all the objections that were urged against the bill, and the Nonconformists afterwards showed their disaffection in a manner which contributed to the defeat of the government. Mr. Bright was absent from the house, suffer-

ing from a severe illness which for a time made it doubtful whether he would ever again be able to resume either ministerial or parliamentary duties, or he might have mitigated the wrath of those Nonconformists who demanded exclusively secular education.

Some particulars of the work which had been accomplished when the Elementary Education Act had been for ten years in operation, may do more to illustrate the working of the scheme than any general remarks upon the predictions which attended its introduction. We find by statistical returns in the report of the committee of council on education for 1881 that in the year ended August 31, 1881, the inspectors visited 18,062 day-schools in England and Wales, to which annual grants were made, these furnishing accommodation for 4,389,633 scholars, or rather more than one-sixth of the population. There were on the registers the names of 4,045,362 children, of whom 1,268,250 were under seven years of age, 2,573,081 between seven and thirteen, 157,584 between thirteen and fourteen, and 45,727 above fourteen. These figures show some improvement upon the returns quoted in the previous report, the accommodation having increased by 148,880 school places (or 3.51 per cent), and the scholars on the registers by 149,538 (3.84 per cent). The average attendance also had increased by 112,619 (4.09 per cent), and the number of children individually examined by 91,465 (4.8 per cent). The annual government grant to elementary day-schools rose in the year from £2,130,009 to £2,247,507, or from 15s 5½d to 15s 8½d per scholar in average attendance; while the grant for the current financial year was estimated at 16s per head. The number of voluntary schools was 14,370, with accommodation for 3,195,365, and an average attendance of 2,007,184; while the number of board-schools was 3692, with accommodation for 1,194,268, and an average attendance of 856,351. The expenditure per scholar in average attendance was for the whole of England and Wales £1, 14s 11½d in voluntary, and £2, 1s 6d in board schools. Of the latter the highest was London (£2, 15s. 10½d), and the lowest Hull (£1, 9s. 11d—1s. 9½d. lower

than the Roman Catholic, which are the lowest of the voluntary schools), whilst Bradford was £2, 6s 6d, Liverpool £2, 3s 3½d, Manchester £1, 19s 0½d, Birmingham £1, 18s 1¼d and Leeds and Sheffield both £1, 17s 5½d.

At the same time it was averred by those who were likely to be well informed that the system of estimating the true value of the teaching did not in all instances work satisfactorily. The National Union of Elementary Teachers was protesting against the over-pressure on scholars and teachers under the education code. It was stated that inspectors, school managers, and school-boards attached so much importance to the mere percentage of passes in the annual examinations, and made so little of the higher results of moral and intellectual training, or the quality of the passes, that teachers were compelled against their wish to adopt a cramming system, and to bring undue pressure upon dull and weak children in order to keep up the reputation of the schools and to maintain their professional position. The teachers implied that practically the code was based on the principle that all children can progress at the same rate, and that its provisions endangered the so-called "results" if such children were educated naturally. Special difficulties existed in girls' and infants' schools, where an inordinate amount of needlework was demanded from children of tender years in addition to the ordinary subjects of instruction. It was stated that the extra worry and labour caused by regulations in the code, might be greatly reduced by allowing the managers to withhold from examination, or to present again in the same standard, children not able by reason of dulness or bad attendance to advance at the average rate, such power not to extend beyond 10 per cent of those on the books for the last 22 weeks of the school year.

The final passing of the education bill concluded the session of 1870 so far as important measures were concerned. It may also be noted that an order in council directed that from the 31st of August appointments to the civil service of the state would be by competitive

examination. The announcement of the intended release of the Fenian prisoners undergoing sentences for treason or treason-felony, on condition that they should not remain in or return to the United Kingdom, was also an event which was regarded with considerable interest.

The Franco-German war—that terrible conflict which made Napoleon III a prisoner and an exile, and gave occasion for the King of Prussia to accomplish North German unity under his own empire—has its own history. It need bear no prominent part here, for it has little directly to do with the social and political progress of England, except, indeed, that our having remained strictly neutral was some evidence of our advance in wisdom and in judgment. The greatest anxiety of the government was for Belgium, and it was much increased, while public suspicion was excited, by the publication in the *Times* of an alleged draft treaty between Count Bismarck and M. Benedetti, when the latter was French minister at Berlin. This treaty was obviously intended to secure Belgium to France. The matter was serious, but Mr Gladstone preserved a calm and moderate attitude, while waiting for explanations from the French and Prussian governments. Count Bismarck, it appeared, had published the document to show what kind of proposal had been made, and by that means to secure the alliance of England and Belgium. All that Mr Gladstone did when France first denied and then admitted that the document was authentic, was to ask for two millions of money and an increase in the army of 20,000 men. His desire was to remain on friendly terms with the antagonists, that England might take the earliest occasion (should it arise), either alone or with others, to bear a message of peace. This was in accordance with the general feeling of the country, and a new treaty was signed between Russia, France, and England, engaging to maintain the independence of Belgium as provided in the treaty of 1839.

As the war between France and Prussia went on there appeared to be a peculiar

change in public feeling here, and though after the siege of Paris, where the inhabitants had suffered dreadful privations, we were prompt in sending relief to the famished people, something like adulation was heard in reference to German prowess. For a time German tactics, German promptitude, German organization were the foremost topics of conversation, and perhaps deservedly so, and then in relation to our own board-school teaching, the German method of education was everywhere lauded as something very near perfection, only a few people venturing to doubt whether it was as effectual as its admirers represented it to be.

The position of affairs in Europe, and some movement in public opinion on the subject of a comparison between England and other nations in the matter of military government, made the time seem favourable for bringing forward the proposed system of army reform, which had been prepared by Mr Cardwell, the minister of war. To purchase a commission, and to follow that up by purchasing successive steps in the service, had been the rule, so that a commission represented actual property, just as a horse, a house, or the good-will of a business might. It was, in fact, a matter of bargain and sale, and the regulation price of a commission at the Horse Guards was often far exceeded by its actual selling value. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that whenever abolition of purchase had been proposed, as it had been by Sir de Lacy Evans, and more recently by Mr Trevelyan, a whole contingent of officers frantically declared that the service was going to the bad; and another contingent, believing purchasing a commission was the only way to keep the commodity in the hands best fitted to adorn it, determined to fight the bill to the last. It soon became evident that they were strong enough, aided by the opposition, to arrest the progress of the bill so that it might go over the session, and therefore the part of it relating to reorganization of the army was abandoned, and only the abolition of purchase clauses retained, with a strong hint to the clamorous opponents that as all premiums on the original price of commissions were illegal, the law might be put in force. The bill passed

the Commons, but in the House of Lords a clever expedient was tried for the purpose of delaying and then shelving the whole matter. The Duke of Richmond moved an amendment to the effect that the Lords could not consider the proposal till a more comprehensive scheme was brought before them. This plan of burking the bill was ingenious, but the intention was obvious, and Mr. Gladstone frustrated it by a plan which aroused much remonstrance among some of his own supporters, including Mr Fawcett, a very thorough Liberal of the school of Mill, who was returned for Brighton in 1865, and was a noted man in the house, not only because of his great ability, but because several years previously an accident had deprived him of his sight, a calamity which made little difference in his pursuits, in his intellectual achievements, or even in his robust recreations. Mr. Gladstone checkmated the Lords by an expedient which, for a moment, at all events, looked unconstitutional, and for which nobody seemed able to find a precedent. The purchase system was originated by a royal warrant, making it a privilege, and therefore he had advised the queen to aid the reformation of the army by cancelling the warrant. Perhaps her majesty may not have been unwilling to do so, when she remembered some opinions of the Prince Consort on the subject. At all events it was done, and purchase was made illegal. The only effect of the Lords rejecting the bill now would be that they would vote against compensation to the holders of purchased commissions, for that was all of the bill that was left. They therefore passed a vote of censure on the ministry by a majority of eighty, and then passed the measure without more delay.

The University Tests Bill was also carried without any serious alteration, and the Ecclesiastical Titles (Repeal) Bill put an end to another intolerant demand which had remained ever since the "papal aggression." The Trades Union Act, while forbidding the violence exercised by workmen in the case of strikes, yet defined what was and what was not illegal interference, and did something to bring about a better understanding between employers and

their "hands" The Local Government Acts extended to small towns and villages the advantages of managing their corporate business, which had previously been confined to cities and boroughs with municipal institutions. We can scarcely part from the year 1871 without referring to the budget by which Mr Lowe became for a time not only notorious, but what was worse, ridiculous. It is difficult to say why he should have been subject to ridicule, except that he made a mistake which ended in an almost absurd situation. There would, he said, be a deficit of £2,713,000, looking at the probable amount required for the abolition of purchase in the army. There was no surplus revenue, and he proposed to alter the probate duty, place a two per cent duty on all property liable as intestate, alter the legacy duty, and increase the succession duties. His argument was that they had never realized as much as had been expected by former ministers who imposed them. He then proposed to tax lucifer matches, by a halfpenny stamp on every box of 1800 matches, a penny stamp on a box of 100 wax lights or of fuses, this he calculated would raise £550,000. He would then make up the rest of the required amount by charging a percentage on incomes, in lieu of the 4*d* in the pound.

The proposal to tax matches was met not only with a howl of derision but by a cry of indignation. A vast procession, or rather a confused but decent and orderly assembly, of poor girls, women, and boys who represented the match-sellers of the metropolis, went along the Strand and by the Embankment to the Houses of Parliament, and in a quietly demonstrative manner, with which the police could not easily interfere, assembled there in great numbers, and presented a monster petition. Their prayer was granted and the budget collapsed, another penny on the income-tax making up the deficiency both of the abandoned legacy duties and of the condemned impost on matches.

In the last month of the year great anxiety was everywhere manifested because of the serious illness of the Prince of Wales. His

royal highness had been visiting Lord Londesborough at his house near Scarborough, and it was supposed that some defect in the drainage or sanitary arrangements had caused an attack of low fever. Other visitors had also been affected, and the Earl of Chesterfield had died. On his return to his own house at Sandringham the prince became very ill, and his condition soon appeared to be so dangerous that throughout the country the people waited with troubled hearts to learn the latest intelligence of his condition. On the 14th of December, the anniversary of the death of the prince-consort, the popular sentiment was wrought up to a great height, and sympathy for the queen found constant and deep expression. At churches and chapels belonging to all denominations prayers were offered for his recovery. Bulletins were issued daily, a number of reporters from the daily papers anxiously waited near Sandringham to obtain any item of intelligence with regard to the changes of the disorder, that they might telegraph it to London or the chief towns, so eager was the public to become acquainted with the particulars. The day which had appeared to bode calamity passed, the prince's condition had slightly improved.

Everywhere the most loyal sympathy was expressed for the queen and the princess. On the 19th of December the prince was slowly recovering, and the day after Christmas-day her majesty wrote a letter to her people expressing her deep sense of the touching sympathy which had been manifested by the whole nation. In the last week of February the prince had recovered, and with the queen, the princess, and the rest of the royal family, publicly went to St Paul's Cathedral to offer grateful thanks to God for the great mercy. On the 29th of February, for it was leap-year, her majesty again addressed a letter expressing sincere acknowledgments to her subjects, who had assembled in millions and filled all the great thoroughfares with an orderly, loyal, and sympathetic crowd.

The liquor traffic, as the sale of wine, beer, and spirits had come to be called, was still opposed with great pertinacity by the United

Kingdom Alliance, which had collected a large sum of money and was constantly circulating its periodicals and appeals throughout the country. Doubtless a great change had been wrought among a large class of the population, and drinking habits had greatly diminished, so that there was little difficulty in passing a bill regulating public-houses, giving magistrates the power to grant or refuse licenses, increasing the penalties for drunkenness, and lessening the number of hours for keeping taverns open both on Sundays and week-days. The publicans were also protected in some important particulars; but they were of course opposed to the bill, which, however, was carried in spite of opposition.

More important in a political, or rather in an international sense than any other occurrence of the session of 1872, was the effort to come to a definite settlement of the long outstanding question of damages demanded by the United States government for the injuries inflicted by the *Alabama*. Mr Reverdy Johnson, who was a jovial man, and liked the English people, came here to negotiate the matter, but, to use a modern phrase, was "too gushing" in his after-dinner speeches, and was so complimentary to England that his countrymen came to the conclusion that he would never properly support their claims. He was recalled, and Mr Motley the historian, and Mr Fish, the foreign secretary of the United States, resumed negotiations. It was decided that commissioners from England should go to Washington, and as our government had already expressed regret at the ravages of the piratical vessels which went out of English shipyards, the conference became easier. Some international rules on the duties of nations to prevent privateering were agreed on, for the guidance of the arbitrators who were to be chosen to decide the question. Our commissioners contended that we had not committed any breach of international faith, but they accepted the rules, and supposed that the only point for consideration would be the actual damage inflicted. The United States government, however, claimed indirect damages for the expense they had incurred, and

the losses they had sustained in consequence of the failure of our government to prevent the privateers from leaving our ports. These claims were for losses in the transfer of the American commercial marine to the British flag, the enhancement of the payment of insurances, and the prolongation of the war, and the addition of a large sum to the cost of it.

The arbitrators were Count Frederic Sclopis for Italy, president, Chief-justice Cockburn for England, Mr Charles Francis Adams for America, M Jaques Staempli for Switzerland, and Viscount Itajuba for Brazil. They met on the 15th and 19th of June, and agreed that the indirect claims should be rejected. The discussions were resumed at intervals, till the 25th of December, when the decision of the tribunal was announced, namely, that in the cases of the *Alabama* and the *Florida*, Great Britain had failed to fulfil the duties prescribed by the rules of the treaty, in not having used due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, and equipping of vessels which, there was ground for believing, were intended to carry on war against a power with which she was at peace. In the case of other vessels it was decided that there had been no failure of due diligence. The award for the satisfaction of all claims was 15,000,000 dollars. This settled the question. At about the same time the Emperor of Germany decided against us as to the right of possession of the island of San Juan, which he declared belonged to the United States. Both conclusions were accepted with dignity and endorsed with honour, and at a cost which would have been far exceeded even by a temporary resort to hostilities, while there was a gratifying sense on both sides that the dispute was settled in accordance with reason and humanity.

Such a number of bills, embracing so many important interests, could not be passed without a great many people being affected by them, and every fresh change touched some interest and aroused some animosity. At the same time, as we have before seen, the very tendency to independent thought and the want of compact following among the Liberals tended after every new achievement to dimin-

ish that unanimity by which a strong party can alone be maintained. The time now arrived in the session of 1873 when Mr Gladstone was to bring forward the third of the measures which he had promised for Ireland. This was the introduction of a national system of education under which the rights of conscience would be secured. As a preliminary measure in this direction Mr Gladstone proposed to create a new university in Dublin, of which Trinity College and other colleges should form a part, just as the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge belong to their universities. Certain careful provisions were to be made to recognize the preponderance of the Roman Catholic religion, one of them being the exclusion of the teaching of theology and moral philosophy, upon which subjects, however, voluntary examinations would be held. The bill was opposed both by Roman Catholics and Protestants. Another bill brought in by Mr Fawcett in the previous year had been supported by the governing body of Trinity College, and Mr Gladstone therefore declared that the ministry would stand or fall by the measure which he now advocated. Some of the professed Liberals were averse to it. Mr Horsman bitterly opposed it, and though the debate was sharp, able, and well spiced with checks and counterchecks, it was soon seen that the division for the second reading would be a narrow one. It went against the government by 287 votes to 284.

Mr Gladstone's ministry adhered to their determination to resign office, and Mr Disraeli was sent for to form another administration, but though he had obstinately opposed the bill on which the government was defeated, he was not ready to take the place offered him by their resignation. Mr Gladstone and his colleagues were therefore reluctantly compelled to remain in office, and all that was done was to abolish tests at Trinity College.

The Judicature Bill had already been brought forward by Lord-chancellor Selborne. It was based on the report of the commission appointed in 1869 to inquire into the subject, and was one of the most important measures

of the Liberal government, for it was intended for the reconstruction of the whole judicial system, by uniting the higher courts of justice in one great tribunal, the operations of which were to be free from the old distinctions and restrictions between law and equity, so that suitors might be spared expense, time, and trouble in seeking redress. The lord chief-justice, the chief-justice of the common pleas, and the chief-baron of the exchequer were to remain in the positions they then occupied, and some of the existing divisions were retained as courts of the high court of judicature. The appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords exercised by the law lords was to be transferred to a tribunal composed of the lord-chancellor, the chief-justice of England, the chief-justice of common pleas, the chief-baron, the master of the rolls, and other judges not exceeding nine in number. The bill was not at first adapted to Scotland and Ireland because of some question of privilege, but was soon carried through both houses with the understanding that it would eventually be adapted to the whole kingdom.

But the Liberal government had been beaten. There was already a Conservative reaction which afterwards became more evident, and preparations were made for the general election in 1874. Changes were made in the ministry. Mr Bright, who had returned to the house, consenting to be chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Mr Gladstone undertook the duty of chancellor of the exchequer as well as that of prime minister, and Mr Lyon Playfair and Mr Vernon Harcourt also took office. The government had deserved well of the country, not only for the number of important measures it had passed, but for removing £12,000,000 from the taxation. It had spent £10,000,000 in buying the telegraphs as arranged by the previous ministry, had devoted £2,000,000 to the army during the Franco-Prussian war, had paid off half the *Alabama* claim without the aid of either loan or tax, and had reduced the national debt by £26,000,000. Yet Mr Gladstone announced at the commencement of 1874 that there was a surplus of £5,000,000 at their disposal, and that he intended to

prepare a plan for totally repealing the income-tax, improving local administration, and advancing the interests of consumers.

Quite early in the year, however, it was announced that parliament would be dissolved. It was determined to try the strength of the Liberal interest, and the result was that that interest was for the present in abeyance. Some people were ready to rest and be thankful. They had been dazed by a whirl of legislation. Others belonged to the classes who feared that the ministry might go too far, that nothing was stable, and that nobody could tell what might go next. These divisions paralysed the action of the Liberal party. The Conservatives on the other hand were united, compact, and cautiously confident. On the 16th of February the cabinet met. Mr. Gladstone recommended an immediate resignation, which was agreed to, and Mr. Disraeli was called upon to form a ministry.

In one of the speeches delivered before his constituents, Mr. Gladstone had intimated that if the country resolved upon the dismissal of the Liberal ministry, he should reserve to himself the right of limiting his future services to his party as he might think fit. He desired to enjoy a period of repose. In a letter to Lord Granville, dated March 12, he explained the reasons for his decision —

“For a variety of reasons personal to myself, I could not contemplate any unlimited extension of active political service, and I am anxious that it should be clearly understood by those friends with whom I have acted in the direction of affairs, that at my age I must reserve my entire freedom to divest myself of all the responsibilities of leadership at no distant time. The need of rest will prevent me from giving more than occasional attendance in the House of Commons during the present session.

“I should be desirous, shortly before the commencement of the session of 1875, to consider whether there would be advantage in my placing my services for a time at the disposal of the Liberal party, or whether I should then claim exemption from the duties I have hitherto discharged. If, however, there should be reasonable ground for believing that, in-

stead of the course which I have sketched, it would be preferable, in the view of the party generally, for me to assume at once the place of an independent member, I should willingly adopt the latter alternative. But I shall retain all that desire I have hitherto felt for the welfare of the party, and if the gentlemen composing it should think fit either to choose a leader or make provision *ad interim*, with a view to the convenience of the present year, the person designated would, of course, command from me any assistance which he might find occasion to seek, and which it might be in my power to render.”

The time had now arrived when the predictions of the friends of the Marquis of Hartington were to be fulfilled. The retirement of Mr. Gladstone from the leadership of the Liberal party had indeed made it from one point of view difficult, from another point of view easy to appoint a successor. The great ability, the long experience, and the yet abundant energy of the Liberal chief had been so lately manifested by a session in which measures of immense importance had been carried, and the progress of the country had been measured by rapid strides, that whoever should be chosen to represent the great party that had temporarily fallen apart and been vanquished, could not hope and would not be expected to exhibit equal qualifications for the task of leadership. At the same time there was, if not an insurmountable reluctance on the part of other distinguished men, at least a grave disinclination to assume a position where comparison might tend to depreciate their real attainments, or where, however eminent those attainments might be, there would be great doubt as to their efficacy in reuniting the sections of the Liberals in such a manner as to restore the probability of their ready return to power.

However, a meeting was held at the Reform Club on the 3d of February, 1875, and there it was to be determined what course should be pursued. Mr. Bright was chairman of the meeting. Lord Granville, it was understood, was the trusted chief in the Upper House. Who among the members of the late cabinet would be chosen to be the real leader where



SPENCER COMPTON CAVENDISH, K.G.
EIGHTH DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY RUSSELL & SONS

influence and authority would be more constantly required? The general attention was fixed on Mr Forster. He had displayed remarkable power of elucidation, no little tact, and that genuine earnestness of purpose which was of the greatest importance, and to him had been intrusted a measure which had met with the concurrence of the whole house, and was now heartily accepted by the country. Yet Mr Forster's earnestness, allied as it perhaps necessarily was with remarkable positiveness, was the very quality which he considered would prevent him from becoming in any real sense the parliamentary leader of the party. Two days before the meeting he wrote, declining the candidature on the ground that he felt he could not reckon on that general support without which he would be unable to fulfil the required duties.

Mr Goschen had been spoken of as a candidate, and the choice was supposed to lie between him and Lord Hartington. Mr Goschen, however, had scarcely been in a position to give to the Liberal party the kind of hostages which entitled him to occupy so responsible a position. At anyrate it was evident that those who composed the meeting, and who were really representative men of various shades of Liberalism, had little doubt or hesitation when Mr Forster had declined to occupy the place vacated by Mr. Gladstone. Mr Villiers simply rose to remind the meeting that Lord Hartington had been before the public and the House of Commons for sixteen or seventeen years; that they had seen him filling subordinate offices, and also filling the higher offices in the state. He had been chief secretary for Ireland, he had presided over the post-office, and he had been under-secretary for war, he had presided over committees of great public importance, and on all these occasions he had displayed good feeling, good sense, tact, and judgment that fairly entitled him to the confidence of the party. Mr Villiers added that he would not believe any prejudice could fairly be raised against the Marquis of Hartington merely from the circumstance of his family connections, seeing that his family happened to be associated with the great principles which had

been professed in the Liberal party for at least two centuries. Without further remarks he proposed him to the acceptance of the meeting, sincerely believing that the noble lord would do honour to their choice.

The proposal was responded to by Lord Frederick Cavendish, who spoke on behalf of his brother, and Mr. Bright, as chairman of the meeting, spoke in terms of hearty commendation of the new leader of the Liberal forces.

It was confidently expected that the queen would again appear in public to open parliament, but this was prevented by the sudden illness of Prince Leopold, her majesty's youngest son, who had always been in such delicate health that he could not enjoy much active exercise, and was suffering from some kind of low fever, supposed to have been taken at Oxford, and the effects of which, upon a weak constitution, were greatly feared. Happily the prince recovered, but her majesty could not appear, and the speech was read by the lord-chancellor.

Efforts to put an end to the East African slave-trade were vigorously continued, and the protected tribes on the Gold Coast had consented to abolish it there. The king and chiefs of the Fiji Islands had offered to cede their territory to England unfettered by any conditions, and it had been thought right to accept it, not only because of its natural resources, but because of the maritime advantages it would confer on the British fleets in the Pacific.

An ample harvest had restored prosperity to the provinces of India, and the great loss of life which had been feared had been averted, because the Indian government had been able to convey food to the districts where the famine had been so severely felt.

The harvest in England, too, had been plentiful, and the prosperity of the country had been maintained, for though our trade of 1874 had somewhat fallen off, and was less than that of 1873, the reduction of taxation had steadily increased the consumption of the necessaries of life, and of articles which contributed to the revenue, so that the national finances were in a satisfactory condition.

Such were the agreeable conditions which attended the succession of the new government to power

Measures for simplifying the transfer of land, for completing the reconstruction of the judicature, for improving the dwellings of the working-classes in large towns, for amending the sanitary laws, preventing the pollution of rivers by the operation of factories, the waste of mills, or preventible discharge of sewage and other noxious matters, all were to receive attention. And a bill was also to be laid before the house for the amendment of the Merchant Shipping Acts.

Among other matters to be considered was one of great importance, namely, legislation for the purpose of protection against personal violence, and for more effectually securing the trial of offences by appointing a public prosecutor

It had been suggested that some of the exceptional or temporary statutes for preserving the peace in Ireland might be dispensed with; but parliament had scarcely met before John Mitchel, the Irish agitator, who had, as we have seen, been transported for the part he took in the rebellion of 1848, reappeared upon the scene. It will be remembered that he had broken his parole and had escaped to the United States, where he became a naturalized American. It was, of course, obvious enough that he was precluded on both grounds from representing a constituency in the House of Commons. By becoming a naturalized subject of another state he had forfeited his rights as a British subject, and as he had not fulfilled the term of his sentence he was still a convict. These considerations were so far from influencing him and his supporters, that they were regarded as affording an extraordinary opportunity for expressing defiance of England by electing Mr. Mitchel as member for Tipperary, and insisting that he should enter the House of Commons, where his brother-in-law, John Martin, sat as member for Meath.

Mitchel, who was in very ill health, had issued an address from New York to the electors of Tipperary, declaring himself to be in

favour of Home Rule, by which, he explained, he meant the sovereign independence of Ireland, the total overthrow of the Established Church, universal tenant rights and abolition of ejectments, free education—that is, denominational education for those who like it, secular education for those who like that, with the express organic provision of law that no persons should be taxed for the education of other persons' children, and the immediate liberation of those prisoners of state whom the English government kept in prison as Fenians. That compliance with this would have been impossible, not to the English government alone but to any government—even to any conceivable Irish government,—was nothing to the purpose. Tipperary evidently cared for nothing more than that the candidate was the irreconcilable opponent of England, and sought to force himself into the British legislature. He landed at Queenstown, and parliament had to decide what was to be done with him. Without delay Mr. Disraeli gave notice of a motion that John Mitchel, having been adjudged guilty of treason-felony and sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, and not having endured the full term of his sentence, nor having received pardon under the great seal, had become and continued to be incapable to sit in parliament. He also announced that he should move for a new writ for Tipperary. A curious legal debate followed, during which the attorney-general admitted that Mitchel could not be proceeded against and compelled to serve out his original sentence. He might have been arrested for prison-breaking, but it had not been worth while to arrest him; and it was argued that having been adjudged a felon, and not having either completed his sentence or received a pardon, he remained a felon and could not sit in parliament. The debate continued, and the proposal of Lord Hartington and Mr. Forster for a committee was resisted by Mr. Disraeli, who declared that there were no contradictory opinions which needed reconciling. The proposal was rejected without a division. Mr. Disraeli's resolution was agreed to, the new writ was issued, and another candidate appeared—

Captain Stephen Moore Mitchel was re-elected by a large majority, but Captain Moore claimed the seat, since the votes given to his opponent were illegal. The question was then tried by the Irish Court of Common Pleas, which found in his favour Mitchel, who would make no defence, then declared that he would become candidate for each county of Ireland in turn, so that they might all be disfranchised, and so awaken the Irish people to their oppression, but he was unequal to the task. Before he could commence such an undertaking the excitement he had undergone acting upon an enfeebled frame caused his death, which took place on the 21st of March, at Drumlane, near Newry. His brother-in-law and staunch supporter, John Martin, a man who, in spite of some extreme views, was much liked in the house by members of both parties, was taken ill while attending the funeral, and died a few days afterwards.

We can scarcely leave this period of our story and enter upon the later pages which will indicate rather than fully narrate the social and political progress of more recent years, without once more glancing at the attitude assumed by a certain number of the clergy, who, with a section of their congregations, refused obedience either to ecclesiastical or to civil authority, though they retained the assumption of belonging to the church which is supported and defended by both. If the Ritualists represent the Church of England and the national observance of religion, then it is time that disestablishment and disendowment should be effected, they have done their utmost, whether they meant it or not, to aid the opinions of those who declare that the Church of England so called is only one among many religious bodies, and should no longer claim to be national in any special sense, but should form itself into a kind of church union represented by a council or assembly, much as one of the large nonconformist bodies is more or less represented by what is known as the Congregational Union.

To no such union would the Ritualistic priests and people be likely to conform. The congregations which they represent practi-

cally acknowledge no external authority for the regulation of church observances, and differ more from the Evangelical or Low Church bodies than the latter do from most forms of dissent or nonconformity.

It is usually supposed that the Ritualists are more in sympathy with the Church of Rome, and it is obvious enough that they imitate the Romish ceremonial, elevate the paten, use incense, observe genuflections, separate themselves from the congregation by screens, deck the altar, and even celebrate the communion under the name of "mass." It is doubtful, however, whether these apparently Romish inclinations have induced the Papal Church to seek for converts in Ritualistic congregations. That church would scarcely be likely to regard with pleased expectation, the accession of people or clergy who are distinguished for disobedience to the authority under which they profess to remain, and for disloyalty to the repeated injunctions of the superiors, to whom by their very office they have promised to be dutiful.

Earl Russell had come to the conclusion, that until the religion of the Church of England became assimilated to the religion of Rome, of St Thomas Aquinas, and of Aristotle, the Ritualists would not be satisfied. Perhaps he did not see that before that could take place either the Ritualistic clergy must be the prevailing body in a church, the authority of whose bishops they only acknowledge as a mere matter of convenience, or they must join the opponents of all ecclesiastical authority supported by the state, and therefore reduce the so-called Church of England to an important and generally recognized sect, the members of which, however, would no more authoritatively form a state church than do the Wesleyan Methodists, the Baptists, or the Congregationalists. But let it be remembered, that though many of the "Ritualistic" clergy displayed what to ordinary people appeared to be an absurdly dogged obstinacy, by persisting in wearing certain costumes, and introducing peculiar gestures and postures in the service, decking the altar with flowers and candles, using a monotonous twang in the sermon and a gabbling recitative in the prayers,

as though these were things to hold to and be martyred for, there were others who, having fallen upon times of church restoration, open pews, memorial windows, and choral services, held that the whole mode of conducting the service needed to be made more picturesque and emotional in order to awaken the sensibilities. There were young men who, apart from the merely sensuous revivals of ceremonial, were devoted workers, and assiduously visited the poor and the sick, organized charitable efforts, and set about improving or establishing schools, societies, week-day meetings, and even concerts, lectures, and recreations among the members of their churches and the inhabitants of their districts. The number of these, however, did not counteract the effect produced by the more fanatical upholders of ornamental dresses, mysterious symbols, and strange ceremonies, which had a weak because an uninterpretable resemblance to those of the Romish chapel. Some of the churches where these practices were observed had been built or endowed by private munificence, and this made the interposition of the bishops more difficult. In many cases the introduction of what had come to be called Ritualism (though it was not only in excess of, but contrary to the settled ritual of the Reformed Church) aroused the bitter opposition of a large number of the congregation. The "rector's warden," the "people's warden," and the synodsmen became leaders of opposite factions, and scenes of scandalous disorder ensued because of the attempts of the reforming party to prevent Romish innovations. The painful riots which had disgraced St George's-in-the-East were repeated in some other parts of London at this time, and at a later date. In some instances the service was interrupted, and actual fighting went on inside and outside the church. Appeals were made to the bishop of the diocese, whose declarations were disregarded by the "priest." All was confusion and disorder, and the house of God was profaned, the name of religion dishonoured.

The aspect of affairs was somewhat different from that which prevailed at the time of the St. George's-in-the-East riots, for before the

struggle became violent, compulsory church-rates had been abolished. In February, 1868, a bill, introduced by Mr Gladstone for the abolition of compulsory church-rates, had been read a second time amidst considerable opposition, with respect to which Lord Cranborne asked what was to be gained by adhering to the principle of "no surrender." That question, he said, was to be answered by the circumstances of the time. We must look not only to the position of the nation out of doors, but to the course of events in the house, the principles upon which parties guided their movements, the laws by which public men regulated their own conduct. He did not think that any gain to the church would result from prolonging the contest, and though he gave up any possession of the church with the deepest reluctance, he could not content himself with a stolid opposition, nor give way to that tendency by which it seemed so many were apt to be affected, of pursuing for many years a steady obstruction, and then giving way to an unreasonable panic. It was wiser to accept the terms offered them, because they might go further and fare worse.

These terms stopped short of actual abolition, but the rates were made voluntary, inasmuch as their payment could not be compelled by legal process. The act passed on the 31st of July, 1868, and its preamble stated, that as church-rates had for some years ceased to be made or collected in many parishes by reason of the opposition thereto, and, in many other parishes where church-rates had been made, the levying thereof had given rise to litigation and ill-feeling, it was expedient to abolish the power to compel payment of such rates by any legal process. The first section of the act provided that no such process could be taken for the enforcement of payment of any church-rate made in any parish in England or Wales. Thus this vexed question was at last settled.

While we are noting this subject it may be observed that the introduction of the Elementary Education Act again revived the question, not of church-rates, but of the payment of rates for the partial support of denominational schools by grants, in places

where there was no demand for the establishment of a board-school, the provisions of the existing voluntary rate-aided schools being sufficient for the instruction of the children. For some time the discussion grew clamorous on this subject, and doubtless, from the point of view of the Dissenters and those who demanded a merely secular education, the support of denominational schools by a grant from the rates appeared to be objectionable. Just as under the modified forms of the old system, church-rates, when voted by a majority of ratepayers, had been payable by all householders, these school-rates were payable by all householders, if the supporters of church schools were sufficiently numerous to sustain them against the demand for affiliation of the parish or district to that of the school-board and the provision of a board-school. As a writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* said even as late as January, 1874, the positions respectively occupied by the contending parties seemed to be—"We will not pay denominational fees, because it does violence to our religious scruples," and, "You must pay denominational fees, because to refuse them does violence to other people's religious scruples." As a matter of fact, the general sense of public opinion soon rectified this impression. The operation of the school-boards, and the manner in which it satisfied the requirements of various classes of the public, helped to assimilate the voluntary rate-aided schools, and even in rural districts the working of the Education Act has gradually established board-schools in place of many of the ineffectual and ill-supported schools formerly maintained by voluntary subscriptions aided by occasional grants.

It will be perceived that what we have now been considering has its bearing on the question of Ritualism, for it is easy to understand that Dissenters, or men of decidedly Protestant views, regarded with dismay the probability of being required to send their children to the schools of those other Dissenters or Nonconformists who yet were recognized as belonging to the Church of England, though they stood on the Romish side and were known as Ritualists. It will be seen, too, that all these

subjects had a very direct relation to the question of possible church disestablishment. That was a matter on which people were compelled to think seriously, and though the disestablishment and disendowment of the church in Ireland had no necessary connection with, and was not at all preliminary to, any movement affecting the Establishment in England—the relations of the church to the two countries being essentially different—men looked the proposal in the face Mr Gladstone did. The arguments of those who opposed church disestablishment in Ireland on the ground of the probability of its being followed by a similar measure in England did not cause him to protest too much. In that chapter of autobiography, written in September, 1868, in which he refers to his early declarations with regard to the church, and his correspondence with Lord Macaulay, he said:

"I can hardly believe that even those, including, as they do, so many men both upright and able, who now contend on principle for the separation of the church from the state, are so determined to exalt their theorem to the place of an universal truth, that they ask us to condemn the whole of that process, by which, as the gospel spread itself through the civilized world, Christianity became incorporated with the action of civil authority and with the framework of public law. In the course of human history, indeed, we perceive little of unmixed evil and far less of universal good. It is not difficult to discern that (in the language of Bishop Heber) as the world became Christian Christianity became worldly—that the average tone of a system, which embraces in its wide-spread ng arms the entire community, is almost of necessity lower than that of a society which, if large, is still private, and into which no man enters except by his own deliberate choice, very possibly even at the cost of much personal and temporal detriment. But Christ died for the race and those who notice the limited progress of conversion in the world until alliance with the civil authority gave to His religion a wider access to the attention of mankind, may be inclined to doubt whether, without that alliance, its immeasurable and inestimable social results

would ever have been attained. Allowing for all that may be justly urged against the danger of mixing secular motives with religious administration, and, above all, against the intrusion of force into the domain of thought, I for one cannot desire that Constantine in the government of the empire, that Justinian in the formation of its code of laws, or that Charlemagne in refounding society, or that Elizabeth in the crisis of the English Reformation should have acted on the principle that the state and the church in themselves are separate or alien powers incapable of coalition.

"But there are two causes, the combined operation of which, upon reaching a certain point of development, relaxes or dissolves their union by a process as normal (if it be less beneficial) as that by which the union was originally brought about. One of these is the establishment of the principle of popular self-government as the basis of political constitutions. The other is the disintegration of Christendom from one into many communions. As long as the church at large, or the church within the limits of the nation is substantially one, I do not see why the religious care of the subject, through a body properly constituted for the purpose, should cease to be a function of the state, with the whole action and life of which it has throughout Europe been so long and so closely associated. As long as the state holds by descent, by the intellectual superiority of the governing classes, and by the good-will of the people, a position of original and underrived authority, there is no absolute impropriety, but the reverse, in its commending to the nation the greatest of all boons.

"But when, either by some revolution of institutions from their summit to their base, or by a silent and surer process, analogous to that which incessantly removes and replaces the constituent parts of the human body, the state has come to be the organ of the deliberate and ascertained will of the community, expressed through legal channels, then, indeed, the inculcation of a religion can no longer rest in full or permanent force upon its authority. And when, in addition to this, the community itself is split and severed into opinions and communions, which, whatever their concur-

rence in the basis of Christian belief, are hostile in regard to the point at issue, so that what was meant for the nation dwindles into the private estate as it were of a comparative handful, then the attempt to maintain an established church becomes an error fatal to the peace, dangerous perhaps even to the life, of civil society. Such a church then becomes (to use a figure I think of John Foster's) no longer the temple, but the mere cenotaph of a great idea. Such a policy is thereafter not simply an attempt to treat what is superannuated and imbecile as if it were full of life and vigour, but to thwart the regular and normal action of the ruling social forces, to force them from their proper channels, and to turn them by artificial contrivance, as Apollo turned the rivers of Troas from their beds, to a purpose of our own. This is to set caprice against nature, and the end must be that, with more or less of delay, more or less of struggle or convulsion, nature will get the better of caprice.

"But does it follow from all this that the tone of moral action in the state should be lowered? Such a fear is what perplexes serious and sober men, who are laudably unwilling to surrender, in a world where falsehood has so wide a range, any portion of this vantage-ground of truth and right. I, who may have helped to mislead them by an over-hasty generalization, would now submit what seems to me calculated to reassure the mind.

"I make an appeal to the history of the last thirty years. During those years, what may be called the dogmatic allegiance of the state to religion has been greatly relaxed, but its consciousness of moral duty has been not less quickened and enhanced. I do not say this in depreciation of Christian dogma. But we are still a Christian people. Christianity has wrought itself into the public life of fifteen hundred years. Precious truths and laws of relative right and the brotherhood of man, such as the wisdom of heathenism scarcely dreamed of, and could never firmly grasp, the gospel has made to be part of our common inheritance, common as the sunlight that warms us and as the air we breathe. Sharp though our divisions in belief may be, they have not cut

so deep as to prevent, or as perceptibly to impair, the recognition of those great outlines and fences of moral action. It is far better for us to trust to the operation of these our common principles and feelings, and to serve our Maker together in that wherein we are at one, rather than, in aiming at a standard theoretically higher, to set out with a breach of the great commandment which forms the ground-work of all relative duties, and to refuse to do as we would be done by."

In reading these words we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the writer perceived the probable effects of the diverse movements in the church—upon the position of the church itself—in relation to a claim for state support and a subjection to state control. At a later date, however, in 1874 and 1875, Mr Gladstone wrote with characteristic emphasis on the subject of Ritualism, and repeated a declaration which he had made thirty years before, that the prosecution of the clergy for matters of observance, or the interference of legal tribunals would be ineffectual, and would at the same time perpetuate that moral disturbance which is itself more mischievous than the divergence of observances in public worship which an appeal to the law is designed to punish or to control. Mr. Gladstone did not regard the apparent spread of Ritualism with the apprehension expressed by numbers of people who professed to be jealous for Protestantism. There was a much more practical and important question at issue than whether a handful of the clergy were or were not engaged in an utterly hopeless and visionary effort to Romanize the church and the people of England. At no time since the sanguinary reign of Mary had such a scheme been possible. But if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth, when Rome had substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith, when she had refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused, when no one could become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another, and when

she had equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history. He could not persuade himself to feel alarm as to the final issue of her crusades in England, and that although he did not undervalue her great powers of mischief by persevering proselytism.¹

Mr. Gladstone regarded so-called Ritualism as the result, sometimes the exaggerated result, of that reformation in the structure of the buildings, and in decent, orderly, and reverent celebration of Divine worship and the services of the church, which superseded the mean and inconvenient edifices, the slovenly observances, the uncouth singing, and the indifference of the congregation, which had been painfully prevalent forty years before. He reminds his readers that the use of the surplice in the pulpit was once regarded as an innovation suggestive of Romish tendencies, that a surpliced choir was to many an abomination, and that many changes which had become established customs in the most simple and distinctly Protestant churches, and some of them even among non-episcopal congregations, were opposed on the ground that they were intended to favour popish or heretical doctrines.

"There cannot," said Mr. Gladstone, "be a doubt that the beauty of the edifice, the furniture and the service, though their purpose be to carry the mind forward, may induce it to rest upon those objects themselves. Wheresoever the growth and progress of ritual, though that ritual be in itself suitable and proper, is accepted, whether consciously or unconsciously, and whether in whole or in part by the individual, as standing in the stead of his own concentration and travail of spirit in devotion, there the ritual, though good in itself, becomes for him so much formality, that is, so much deadness. Now there are multitudes of people who will accede at once to this proposition, who will even hold it to be no more than a truism, but with a complacent conviction in the back-ground of their minds that it does not touch their case at all. They may be Presbyterians or Nonconformists, or they may be Churchmen whose clergyman

¹ *Contemporary Review*, October, 1874, reprinted 1875, *Gleanings of Past Years*, vol. vi. 1879

preaches against Popery open or concealed, or who have themselves subscribed liberally to prosecute the Rev this or the Rev. that for Ritualism No matter. They, and their clergyman too, may nevertheless be flagrant Ritualists For the barest minimum of Ritualism may be a screen hiding from the worshipper the object of his worship, nay, will be such a screen, unless the worshipper bestirs himself to use it as a help and to see that it is not a snare "

The limits of our remaining space forbid further quotation from an article, which the student who desires to estimate the aspect and attitude of the "Ritualistic" controversy would do well to read It is necessary, however, to remember that Mr Gladstone prefaces it by saying, "I have nowhere questioned that those are outward usages, which may and must be of doctrinal significance My proposition is simply this —That, where external usages have become subjects of contention, and that contention is carried to issue in courts of law, the field should not be unnecessarily widened, and the usage should not be interpreted for judicial purposes with reference to this or that particular dogma so long, but of course only so long, as it naturally and unconstrainedly bears some sense not entailing such a consequence "

These had been Mr. Gladstone's views during the long and bitter controversy, which did not cease when a new act of the legislature was passed for the purpose of bringing ritualistic priests into conformity, or rendering them liable to suspension, inhibition, or even imprisonment There had been numerous protests, numerous appeals to the bishops, frequent warnings, and it cannot be said that instances were wanting calculated to alarm and disturb those who differed from Mr Gladstone in their estimate of the power of the Papal Church and the influence of its emissaries or of the admirers of Romish ceremonies and practices. In February, 1867, a deputation from the National Club waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury to present an address, asking him to use his influence to suppress the attempt of some of the clergy to revive Romish practices in the Reformed Church.

Among those innovations particularly specified were habitual confession to a priest, wearing Romish vestments, the use of incense and of candles lighted in the daytime, the mixing of water with the sacramental wine, and the offering of the Holy Sacrament as a propitiatory sacrifice The reply of the archbishop was, "Whatever changes may be fairly considered to be symbolical of erroneous doctrine, and to favour that which was deliberately rejected by the Church of England—whatever I have reason to believe is offensive to the great bulk of a congregation, and calculated to estrange them from the church of their forefathers—all this I shall readily discountenance, but I must not be understood to promise any interference with that legitimate latitude which is permitted in the ordering of the services of the church."

In the following May a royal commission was authorized to inquire into the differences of practice which had arisen in the church from varying interpretations put upon the rubrics, orders, and directions for regulating the cause and conduct of public worship, more especially with respect to the ornaments used in churches and chapels, and the vestments worn by the ministers. The question, therefore, had been for some years under discussion, but it was felt that any attempt to settle it by putting stringent laws in force would be followed by difficulties which might endanger the Establishment When a definite measure was at length brought forward Mr Gladstone, as we have seen, opposed it on the ground that for the purpose of restraining a few persons who desired to import into the observance of the Church of England an imitation of the ceremonies of the Church of Rome, it would tend to deprive the former of its freedom without any real certainty of effecting the object desired. As a matter of fact it had not been easy to compel the abandonment of these practices by those who first declared that in observing them they were obeying the real injunctions of the church, and who secondly challenged a decision on the charge that they were breaking the law of the state, while they denied the authority of a civil court to pronounce on church matters

It was in opposing the "Public Worship Regulation Bill" that Mr Gladstone reappeared in the House of Commons in 1874, and Mr Disraeli uttered some congratulatory words on his again presenting himself in parliament, and expressed the loss which the house had felt during his absence. There were two measures about to be brought forward. One was the Church Patronage of Scotland Bill introduced in the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond, for the purpose of abolishing the remaining lay patronage in the Established Kirk and vesting it in the members of the congregations. The qualification was to be that which existed in other Presbyterian bodies in Scotland, the compensation to patrons was not to exceed one year's stipend, where any compensation was demanded. This bill went apparently a long way towards instituting a system of congregationalism in Scotland, and though it was advocated by the Duke of Argyll and other Liberal peers, Mr Gladstone warmly supported an amendment proposed by Mr Baxter on the second reading in the House of Commons, to the effect that it was inexpedient to legislate on the subject of patronage in the Church of Scotland without further inquiry. Mr Gladstone objected to the exclusion of the "heritors" from a distinct share in the election of ministers, to the omission of any provision for the needs of Highland parishes, and to the effects which the measure would have on the Free Church. What, he asked, were they going to do for those people whom they had driven out of the Established Church, and compelled to find ministers for themselves, to build churches, manses, and schools, and in fact to organize and pay for the establishment of a complete system of church government? If they would receive them back in bodies he would withdraw his opposition to the bill. If the General Assembly would, on terms of fraternal equality, communicate with the Dissenting bodies, and endeavour to bring about an union of equality, he would assist them to the full extent of his power, but the present bill was neither fair nor generous. He wanted to know what the General Assembly had done towards reuniting itself to bodies which it turned out

holding the view which formed the basis of the present bill. Speaking of the effects which the measure had already produced, he said

"There was scarcely any disestablishment movement in Scotland until the date of the introduction of this crude, premature, and insufficiently considered bill. But is it true that there is no promise of a disestablishment movement in Scotland now? What has happened since the announcement of this bill? The representatives of 1,200,000 of the Scottish people have, in their General Assembly, declared for disestablishment . . . There were 295, as I understand the number, against 98, those 98 not voting in favour of establishment, but for the previous question. I do not wish myself to be responsible for raising the question of disestablishment in Scotland. I am not an idolater of establishments.

"Neither am I one of those who would wish to raise a controversy of that kind, excepting under very strong justifying circumstances, and excepting with a perfect preparedness to abide the issue of that contest. In Scotland there has been no general movement of principle towards disestablishment, and although an established church in a minority is an anomaly, it is an anomaly which I was well content to tolerate, and which the masses of the people of Scotland were justly and wisely prepared to tolerate, and not to be guided by abstract principles, but by a careful regard to the state of facts. But when in that state of things the government throws down the challenge before them, proposes to invest this ecclesiastical body, or even the committee or commission of it, with powers never before intrusted to an ecclesiastical body, but which will infallibly be quoted in support of high clerical pretensions in other quarters, and when in doing that, it does it, as the right honourable and learned lord says, in the sense of strengthening the Established Church, but declining to recognize, for every practical purpose, the existence of those great Presbyterian communities whom you drove out and compelled to become Dissenters, entirely declining to recognize them, except as bodies from whom you make a certain profit by withdrawing one adherent from them here and another from them there—

that is a challenge, I think, to them to take up a question of the public and national endowment of religion such as was never before issued by a government under any circumstances, and such as, in my opinion, it is totally inconsistent with prudence and wisdom to issue. If we have been rash—which I do not admit—our rashness will certainly fade into utter insignificance by the side of the gratuitous hardihood of the government, which, as it appears to me, determines to initiate a religious war in Scotland under the influence of the best motives, but under circumstances the most slippery and dangerous”

The bill, however, was carried by a very large majority, and it afterwards became evident that the Public Worship Regulation Bill would also be carried. This measure was introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords, and after some amendments, provided that, in accordance with what seemed from some parts of the canons to be the intended constitution of the church, the bishop of the diocese, guided by the advice of clerical and lay assessors, should have the power of directing the mode of worship observed in the churches. A single parishioner, or the rural dean, or the archdeacon, was to have power to appeal to the bishop against the practices of an incumbent with regard to public worship, and the bishop might then, if he thought the complaint sufficiently well grounded, summon the assessors to inquire into it. If the assessors condemned the practice or observance the bishop could issue a monition, against which the incumbent might appeal to the archbishop and *his* board of assessors, who would be competent to pronounce a final decision.

At a later stage, near the close of the discussion, Mr. Disraeli—who declared that the object of the bill was to put down Ritualism, and remarked that if Mr Gladstone did not know what Ritualism was he was in a very isolated position—unmistakably adopted the measure.

These ecclesiastical discussions were remarkable for the differences of opinion which appeared between members of both parties when the questions were brought forward

Lord Salisbury, who was characterized by Mr Disraeli as a great master of gibes and flouts and jeers, was again opposed to his subsequent chief, and denounced the bill in the House of Lords. Mr Gathorne Hardy condemned it in the House of Commons. But still more remarkable was the defence of the bill and the fervid appeal against Mr Gladstone's propositions made by Sir William Harcourt, the solicitor-general of the previous government. He paid a high tribute to Mr Gladstone's incomparable eloquence, but described the speech to which the house had listened as a powerful plea for universal Non-conformity. He called upon Mr Disraeli to show that he was the leader of English opinion and to identify the government with the measure brought forward by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was evident that public opinion was in favour of steps being taken to assert the principles of the Reformed Church against “Popish practices” by some of her professed ministers. The Public Worship Regulation Bill became law, and the patronage and direction of Mr Disraeli doubtless accelerated it, but neither the influence of the government, the authority given to the bishops, nor the power of the judge of the ecclesiastical division of the judicature proved to be efficacious in making it a measure truly and effectively regulating public worship. Not even the advocacy of the former solicitor-general—who appeared for the time to abandon, if not to denounce his political chief—could invest the bill with the power which was claimed for it.

The series of letters which appeared in the *Times* with the signature of “Historicus” in the early part of the decade now under our notice had excited no little attention, and were regarded as valuable contributions to the discussion of international law. Those who knew that they were contributed to “the leading journal” by William George Granville Venables Vernon Harcourt—who, beside having made a reputation at the bar, was already recognized as an effective speaker and an able writer on political subjects—predicted that he would not be long out of par-

liament, though in 1858 he had unsuccessfully presented himself as a candidate to represent the Kirkcaldy burghs. In 1866 he became a queen's counsel, and two years afterwards was returned to parliament by the Liberals of the city of Oxford. In the following year he was elected professor of international law in the University of Cambridge, and was a member of the royal commissions for amending the naturalization laws and the neutrality laws.

Mr Harcourt was grandson of the former Archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1859 was married to the stepdaughter of the late Sir George Cornwall Lewis, and after her death to the daughter of the late John Lothrop Motley, the famous writer of the history of the Netherlands, who was for some time minister for the United States in London.

It was not till after his appointment as solicitor-general in Mr Gladstone's ministry in 1873 that Mr Harcourt received the honour of knighthood, but it may be said that the title added nothing to the reputation which he had already achieved. His tall, burly figure and outspoken language were already familiar to the house, where many members, as well as people outside parliament, regarded him as somewhat of the typical Englishman, especially when the manner of his assailants seemed to arouse in him a certain blunt directness, which sometimes strongly resembled defiance, a quality which has not been altogether without effect in recent parliamentary contentions.

Mr. Gladstone was now not only out of office, but had in a great measure secured an opportunity for exercising independent action. He needed repose—the kind of repose which such men as he find in change of employment and in temporary freedom from the onerous responsibilities of political leadership. His occasional presence in the house was marked by the vigour with which he took part in the debates. He had supported Mr Forster in his strenuous opposition to the proposed Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill, especially to those clauses which would have restored to the Church of England the administration of schools of which the founders had recognized Episcopal authority, or had directed attendance on the service of the Church, or

had appointed that the master should be in holy orders. This the Liberals declared would be a retrogressive enactment—an endeavour to cancel recent legislation, which had thrown open such schools to the whole nation. So decided was the opposition, that, though the bill passed its second stage, and afterwards went into committee, Mr Disraeli abandoned the obnoxious clauses. Mr Forster had shown that out of 1082 grammar-schools 584 had been founded before the Toleration Act, 35 before the Reformation, and 44 during the Commonwealth. The Nonconformists were strong in their denunciation of the proposed measure. The prime minister declared that he could not himself understand the disputed clauses, and eventually the measure was so curtailed that it chiefly consisted of an act to abolish the Endowed Schools Commission and to transfer its powers to the Charity Commissioners.

Mr Gladstone had already begun to devote some portion of the leisure which his retirement afforded him to the discussion, by means of published essays, of the questions which had arisen out of his declaration with regard to the attitude assumed by the Church of Rome. That declaration, part of which has been quoted in a previous page, aroused considerable excitement, not only in England, but abroad, and many eminent Roman Catholics in this country entered into the controversy, some of them protesting, and others in the main agreeing with the conclusions of Mr Gladstone on the subject of the recent demands of the Vatican for absolute papal infallibility in relation to civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs.

It is not surprising that while several distinguished converts to the Roman communion opposed Mr Gladstone's views with considerable display of indignation, many representatives of old Roman Catholic families endorsed them. It is nothing new in our history for English members of the Roman communion to avow that they owe no supreme political or civil allegiance to the pope. The men who sprang forward to fight against the Spanish Armada were ready to disregard or even to defy papal denunciations, and therein they

only followed the traditions of English Catholicism. It was not to Mr Gladstone's essay on Ritualism that the controversy referred. Partly in reply to the remonstrances which followed, but also apparently because he deemed it right to speak out upon the whole question, especially as he had been so closely identified with legislation which had secured religious liberty and had removed the civil and political disabilities of his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, Mr Gladstone, a month after the publication of the essay, issued a pamphlet on *The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance*. In this he justified his former statements. The sale of the pamphlet was enormous. The disputants who entered the field were many, and included Cardinals Manning and Newman, Bishops Ullathorne, Vaughan, and Clifford, Monsignor Capel, Monsignor Francisco Nardi, Lord Petre, Lord Herries, Lord Robert Montague, Sir George Bowyer, Lord Camoys, and Lord Acton. Among his numerous opponents, of course, were some who charged him with insulting and accusing the Roman Catholics of this country. He absolutely denied any such intention, and when the cries of anger, of surprise, and of rebuke had somewhat subsided he issued a second pamphlet—*Vaticanism: an Answer to Reproofs and Replies*, in which he reiterated his assertions, saying—

“The Vatican decrees do, in the strictest sense, establish for the pope a supreme command over loyalty and civil duty. To the vast majority of Roman Catholics they are, and in all likelihood will long in their carefully enveloped meaning remain practically unknown. Of that small minority who have spoken or fitted themselves to speak, a portion reject them. Another portion receive them with an express reserve, to me perfectly satisfactory, against all their civil consequences. Another portion seem to suspend their judgment until it is determined what is a free council, what is moral unanimity, what are declarations *ex cathedra*, whether there has been a decisive and binding promulgation so as to create a law, and whether the claim for an undue obedience need be considered until some act of undue obedience is asked. A very

large class, as it seems to me, think they receive these decrees, and do not. They are involved in inconsistency, and that inconsistency is dangerous.”

In this ecclesiastical controversy Mr. Gladstone seemed now to be immersed, but he actively engaged in other duties. Other essays appeared from his pen, he spoke at public meetings and at assemblies for the promotion of education, though he seemed so far to have withdrawn from political leadership that not only his former followers, but many Conservatives also, were deploring his abstention from taking a more decidedly prominent part, and were speaking of it in terms of regret. This is not the place to enter into the discussions which engaged him, and the declarations which were made that he was showing a want of discretion in alienating the friendly support of a large number of the members of the Roman Catholic Church. In reading the essays themselves one readily perceives that he felt the time had come when it was his duty to speak out, beyond the possibility of mistake. To the essays themselves, which are published in an inexpensive form, we would refer the reader, not only for a more complete comprehension of the subject with which he dealt, but as an aid to the study of his mental, and, if we may be excused for the word, of his temperamental characteristics.

Mr Gladstone, then, was taking only an occasional, though sometimes a prominent, part in parliamentary discussions. The Liberal party was, so to speak, in abeyance, the government of Mr Disraeli was united, and the Conservatives seemed likely to hold a long lease of power.

The very name of Ashantee had to many people something mysterious about it. It was remembered that the Gold Coast had always been associated with thoughts of slavery, of the cruelty of native savage rulers, of bloodshed indulged in as a common ceremony or as a pastime. The Ashantees were the fiercest of the tribes of Western Africa, and lost few opportunities of killing or oppressing the weaker people about them, among whom were the Fantees, under British protection. but

incapable of defending the territory or supporting the few troops which garrisoned the forts

Our trading settlements on the Gold Coast, founded in the seventeenth century, had frequently been a source of trouble. They had been relinquished in 1830, after a conflict with the Ashantees, who were afterwards defeated, and a treaty was concluded with them by the governor of Cape Coast Castle, Mr Maclean, the husband of Letitia Elizabeth Landon (L. E. L.), whose verses of a sentimental and somewhat melancholy cast were once much quoted. This lady, who married Mr Maclean in 1838, was found dead in her room, with a phial which had contained prussic acid clasped in her hand. No reason could be alleged for this tragic occurrence, and it excited considerable attention, and probably gave greater interest to her poems than their intrinsic merits would have secured.

For some years the affairs of the Gold Coast settlements were administered by a body of merchant traders, but subsequently were placed under the control of the colonial office. In 1863 hostilities again arose, and were brought to an unsatisfactory end, because of the fatal effects of the climate on the troops. Still later some of the settlements were made over to the Dutch in exchange for other territory, but in 1872 these possessions were by treaty transferred to England in return for a small sum of money and for the removal of some of the restrictions which former treaties had placed upon the Dutch in Sumatra. The result of this was that the Dutch became involved in a war with the Sultan of Acheen, who was supported by the Malays, and the King of Ashantee, who claimed from England the continuance of a pension or allowance which he had formerly received from the Dutch, occupied the ceded territory, and commenced a desultory war by attacking the Fantees. Then ensued a series of harassing assaults on our garrisons, and though, when the King of Ashantee was met by a small body of English troops and marines, he was signally beaten, it was believed that while his tribe held possession of the open country the other tribes would make common cause with them. It was determined, there-

fore, to send a large force, which in the cooler season of the year might push on towards Coomassie, the Ashantee capital, Captain Glover, a commander of much experience in dealing with the natives, having collected on the east of the proposed line of advance a number of Houssas, one of the warlike Mahometan tribes of the country.

Such an enterprise as that of marching an English force through a country swarming with savage enemies, and so pestilential, that, unless a successful termination of the war could be achieved within a few months, the men might be stricken down—the army wasted away with fever—required a commander quick in discerning opportunity, skilful in tactics, and of unflinching resolution. There appeared to be little hesitation in naming to this command Sir Garnet Wolseley, an officer who had already given ample proofs of remarkable ability and rapid decision in circumstances of difficulty on several occasions, and notably in his direction of the Red River expedition in 1870. The promptitude, which was this general's characteristic, was shown by his immediately setting out for the Gold Coast in advance of his troops, and there, in command of small bodies of men, holding the Ashantees in check, and inflicting upon them several defeats while waiting for the arrival of his regiments.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, son of Major Wolseley of the 26th Foot, may be said to have been born a soldier. In 1852, when he was nineteen years of age, he had entered the army as ensign. In 1855 he became captain, and in 1858 major of the 90th Foot. In the next year he was made lieutenant-colonel, and he obtained his colonelcy in 1865. During nearly the whole of these thirteen years he was actively engaged, and on several occasions had performed distinguished services. After the Burmese war of 1852–53 he obtained a medal. With the light infantry in the Crimea he was severely wounded during the siege of Sebastopol, and received the legion of honour and the Turkish order of the Medjidie. After the siege of Lucknow and the defence of Alumbagh, where he was made brevet lieutenant-colonel, he was specially mentioned in the despatches. In

1860 he was in China on the staff of the quartermaster-general, and served throughout the campaign. In 1867 he became quartermaster-general in Canada, where his success in the Red River expedition was conspicuous for the ability with which he could estimate a situation and take immediate advantage of an opportunity. In 1870 he was nominated a knight-commander of the order of St Michael and St George, an honour which was followed by his appointment to be adjutant-general at headquarters. Activity, fertility of resource, and a readily formed but complete plan of operations were important qualities against a foe whom it was necessary to impress by rapid and effectual successes, and in a country where the enemy must be driven from every stand-point and defeated within so short a time that the victorious troops would be able to return to the coast ready to re-embark before the sickly season had set in. The punctuality with which this was actually effected was something remarkable. The march of the English troops, who fought their way in a series of skirmishes, was almost unchecked, and the final engagement, when the enemy made a stand near the capital, ended in the decisive defeat of the Ashantees. The advance had begun in the last days of 1873, Captain Glover in the east and other officers in the west raising native forces with which to converge on the capital. It soon appeared that the native tribes were almost useless as auxiliaries, and it was difficult to secure the services of the camp followers and bearers who were necessary to assist an army in such a

country. On the 5th of February, 1874, however, Sir Garnet had entered Coomassie with his troops, and there he received the submission of the king, who agreed to appoint commissioners to conclude a treaty. It was, however, time to make the return march, and the troops retired to Adamsi to await the Ashantee agents, with whom there might have been more trouble had not Captain Glover already arrived with his contingent on the north of the capital, through which he marched without opposition. The king relinquished all sovereignty over the tribes who were under English protection, and some of his tributary chiefs soon renounced their allegiance to him. The army was marched back to the coast, and though many officers and men had succumbed to the hardships of that brief campaign, the troops re-embarked within the time that had been proposed, and before the sickly season had commenced. The power of the Ashantee tyrant was over, and the native savage chiefs had been impressed by his defeat. The English government then determined to retain the settlements on the coast as a colony of the crown, forming the neighbouring districts into a protectorate. The native tribes were informed that the protecting power would include complete control, and would assign the limits of native authority or interference. One of the first intimations made by the directions of Lord Carnarvon to the native chiefs was that the purchase or sale of slaves would not be any longer permitted, and that thereafter the law would not recognize the right of a master to the possession of a slave.



FIELD-MARSHAL SIR GARNET JOSEPH WOLSELEY

1st VISCOUNT WOLSELEY

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH ARMY

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE LONDON STEREOSCOPIC COMPANY

CHAPTER XII.

STILL ADVANCING.

Footprints of Advance—A Brief Chronicle—Aspects in 1876—Vote by Ballot—Agriculturists and Artisans—Sailors and Ships—Disraeli, Earl Beaconsfield—Imperial Policy—India—Egypt—Suez Canal—The Eastern Question—Russia—Turkish Provinces—Bulgaria—War—"Peace with Honour"—Afghanistan—General Roberts—South Africa. Cetewayo—The Enemies of Ireland—Liberal Reaction, 1880—The Makings of History.

Some of the occurrences of a more recent ~~date~~ with which we are concerned in estimating the later steps of social and political progress can be touched but lightly. We cannot to-day estimate the influences of yesterday. Our observations regarding them must be somewhat guarded. They will indicate some important changes, but attention must often be directed only to general appearances. Many later events of the last decade have not yet passed into the sphere of history, for they have not developed complete results, and at present are full of suggestions for some future chapter of the story of our national life. The chronicler must stay his hand, for he can give no more than an imperfect outline of the forms that loom large in the present, but the real dimensions of which it is not easy to compute.

We have already noted some of the financial advantages to which the Conservative government had succeeded after the Liberal defeat, but it may be said that when they commenced office the old order had given place to the new. The very mode of entering parliament had been changed, for constituencies elected their representatives by secret voting. The measure for which Mr. Grote, and afterwards Mr. Berkeley, had long contended in vain, and which had at one time become a mark for ridicule, had been passed. Vote by ballot had been made a reality, and the old system of public nominations of candidates and the consequent riots and "humours" of elections, such as those described by Dickens in his account of the visit of the Pickwickians to Eatanswill,

were abolished. The ballot bill, introduced by Mr. Forster on the 20th of February, 1871, proposed to secure secret and therefore uncontrolled voting, and to prevent personation by compelling each voter to attend at the polling place, where, after stating his name and place of residence, a stamped official voting paper would be handed to him on which he was to inscribe his vote. He was to take this paper into a separate compartment, where, without the possibility of being overlooked, he was to mark a cross in the space opposite the name of the candidate in whose favour he desired to vote. He was then to fold the paper so that this mark could not be seen, and to drop it through the aperture in the ballot-box or urn in the presence of the official in charge. Candidates were to be nominated by a proposer, seconder, and eight assenters, all of whom were to be registered voters, and to sign a nomination paper, the handing of which to the returning officer would alone be necessary for nomination. Of course the "secret vote" was denounced by the supporters of bribery and by those who for years had been able to intimidate or unduly influence the electors, but it was also opposed by many who regarded the concealment of the vote as unmanly and degrading. Among these were Mr. John Stuart Mill, who had at one time been an advocate of the ballot. He and others did not seem to reflect that open voting did not prevent the meanness and unmanliness of the landlord who coerced the tenant, the rural magnate, who, as it were, carted electors to the

poll to vote according to his will, the patrons who bought the votes of the local tradesmen by their "good custom," or the employer who could "see after" his workpeople. The ballot was to be regarded less as a measure for promoting manly independence than as one to check and frustrate the shameless corruption maintained by those who had authority, wealth, or influence. It was to prevent immorality rather than to inculcate morality, and that is mostly all that can be done by act of parliament.

Those who assailed the proposed bill said that it would enable electors to give their vote in a sneaking underhand manner instead of openly and boldly. They seemed to forget that there was plenty of sneaking underhand bribery as well as too much bold bullying and intimidation exercised on unscrupulous voters who were ready to take a bribe, or necessitous ones of whom it was too much to expect that they should support the principle of purity of election at the expense of being ruined by their resentful and powerful superiors.

Some such measure had been advocated at intervals for nearly two centuries. In 1708, according to a letter of Addison, the question of deciding elections by ballot was discussed in parliament. In 1815 it was a "burning question." The omission of some clause relating to the ballot from the Reform Bill was explained by Lord John Russell to have arisen from the desirability of bringing in a separate measure. Lord John Russell was personally averse to such a measure; but he sometimes gave unmistakable signs that he thought the prevailing corruption might render it necessary. Lord Palmerston had jested about the ballot-box, and had argued that voting for members of parliament was a public trust, and should be exercised openly, that everybody might see it was done fairly, a representation which must have provoked a grim smile among electioneering agents. Mr Gladstone had been against the ballot, but the conviction was forced upon him that the prevailing corruption could only be remedied by some such provision, and the revelations made before a commission of inquiry of which Lord Hart-

ington was chairman in 1868-69 had led him, and others also, to advocate its prompt adoption. Public opinion was mostly in favour of it. Its opponents in the House of Commons, however, nearly talked it out of the session, and when it went up to the Lords, a majority had already made up their minds to reject it, on the ground that it had been brought before them too late to be considered. It was supported by the Marquis of Ripon (a title conferred on Earl de Grey for his services in the *Alabama* commission), but the Earl of Shaftesbury moved for its rejection, and the Lords appeared to think, that though it passed the House of Commons the delay showed that nobody cared much about it. Mr Gladstone, however, had adopted it as a necessary measure, and some members of the house who would willingly have voted against it knew that their constituents were in its favour, and would resent their opposition at the next election. In the session of 1872 Mr Forster returned to the charge. Again the bill passed through the Commons, but the Lords were still determined to punish Mr Gladstone for having placed the royal prerogative against their opposition to the Army Reform Bill. On the second reading a resolution was carried in committee making secret voting optional. This was, of course, absurd, as it was nearly equivalent to cancelling the objects for which the ballot was to be introduced. There had been a pretty smart debate in the Commons, where Mr Fawcett was among the opponents of secret voting. There had been a sharp discussion over a clause making it punishable by imprisonment with or without hard labour for an elector to make known his vote at the polling place. This was modified, and a proposition was adopted, that any one inducing a voter to show his voting-paper after he has marked it, should be liable to three months' imprisonment with hard labour. The optional clause of the Lords was immediately rejected when the bill went back to the lower house. There was the usual contention, amidst which many adopted the proposition of Mr Disraeli, "to apply secret voting only as a degrading punishment for the electoral excesses of society." This, as Mr Gladstone pointed out,

was an admission that the ballot would be a remedy for existing evils. The Lords were obliged to give way, but they succeeded in making the measure experimental by introducing a proviso that it should only remain in force to the end of the year 1880 unless parliament should see fit to continue it. In that form it passed, and parliament as well as the nation has too completely recognized its advantages to allow it to be rescinded.

It was not unnatural that the change which had taken place in the mode of election should direct attention to a further extension of the franchise, and one of the objections made by the Lords to the ballot was that it would lead to a redistribution of seats. No direct proposal was brought before parliament, however, till 1877, when Mr Trevelyan moved for a uniform parliamentary franchise in boroughs and counties, and a redistribution of political power for the purpose of obtaining a more complete representation. This proposition, which was debated in a full house, was advocated by Lord Hartington and Mr Gladstone. He and Mr Lowe, who both voted for it, afterwards supported it by articles contributed to leading magazines. Mr Goschen, though on the Liberal side, was opposed to it, and that opposition he afterwards maintained, though it perhaps had the effect of preventing him from taking a more forward position in Liberal councils. Mr Trevelyan's proposal was rejected by 276 against 220 votes, and there was no very strenuous demand made outside parliament for further parliamentary reform, though certain conditions had arisen, which seemed to indicate that some extension of the franchise, and especially some change in the county franchise, would not be very long delayed.

In the industrial and mining centres the effects of recent and continued strikes among workmen were being felt, and had had some influence on the general prosperity of the country. We have already glanced at some of the results of this disturbance and the poverty and suffering at the East End of London, where the refusal of the shipwrights to work at a rate of wages higher than the masters could

afford to pay, and yet keep their yards open, had the effect of driving the greater part of the shipbuilding trade from the Thames to the Clyde. After the capitulation of Paris and the disasters which had ensued from the corrupt imperialism of the French government, the atrocities of the Communists had to be punished and suppressed by a republican organization, and the political derangements there, seemed to have some disturbing influence on the uneducated portions of most European communities. In this country they appeared to affect a number of artisans and labourers with a sullen disinclination to argue the matter of the strikes, and in some indirect and not easily explained way to associate with an attempt at despotism the refusal of the masters to yield to all their demands. It is only under very eminent and judicious leadership that large bodies of people can be brought to discriminate, and there was frequently manifested a disposition to confound the economic necessities which control demand and production, labour and wages, with an arbitrary and oppressive exercise of the will of employers.

Doubtless there were industries in which the rate of wages and the hours of work were unfairly against the operatives; but in numerous instances it was pretty clearly shown, not only that the masters could not make further concessions, but that they were willing to submit the disputes to examination and to the decision of arbitrators. We cannot here consider in which of the trades important grievances existed, but the general industry of the country suffered seriously, and has since suffered, from the interruption of production and the uncertainty which had become an element in those great manufactures where the operations must be continuous in order to fulfil the terms of extensive contracts. In many cases, especially in railway and marine engineering, a good deal of the business left England and went to the great workshops of France and Belgium. At Newcastle in 1871 above 9000 men were on strike for the purpose of reducing the hours of work to nine hours a day for the same amount of payment that they were then receiving, and it was declared by the masters

that, with the short time on Saturday and the meal times, this would practically mean eight hours a day, to say nothing of the frequent "Mondays" taken by numbers of the men as holidays from work, and the consequent danger of delay in the fulfilment of contract engagements.

For sixteen weeks the engineers were supported by the contributions of other societies belonging to the trades-unions. As a result of the communistic theories then afloat, there was a general notion—and not an unworthy one from another point of view—that an international trades-union of artisans, mechanics, and labourers throughout Europe or throughout the world might be effected, by which the rate of wages and the hours of labour might be controlled. The effects of such a confederation (if it had been possible) in the corresponding modification of production, and the cost of commodities necessary alike to the workman and all other men, and in the crushing of individual aspiration under the wheels of a society, did not seem to occur to the delegates and their supporters who advanced the theory. To some extent, too, there was a recognition of community on the part of foreign workmen. Many of them who had been applied to by English manufacturers to take the place of men on strike, either refused to come, or after having been appealed to by the representatives of the trades-unions, returned without entering on their engagements. But while half England was on strike, the workshops of other nations were growing busy. If foreign labour did not come here, foreign trade and British trade could go elsewhere, and much of it did. Early in the period with which these pages conclude there were between 30,000 and 40,000 ironworkers and miners idle in South Wales and Monmouthshire. The colliers of Northumberland and the Forest of Dean, the ironworkers of North Staffordshire, the mechanics in the building trades in London and some parts of the provinces, and even those engaged in more casual and worse-paid employments, joined in the general attempt to obtain the better conditions which some of them sorely needed. Perhaps the movement may be said

to have reached its last boundary when the men employed at the London gas-works struck without sufficient notice of their intention, and threatened to leave a great part of the metropolis in darkness unless their unreasonable demands were complied with, or when a number of the police force clamoured for increased pay without having made proper representations at headquarters. These two developments of the prevailing epidemic were checked by the promptitude of the superiors, and their recurrence was made improbable by a special enactment which, while it removed some penalties for endeavours made to maintain strikes, ordained punishment for any person engaged in the public service leaving or neglecting their duties without proper notice according to a specified regulation.

Perhaps the most startling appearance in the sphere of "strikes" was the agricultural labourer. It will be remembered that years and years before an attempt on his part to assert the right to combine for the purpose of resisting slow starvation had been met by a penal enactment. It was supposed that he had neither the spirit nor the power to manifest his dissatisfaction by effectual remonstrance. The repeal of the corn-laws had somewhat improved his position by enabling him to share in the reduced prices of the first necessities of life, but on the whole he was little better off than Cobden had described him to be. In some localities his poverty was mitigated by certain allowances from his employers, in others his children might find employment in the intervals of school attendance. Wages varied considerably in different districts, but on the whole the body of agricultural labourers in England seemed incapable of being roused to make any active effort to improve their condition. There were few signs of individual ambition among them—few examples of the energy which was to be observed among the operatives of large towns. Continuous and monotonous toil, no doubt, has the effect of suppressing the individual life of men, but it would be thought that effect would be more obvious in the factory or the mill than in the farmyard and the fields. Life in the open air would be supposed to be in itself an aid to

freedom of thought and action, but the condition of the farm labourers was against their combining with any hopeful result. They were intellectually uninformed, they seemed to be a body too numerous to command employment at other wages than the farmers or landowners were able or willing to pay, and their employment was to a great degree dependent not only on the seasons but on the nature of the soil and crops and the system of farming adopted in the county in which they happened to be settled. They were for the most part believed to have little more ability to assert their "rights" or to represent their wrongs and to seek redress by any organized method than the teams they drove or the cattle they tended. The wretched cottages in which their families herded together, the privations which they endured, their hopeless, aimless lives, which after years of ill-paid labour had no prospect but the workhouse—all these things were known, and people read about them in newspapers, but the very fact of their existence, and of the slow endurance of those who suffered them, made it seem impossible that there should ever be an agricultural labourers' union. "A bold peasantry a country's pride" existed only in the imagination of the poet. The artisan of the large towns, sympathize as he might with the poverty and sufferings of Giles Clodpole, could scarcely bring himself to think that unions and committees and combinations were meant for him, and yet it was an established, though an unremembered fact, that Giles or George, when he left the plough or the hyre and took the queen's shilling, had soon developed into a sturdy soldier who had fought the battles of the country—or of statesmen—in almost every clime, and with almost unvarying resolution, courage, and success. The time had arrived for the movement in favour of an improved condition of the population to reach the tillers of the soil, and it was first to touch South Warwickshire.

Few people in London knew much about the peasantry of Shakspeare's county until it was rumoured that they had begun to take some measures for endeavouring to obtain an addition to the wages on which they were starving. Some faint and imperfect protests

they had uttered, of which little or no notice had been taken. The farmers said they could not afford to pay higher wages on account of the rents demanded by the holders of the land, the landowners maintained their right to follow out the rules of commerce with regard to other commodities, and to obtain all the rent that their land would bring them. Farmers seemed at all events to have enough to eat, and warm clothing, and most of the comforts, as well as many of the luxuries of life. Landowners had all the purchasable comforts and a majority of the luxuries and amusements of town and country. Hodge had almost forgotten the taste of real meat, bread and weak tea, a bit of hard cheese, a bowl of bad potatoes, and an occasional scrap of bacon, with intervals of porridge or water gruel, and not quite enough of any of these things, old and patched clothes, leaky boots, a cottage in which his family herded together in sleeping rooms such as a sporting nobleman would not have tolerated for horses or hounds—these were the circumstances of the field or farm labourer in many parts of the country.

In South Warwickshire the pinch was close, and hurt sorely, just at the time that a man returned to his native village after a visit to some friends in the manufacturing districts beyond. Such a journey made him an authority, and people were eager (if any mental attitude of theirs could be called eager) to hear an account of his travels.

Among the news with which the wanderer returned was that of the strikes among operatives, and the slowly stirring imagination of the suffering peasants was moved by what they heard. They could scarcely be worse off, and desperate as the attempt might be to combine in a demand for wages sufficient to keep them from actual starvation, they might hold out if they could get a little help from outside while they made their cause known. The principal organizer of the movement was Joseph Arch, a labourer who, by his character and natural ability, had been for some time regarded as a leader among them. He was somewhat better educated than most of his neighbours, and knew how to address them, for he had been accustomed

to preach to a Methodist congregation. He undertook to call a meeting, and on the appointed day a thousand men met under a great chestnut tree, and there, in plain, homely, but effective language, Arch addressed them. The thing was done: the union was formed there and then, and various branches were afterwards organized. The movement soon spread, and though the men had great difficulty in finding the means for support, they contrived to hold out. In Suffolk the labourers' strike became serious. The demand was for a shilling a week more wages. The farmers formed an association for the exclusion of union men from employment, and for opposing their claims, but aid came to the men on strike from miners' and artisans' unions, and even the Dorsetshire peasants contributed. Mr Mundella, Lord Waveney, and Mr Brand, the Speaker of the House of Commons, in vain endeavoured to effect a compromise. The men asked for fifteen shillings a week. The allowance from the strike committee was nine shillings.

In Lincolnshire Mr Samuel Morley and Mr Dixon were more successful, and the men returned to work, but in Suffolk 2000 men were locked out by the farmers, who refused to countenance the union, and the number greatly increased. A weekly organ of the strike was published, entitled the *Labourers' Chronicle*. The hay harvest had to be gathered by casual hands engaged with some difficulty. The labourers then organized a pilgrimage, and a large number of them started on a journey, accompanied by a waggon and team bearing a chest which was "the money-box." They appealed for contributions as they tramped to Newmarket, Cambridge, Bedford, Luton, Northampton, Wolverhampton, and as far as Halifax. The procession was a strange one, but the men were orderly, sober, and inoffensive. In some places they received money contributions, in others they were invited by leading inhabitants to substantial dinners, but the "pilgrimage" was on the whole not very successful. The funds of the union were rapidly diminishing, and at length the committee was obliged to declare that the allowances could not continue, but that the residue of the money would be applied to

assist emigration. The struggle had lasted for eighteen weeks, and the union had spent about £25,000, including the sums paid towards emigration. Out of 2400 men 870 returned to work, 400 migrated, 440 emigrated, 350 returned to work without leaving the union, 350 surrendered and left the union, and many remained unemployed.

The movement had, however, extended to various parts of the country, a new power had arisen against which some of the farmers continued to fight, while in some places the grounds of the demands put forward by the labourers were recognized, and efforts were made to improve their condition. At any rate the agricultural labourer had vindicated his right to be regarded as an integer in the national estimate, and his claims could not thenceforth be ignored.

Sailors scarcely seemed very likely persons to join in a strike, but at some of the seaports there was a temporary combination among the merchant seamen for higher wages. There had, however, been stronger reasons than a desire for increased pay to account for the dissatisfaction of the seamen of the mercantile marine. The practice of sending out ships overladen and without a sufficient crew was one of them, the frequent neglect to provide adequate and wholesome rations was another, but worse, perhaps, than either of these was the crazy condition of some of the craft, in which a man who had entered for a voyage was compelled to fulfil his agreement under the penalty of imprisonment. Worse still, marine insurance was so easy that owners could secure themselves against the loss of any ship or cargo by paying a premium. It is certain that vessels, which could not be sent out without peril to the lives of all on board, frequently left port short-handed and overladen. It was darkly hinted that there were owners who calculated on probable loss, and habitually so over-insured as to make that loss more profitable than a safe return. Such suggestions, horrible as they may seem, were not very astonishing. Instances were broadly mentioned which seemed to give emphasis to the dreadful suspicion.

The subject was taken up by Mr. Samuel

Plimsoll, the member for Derby, a man of great sympathy and fervid temperament Mr Plimsoll published a book in which he brought some amazing accusations against individual shipowners, who appealed to the law and sued him for damages. He next brought a bill into parliament for the protection of the lives of seamen, proposing a strict inspection of all outgoing vessels, the adoption of a load line, and other restraints, which were opposed by the shipping interest in parliament as being harsh and impracticable, and by others as removing the responsibility from the owners and placing it on parliament. On a division the bill was rejected, but Mr Disraeli's government promised to bring in another bill that should deal with the subject. In the next session (1875) a measure was brought forward of a much less stringent character than that of Mr Plimsoll, but he was ready to accept it, in the hope that it might eventually be carried further, when, to his dismay, he found that it was to be delayed and then postponed to some uncertain date. Mr Plimsoll suspected that the government had deluded him, and all his suppressed indignation against former delays and the shortcomings of the bill burst forth as he sprang to his feet with words and gestures of hysterical vehemence, denounced some of the shipowners, shook his fist in the face of ministers, waved his arms wildly, and declared that he would expose those villains who had sent brave men to death. The speaker interposed. The honourable member must not apply the word villains to members of that house. But the honourable member would not withdraw, and repeating the word vociferously rushed from the house. It was a painful scene, and with evident reluctance Mr Disraeli moved that Mr Plimsoll should be reprimanded by the speaker for his disorderly behaviour. Other members, among whom were Mr A. M. Sullivan and Mr Fawcett, interposed on behalf of the member for Derby, who was, as they said, obviously in a distressing condition of health and of mental disturbance, caused by his exertions and by the disappointment he had experienced. It was decided to postpone the decision of the house for a week till Mr Plimsoll could be in his place. The impres-

sion was deep and general that the breach of etiquette or of manners was as nothing when compared with the apparent indifference of the government, and the exasperating delays and denials with which the effort to save men from being drowned at sea had been received. Mr Plimsoll became for a time a national hero. Before the week was up he reappeared in parliament, where he tendered a frank and manly apology for his former violence, and begged the pardon of the house.

Mr Disraeli had fully and readily withdrawn his motion for a reprimand, and the government, awakened to a sense of the feeling of the country by the utterances at public meetings, pushed forward a very inadequate measure for regulating the structure of merchant vessels, to be supplemented by subsequent legislation on the subject of marine insurance. That promised legislation did not appear, however, and Mr Plimsoll continued his agitation, reiterated his demands, and even ran the risk of another threat of reprimand for his violence, before, in a new Liberal ministry, further advances were made, in providing for some kind of inspection of outward bound vessels, restriction of loading, and the regulation of insurance.

As Mr Disraeli sat and listened to the wild tempestuous words, and saw the clenched hand and whirling arm of Mr Plimsoll, he may have remembered the day, so many years before, when he had himself displayed scarcely less vehemence, and had declared that the time would come when the jeering cynical contemptuous house *should* hear him. By what an arduous, brilliant, and successful career—by what an exhausting expenditure of vital force he had made good those words! It may be taken for granted that he at least sympathized with Mr Plimsoll in that moment of fierce assertion, for Disraeli was one of the first to appreciate and admire genuine emotion of that kind, as he would be one of the first generously to obliterate all records of its excesses. Sitting there, the foremost man in the realm, the head of a strong government, and revolving a policy of which he had hitherto only given some scintillating suggestions, he represented many

qualities which Englishmen hold dear. The leaders in the parliamentary arena have often been compared to gladiators, and doubtless the heat and conflict of debate stirs up that fighting instinct which is mostly hidden and subdued, but sometimes glares out with lion eyes, and alarms its possessor even more than it startles his antagonist. If leading statesmen are to be spoken of metaphorically as gladiators, Disraeli was a veteran whose reputation had been made by many an eager contest. His onslaught was quick, his feints crafty and dangerous, his thrust often deadly. He advanced boldly, got away readily, was self-contained and imperturbable in defeat, in victory neither implacable nor ungenerous. He preserved no personal animosities. The combat over he could do full justice to his recent opponent—speak gracious words, if need were, and recall the skill with which some stroke was dealt. Can more be said in relation to the gladiatorial character?

He would be a strangely misled man who would say that Disraeli did not love England. The influences of race were strong in him, but they had joined with an influence as powerful. He was English plus Hebrew rather than Hebrew plus English after all, for his will and his devoted service were with the country of his birth. The characteristics of race were there, and asserted themselves, especially unsuited him for playing that part of the squire in which he sometimes tried his skill, but they were subordinated to what he believed was for the honour and the welfare of the country to which he belonged. They were subordinated, that is, in many instances, but when the time came they reappeared in the policy which he first suggested and then avowed. The cast of his aspirations was oriental. The scene which he imagined as the triumph of his later years had something gorgeous in it. Calmer and more severely thoughtful minds felt that it was theatrical. To him no doubt it was the natural outcome of some systematic policy, the gradations of which he had never declared. To make the queen the acknowledged ruler of an empire as well as of a realm, to be the prime minister of a government that was

to hold a great, perhaps a paramount place, and to bear a personal part in representing its power and influence,—if that had been his dream it was no unworthy one, and in a measure it was to be realized. When Benjamin Disraeli sat in the front ministerial bench in the autumn of 1875, the reward of his unremitting labour in parliament was awaiting him, the crown of the peerage was to mark the step which led to the culmination of his extraordinary career. He already felt the effects of the long strife. It was not till some time afterwards, when the resignation of Lord Derby from the cabinet on the question of a demonstration by England against Russia, led to his speaking in graceful and pathetic language of his regret at losing the official support of one so trusted and admired, that he referred in a marked manner to the symptoms of failing physical powers which were among the reasons for his accepting a seat in the Upper House.

On the 22nd of August, 1876, Mr. Disraeli was elevated to the peerage with the title of Earl of Beaconsfield. In his farewell address to his constituents he wrote "Throughout my public life I have aimed at two chief results. Not insensible to the principle of progress, I have endeavoured to reconcile change with that respect for tradition which is one of the main elements of our social strength, and in external affairs I have endeavoured to develop and strengthen our empire, believing that combination of achievement and responsibility elevates the character and condition of a people."

Before the date on which this title was conferred, "the Eastern question" was again stirring discussion. Once more the unspeakable Turk was agitating Europe, and the demands and ambitions of Russia were exciting deep suspicion in England.

In "*Les Mémoires sur la Chevalière d'Éon*" that man or woman who had once been famous as one of the first sword-players in Europe, and whose familiarity with almost every country and every court was attributed to the opportunities enjoyed in the capacity of a secret agent, there occurred a passage purporting to be an extract from the will of Peter the Great. It was as follows.—"Approach as near as pos-

sible to Constantinople and towards the Indies. He who reigns at Constantinople will be the real sovereign of the world, and with that object in view provoke continual wars with Turkey and with Persia, establish dockyards in the Black Sea, get possession of the shores of that sea as well as those of the Baltic, these two things being necessary for the ultimate success of our project, hasten the decay of Persia, penetrate as far as the Persian Gulf, re-establish the former trade of the Levant by appropriating Syria, and, if possible, extend the power of Russia to the Indies, which are the emporium of the world."

The first Napoleon published this alleged extract from the plan for compassing European supremacy left by the Czar Peter for his successors, and deposited in the archives of the Palace of Peterhoff. The whole matter was declared to have been an invention of the French emperor for his own purposes, and the existence of any such document was positively denied by the late Emperor Alexander. Whether it ever had any existence or not need not be discussed. Nothing could have been more ingeniously devised to express what has more than once appeared to some European politicians to be the practical aim of Russia. During the Franco-German war Russia had demanded that as some of the provisions of the treaty made after the Crimean war had been disregarded, the clause restraining her from maintaining armaments in the Black Sea should be expunged. There was a conference at Berlin, and the demand became a request to which the powers conceded. This "concession" turned out to be important, as Russia, no doubt, foresaw it might be. In 1875 she was already advancing into Central Asia by steady strides, and at the same time Turkey had declined into the condition from which she had previously suffered because of an evil and corrupt government. There came rumours of oppression and barbarous cruelties perpetrated against the people of the Danubian principalities. It soon became evident that the Emperor of Russia would claim the right to interpose for the protection of the Christian populations on the frontier, whatever might be his ultimate object. The British fleet in

the Mediterranean was ordered to Besika Bay, not, as Mr Disraeli afterwards declared, with the intention of menacing anybody, or to protect the Turkish Empire, but to protect the British Empire. At a conference of representatives of the powers held at Berlin, it had been proposed that there should be a suspension of hostilities between Turkey and the provinces for a month, during which a peace should be negotiated, and that if the negotiations failed the powers should agree to adopt further measures to secure peace and compel Turkey to observe her former promises.

Lord Derby was opposed to the proposed concerted action, which he believed was the outcome of a former secret agreement between Russia, Austria, and Germany. There was also a suspicion that Russia had fomented the insurrection in some of the provinces. The memorandum was not adopted, and public excitement was kept at a high pitch by intelligence that the Mussulmans at Salonica had risen against the Europeans and murdered the French and German consuls, that at Constantinople a revolutionary party had succeeded in deposing the sultan Abdul Aziz, who shortly afterwards had committed suicide by opening the veins in his arm with a pair of scissors, that his nephew Murad had been appointed his successor, and had promised to appoint a government to secure the liberties of all his subjects. In three months, however, he also was dethroned, and his brother Hamid reigned in his stead. Then came the news of the insurrection in Bulgaria, and of the horrible cruelties of the savage Bashi-Bazouks, who were sent to suppress it. The bodies of slaughtered women and children lay in heaps. Forty girls who had shut themselves in a house were burned to death, 12,000 persons had been killed in Philippopolis, at Batak above 1000 persons had taken refuge in the church, which resisted the attempts of the Bashi-Bazouks, who thereupon fired through the windows, climbed to the roof, and dropped burning faggots and lighted rags, which had been dipped in petroleum, amongst the refugees. Mr Gladstone urged that the European powers should combine to settle the Eastern question. Mr Disraeli explained that the

European powers approved the attitude of England, which was one of strict neutrality. The duty of the government, he said, was to maintain the empire of England at a critical moment, and they would never agree to any step, though it might obtain for a moment comparative quiet and a false prosperity, which hazarded the existence of that empire.

Before parliament was prorogued it was announced that the prime minister had been honoured with a peerage, and would sit in the Upper House. During the recess the public feeling on behalf of the wretched people of the insurgent provinces became intensified by the report received from Mr Baring, our representative. Mr Gladstone had already come forward as the leader and exponent of the popular sentiment, and now he issued a pamphlet entitled *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, in which he advocated a concert of the European powers to extinguish the Ottoman executive power in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. One passage in this pamphlet was afterwards urged against him, as though he had advocated the expulsion of the whole Turkish population from Europe. "The bag-and-baggage policy," as some wit had named it, became a long-standing jeering accusation.

What he wrote was—"Let us insist that our government, which has been working in one direction, shall work in the other, and shall apply all its vigour to concur with the other states of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbachis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned."

There was soon a plain issue before the nation—those who thought with Mr Gladstone would have renounced Turkey rather than have prolonged for an instant the crimes which were being perpetrated by her emissaries, or have seemed to countenance them by refraining from joining in their practical con-

demnation. Those who thought with Lord Beaconsfield would have ignored the necessity for interfering with what the Turkish government chose to do, if that interference might affect the power or influence of England in the East, and open the door for Russia at Constantinople. The latter prevailed. The invincible distrust of Russian intrigue, the recollections of Russian barbarism, turned the scale, but not till a later date. There were fierce debates in parliament, great public meetings in London and the provinces, in which Mr Gladstone took a leading part with amazing fervour and energy. For a time he seemed to carry the people with him, for they were moved by sentiments of pity and of indignation, and called on the government to put pressure upon Turkey, but the sentiment gave place to the old distrust of Russian influence, and began to burn low. The indignation, if it did not die out, smouldered before the blaze of that promise of imperial supremacy which might be threatened by any treaty that gave Russia a new footing in the East.

Russia declared war with Turkey on the 24th of April, 1877, and while one army crossed the Danube and marched towards the Balkans another invaded Asia Minor. At first they met with few repulses. From Sistova to Tirnova, the ancient capital of Bulgaria, the Grand-duke Nicholas made an almost triumphal procession amidst the acclamations of the people, but at the Shipka Pass, and at Plevna, 20 miles south of the Danube, where Omar Pacha had made a stand and thrown up fortifications, the Turks numbered 50,000 to 70,000, and the Russians were defeated with immense loss. They afterwards took the Shipka Pass, and after a tremendous conflict the emperor sent General Todleben, the defender of Sebastopol, to the scene of action, and Plevna surrendered. Then the Russians swept all before them. In the early part of 1878 they might have entered Constantinople. It was reported that they had done so, and parliament then sitting was in a ferment. The fleet was ordered to the Dardanelles. Public feeling was so aroused that the anti-Russian party was predominant.

Sir Stafford Northcote announced that he

would ask for a supplementary estimate of six millions for naval and military purposes. Again a sudden report came that the Russians were close to Constantinople, and the excitement in London became tremendous. The fleet was ordered to go through the Dardanelles to Constantinople, and in spite of the Russian protest that if it passed the Straits there would be good reason for the occupation of the neighbourhood by the troops, our ships remained there. There was to be no disembarkation of the British and no advance by the Russians.

Daily, almost hourly, Mr Gladstone was endeavouring to force upon the government a recognition of the claims of the people of the disturbed provinces, and his efforts were supported by hundreds of meetings in different parts of the country. He admitted that in what he might call his old age he had become an agitator, but the agitation, he averred, was in a good and holy cause,—in the hope that by the withdrawal of moral and material support from Turkey, and the combined representations of our government with those of the other powers, the Porte would be compelled to cease from cruelty and oppression, and freedom with practical self-government might be secured for the people. The resolutions which he introduced into the House of Commons, and supported with moving eloquence and earnestness, did not, however, meet with acceptance. In the Liberal ranks there was division on the subject, and an impression seemed to be deepening, that complete neutrality, abstention from any pledges, and a watchful attitude with regard to Russia was the safest policy. There was a general notion that Lord Beaconsfield knew more of the situation than he chose to make public, that he was waiting quietly for the right moment to checkmate the Emperor of Russia, and control Turkey by two or three rapid and successful moves. There was some reason for so thinking. His career had been illustrative of these very qualities of patient self-possession, combined with readiness of action, and resource and unbounded audacity, which, now that he held the dogs of war in leash, and was the head if not the dictator of the government,

might enable him to show some brilliant display of statecraft, and, as the phrase went, give to England her proper place in the world. These opinions had undoubtedly gained ground, and so loud and boisterous were some of the extremer advocates of an anti-Russian policy, that it seemed as though we should soon be obliged to make some manifestation which would be equal to a proclamation of hostilities. The bumptious, overbearing demonstrations of the war party perhaps increased when it was discovered that Russia kept faith, and refrained from marching on Constantinople, and it may have required all the astuteness of Lord Beaconsfield himself to "uphold the character and prestige of England" without actually making common cause with the "Jingoes."

The term "Jingoes" will itself, when explained, indicate the persons who were just then making themselves most conspicuous—especially in London—and the temper which they too frequently displayed. The most noisy and violent of the partisans of the government were of course those who, regarding war from a distance, and without any experience of it, were ready to boast and to threaten. For these some jinglers of rhyme had written one or two so-called "patriotic" songs, by which the proprietors of music halls expected to attract large audiences, to assist in yelling the choruses, and to consume liquor. The most successful of these productions had a refrain which seemed exactly to suit the taste and intelligence of the audiences.

"We don't want to fight, but by Jingo, if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got
the money too."

This chorus was heard everywhere, and the Liberals, who had been a good deal hustled and insulted, even at their own meetings, and who for the most part felt that they were being publicly yelled down, gave to their demonstrative opponents the name of "Jingoes," a term which is quite likely to be perpetuated when its origin is forgotten.

For a time the "Jingoes" seemed to be having all their own way, and became not only boisterous, but riotously aggressive. In several instances, and notably on one occasion in

London, they boasted of having taken forcible possession of rooms that had been hired by the Liberals for the purpose of holding meetings. One evening a company of these high-spirited and gallant gentlemen, "flushed with insolence and wine," seeing Mr and Mrs Gladstone in a West End street, became so grossly insulting, and made such threatening demonstrations, that it became necessary for the lady to seek shelter in the hall of a house, at the door of which a servant was standing.

The vote of credit asked for by the government had been granted by a large majority. Prince Gortschakoff had declared that, far from marching onward, the Russian troops had been ordered everywhere to cease from further hostilities, the British Mediterranean fleet had been sent to Constantinople. On the 31d of March, 1878, a treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey was signed at St Stefano, by which Russia, while securing the freedom of the Christian populations from Turkish rule, would not only have claimed a large war indemnity, but would have expanded Bulgaria into a state, of which she would practically have had control. This treaty was at once denounced by Lord Derby as an attempted readjustment of the treaty of Paris, without the consent of the other contracting powers, while Lord Beaconsfield represented that it would virtually give Russia control over the whole of south-eastern Europe. It was demanded that the terms of a treaty should be considered in a conference at Berlin, and the demand was accompanied by demonstrations, in which Lord Derby could not concur, since he regarded them as approaching to a declaration of war. The reserve forces were called out, and it was afterwards known that orders had been sent to the Indian government to send 7000 native troops to Malta, and that we had prepared to occupy the island of Cyprus, and land an armed force on the coast of Syria.

Lord Derby feeling that he could not remain in the ministry sent in his resignation, and the Marquis of Salisbury was appointed to the direction of foreign affairs, Mr Gathorne Hardy (Lord Cranbrook) taking the India office. After much contention Russia

agreed to submit the terms of the treaty to a congress, which was to assemble at Berlin on the 13th of June. Somewhat to the surprise of the public the prime minister announced the intention of himself accompanying Lord Salisbury to attend it.

The result of the conference was that a treaty was signed intrusting Austria to occupy Bosnia and the Herzegovina, an arrangement which Lord Beaconsfield afterwards admitted was made for the purpose of placing another power as a block to a Russian advance on Constantinople. The organization of these provinces was left to Austria. Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were to be independent, the latter state receiving the seaport of Antivari and some adjoining territory. The Balkans were to be the southern frontier of Bulgaria, which was made tributary to the sultan, but with an independent government under a prince elected by the people, with the assent of the contracting powers and the confirmation of the sultan. South of the Balkans a state was to be created called Eastern Roumelia, which was to be under the direct authority of the sultan, who, however, was not to send thither any of those irregular troops whose atrocities had aroused so much indignation. Roumania was to restore to Russia a part of Bessarabia which had been detached by the treaty of 1856, and in exchange was to receive from Russia part of the Dobrudscha, including Silistria and Mag-nolia. The Porte was bound to come to some arrangement with Greece for the rectification of the frontier, to "apply to Crete the organic law of 1868," to hand over to Russia Aidahan, Kars, and Batoum, and to pay a war indemnity.

The congress having concluded its sittings, with a settlement by which Russia did not do very badly after all, Lord Beaconsfield returned to London, where he was received with enthusiastic acclamation, and after a kind of ceremonial procession from the railway-station addressed the multitude from a window of the Foreign Office. He said "Lord Salisbury and myself have brought you back peace, but a peace, I hope, with honour, which may satisfy our sovereign, and tend to the welfare of the country." For some time afterwards

"peace with honour" was a motto or watchword Lord John Russell had used the phrase five-and-twenty years before, when in a speech at Greenock he had said "If peace cannot be maintained with honour it is no longer peace" The Berlin treaty was accomplished, and Lord Beaconsfield's presence at the conference may have had considerable effect Not the effect which the Jingoës attributed to it, however, for, so far as England was concerned, instead of the terms of the treaty having been proposed and settled by acute and authoritative discussion, it was afterwards discovered that there had been a "diplomatic correspondence" and secret engagements with Russia and Turkey, which in effect had already settled most of the clauses of the proposed treaty, and had been agreed on and signed at the Foreign Office before the meeting of the congress

We have not yet done with the Eastern question

While the treaty of Berlin was supposed to shut the front gate to India, the marauder seemed to be plotting to gain an entrance by the back door

We have already noted the early disturbances in connection with the occupation of Cabul¹ It now seemed as if that terrible story was about to be repeated Dost Mahomed had left as his successor the Ameer Shere Ali, whose claims were resisted by the other sons, so that after many vicissitudes of war he did not gain firm possession of the Afghan capital till 1868. He conceived that he had little reason to love the English, who had refused to guarantee him against the advance of Russia, and had recognized his rivals Afzul Khan and Azim Khan as *de facto* rulers of Cabul during their successful resistance to his claims In 1869 Lord Mayo, the viceroy—whose assassination by a native in the Andaman Islands was one of the darkest events in 1872—had paid him an official visit and furnished him with six lacs of rupees and some artillery

We had refused to protect him against the hostile advances of Russia, but we were equally

ready to resent his reception of advances that were friendly In 1878, when the result of the protests made against Russia's advance upon the Turkish provinces was uncertain, a Russian envoy was sent to Cabul with the apparent object of concluding some kind of alliance with the Ameer This, of course, would, if not frustrated, have been a serious injury to that imperial policy which had found some expression by an addition to the royal title which was to be used only in relation to India. If Russia sent an envoy England must have a mission The changes which had been made in the office of viceroy of India in 1876 had led to the resignation of Lord Northbrook, and Lord Lytton (better known to readers of verse by his nom de guerre of Owen Meredith), the son of the brilliant novelist, succeeded him, for what reason or what special capacity nobody seems to have discovered at that time He was prepared to carry out the policy of the government, and, without regard to the protests of Shere Ali, the mission was sent to Cabul It was stopped on the frontier by an officer of the Ameer, who refused to allow it to pass till he had the authority of his chief This was regarded as a deliberate refusal, the manner of which demanded a resort to force, and a British force supported the mission and marched to Gandamak, a place between Jellalabad and Cabul, where they formed a camp Meantime Shere Ali died, his son Yakoub Khan, with whom he had quarrelled, came to the throne, professed a desire to be on friendly terms with the British, and went into the camp A treaty was entered into to pay the Ameer £60,000 a year in exchange for the frontier, the "scientific frontier," as Lord Beaconsfield had called it, to be occupied by the British A British representative was to be resident at Cabul, and the Ameer was to be assisted to defend himself against any foreign enemy Almost before the ink of the treaty was dry, and while the sound of applause at the dexterity with which we had occupied Cabul and Candahar, and so could keep Russia out of India, was still ringing, news came that Sir Louis Cavagnari, the English envoy, and nearly all the officers of the mission with the

¹ Vol. I p 288, vol II p 7

native escort, had been murdered by insurgents in Cabul. They had been attacked in the residency by a crowd of fierce but cowardly foes, who came upon them like a horde of wolves. The Englishmen, seeing nothing for it but to fight, made a swift sudden sally and drove back the crowd that thronged the gate, and then rapidly retired, leaving some of the enemy dead—many of them driven headlong by blows from the fist, for the officers were not completely armed. Even repeated sallies like this were of no avail, the mob, pressed forward by increasing numbers, closed upon them, they were overwhelmed and slain. It was war then, of course, and there was no time to lose. The forces that came to stop the British advance were defeated with heavy loss, and General Sir Frederick Roberts held Cabul with the troops under his command, Sir D Stewart reoccupying Candahar. Yakoo Khan abdicated, and with some of his advisers was sent to Peshawur. This caused a general insurrection in the country round Cabul, the leaders of which ordered an attack on the forces of Sir Frederick Roberts, who had retired to the cantonments of Sherpur to await reinforcements. Before any aid arrived our troops had beaten their assailants, whose leaders fled, and Shere Ali Khan, the Afghan governor of Candahar, having remained loyal to the English, was left as independent ruler, while Sir D Stewart marched with part of his force to Cabul to assume supreme command. On the way he met and defeated an Afghan army, probably raised by the fugitive chiefs, near Ghuzni. He then continued negotiations which made Abdul Rahman Khan, son of Afzul Khan, Ameer of Cabul.

It was to General Sir Frederick Roberts, however, that the great achievement of the campaign was due, and, but for the skill and almost unparalleled boldness of that commander and the unyielding courage of his men, a great disaster might at the last have befallen the British arms. In June, 1880, Ayub (a brother of Yakoo Khan), who had taken up his position at Herat, marched against Candahar with a large force. General Burrows advanced to oppose him, but some of

the native troops deserted to the enemy, and he was severely defeated at Maiwand, and had to fall back in confusion on Candahar, which was closely invested by Ayub Khan. Reinforcements were delayed for want of transport, the crisis was becoming dangerous, when Sir Frederick Roberts set out with his army of 10,000 men on a forced march from Cabul to Candahar, a distance of about 300 miles, through a difficult and hostile country. The heat was tremendous, and there was some fighting to be done on the way, but in three weeks the journey was accomplished. The men, without hesitation, attacked the enemy, and gained a brilliant victory, which re-established the prestige and the temporary power of the British arms, and enabled us to place the administration, as well as the ameership, in the hands of Abdul Rahman Khan, and to retire from Cabul, leaving "the scientific frontier" to remain an expression without much practical meaning.

The gallantry and remarkable generalship of Sir Frederick Roberts was perhaps not so completely recognized as some subsequent successes by other generals have been, but he was honoured with the thanks of the queen and the country, and his name and that of his army is still associated with the deed of prowess which alone seemed to give some lustre to a war undertaken without counting the cost and singularly barren in results.

Alas! there was, if possible, a still worse and less honourable enterprise before the country in what was known as the Zulu war. It is so recent that a few lines only need be devoted to it.

The various states of South Africa differed so considerably that it was not at first easy to unravel their claims, still less their alleged grievances. There were Cape Colony and Natal directly under British control. There was the Transvaal, the territory north of the Vaal river, a Dutch republic, with a population of 40,000 Europeans and 250,000 Kafirs and natives. There was the Orange Free State, formed by Dutch settlers who emigrated from Cape Colony because they disliked British rule, and whose independence had been recog-

nized. On the north side, beyond the Limpopo river, the Transvaal bordered on the vast wilderness of the interior, where Moffat and Livingstone visited the Bechuanas and other great tribes. Next to the Orange State lay Basutoland and Natal, under British rule, and bordering on Natal the country of the Zulus. The inability of the Boers of the Transvaal to defend themselves against the Zulu Kafirs induced the British government to offer to take charge of the additional territory in the presumed interest of the European population as against the numerical superiority of the natives. Some of the native tribes were sufficiently organized to be regarded rather as uncivilized communities than as mere savages, and though we had in 1874 put down a so-called insurrection under the chief Langalibalele, and punished him with imprisonment, it was thought by many that we acted in a high-handed manner.

The Boers of the Transvaal had been defeated by one chief, Secocoeni, and were in constant peril from the Zulus, and yet they would not treat them with consideration. Judging from after events it would seem that some of the Zulu chiefs, Cetewayo, for instance, was little less worthy of respect and conciliation than the subjects of the South African Volksraad, but Cetewayo, as the greatest chief and ruler of the Zulus, detested the Boers, who had, he believed, injured him, and who held territory which he with justice claimed to belong to his people, while he was frankly anxious to be on friendly terms with the English, and to pay allegiance to the English sovereign. Under these circumstances the British government made what appears to have been the greatest possible mistake with respect to both parties. In response to some vague representation it proposed to the Boers that the Transvaal should be annexed to British territory that it might have due protection, and sent out Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who, without waiting for an exact decision either there or at home, proclaimed the annexation. It undertook to arbitrate on Cetewayo's claim, and after finding in his favour sent out Sir Bartle Frere, who, as lord commissioner, instead of doing prompt justice, kept back the award,

treated the Zulu chief with marked dislike, and at length, after having exasperated him, and aroused his suspicions by delay, demanded as a condition of the award that the Zulu troops should be disarmed and disbanded, and return to their homes. This demand not being immediately complied with Zululand was invaded by British troops, but we had undervalued the ability of Cetewayo and the strength of those whom we had converted into enemies.

News of a defeat at Isandula came here at a time when the pendulum of public opinion was about to swing back. The spirits of those who had been boasting and singing, and declaring "by Jingo," felt a little dashed at the disaster; and though, when Lord Chelmsford, who was in command, retrieved his position so completely that on the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley the war was over, and Cetewayo was quickly made a prisoner, the blow loosened the hold of the government, and "imperial policy" was spoken in lower tones. One event which gave a darker shadow to the war in Zululand was the death of the young prince imperial, the son of the late Napoleon III and the widowed Eugenie, ex-empress of the French. The youth, who was of good and fair promise, had studied in a military school at Woolwich, and offered to serve as a volunteer on Lord Chelmsford's staff. He went out with a small reconnoitring party, which was surprised by the enemy, who slew him with their assegais.

The determination to annex the Transvaal met with no better result than the invasion of Zululand. The soldiers who came to reinforce the Boers found themselves among enemies, and friendly annexation was interpreted into armed invasion, ending in defeat which it would have been ignominious to avenge. The mistakes of 1877-79 had to be remedied by another government, by the long-deferred release and restoration of Cetewayo, and the abandonment of hostilities against the people of the Transvaal, who had apparently been the victims of misrepresentation.

Before passing from the African question a word must be said about Egypt. One of the earlier manifestations of the policy afterwards

adopted by the government was the purchase from the khedive in 1875 of the 176,000 shares which he held in the Suez Canal. There were 400,000 shares altogether, and he held nearly half of them, but he was nearly ruined by extravagance and debauchery, and they came upon the stock-exchange, where the British government bought them for £4,000,000 sterling. A few people there were who had grave doubts of the wisdom of the investment, but the majority first thought of it as a subtle thing, an artful move of Disraeli's, and afterwards as a bold, characteristic way of showing foreign nations that we meant to keep our hold upon the road to the East.

But we soon had a more distinctive influence in Egypt by what was known as the dual control, which gave to France and England the administration of the financial affairs of the country in the interests of the European creditors. In 1876 Mr Goschen and a representative of France unravelled the tangled skein of Egyptian finance, arranged the loans so that creditors could be paid at some sacrifice, placed the khedive on a fixed allowance, and brought the whole of Egyptian finance under European control, taking the regulation of railways, the collection of the revenues, disbursements of the state, care of the funds, and payments of debts, the Egyptian minister of finance being quietly deposed. This arrangement concluded by the appointment of controllers-general by England and France. The scheme was opposed by Lord Derby, but was agreed to by Lord Salisbury at the pressing solicitation of France, and because of the appeals of the prodigal khedive. Subsequently the affairs of this involved exchequer required the appointment of an extra liquidation commission, and in 1881 the capital debt under various "loans" amounted to above £98,000,000, with a floating debt of £5,000,000. It will readily be understood that the administration of many of the chief offices by Europeans gave rise to much dissatisfaction. How far this may have influenced the commencement of the insurrection under Arabi Pasha in 1882 it would be difficult to say.

The dual control virtually ceased to exist when France held back from supporting the

authority of the khedive against the rebel general, with whom it was believed he was treacherously in accord till the insurrection in Alexandria rendered it necessary for our government to send a fleet under Admiral Seymour to protect European residents, and the acts of the insurgents compelled us to suppress what had by that time become a rebellion.

Towards the end of 1879 there was an ominous sound in the political atmosphere, the sound of the Liberal forces mustering for battle at the coming elections. Parliament had not run its entire course of seven years, but it has mostly been regarded as an unwritten law that parliament shall prepare to dissolve at the end of the sixth session. Mr Gladstone challenged the ministry to appeal to the country. There were numerous symptoms that a change was desired. Trade was depressed, there was much want and distress among the followers of some of the chief industries. In Ireland there were symptoms of increased difficulty, and everywhere there was that kind of dissatisfaction which often succeeds great excitement and frequent surprises. The Liberals were not in high spirits, the ministry seemed to cling to office as though they meant to extend the duration of parliament to its furthest limit, and feared an appeal to the electors. Suddenly the dissolution was announced for the 24th of March, 1880. When the elections began there was no longer uncertainty. The country appeared to have been reconverted to Liberalism, and awakened to keen interest. Mr Gladstone could rely on his supporters in Scotland. At the time when his opponents triumphed, and he was being abused and suspected, he had been elected to the rectorship of the University of Glasgow, though a Cabinet minister was the other candidate. He had now determined to carry the electoral conflict into Midlothian, and there to test the strength of Liberal principles. On the 29th of December, 1879, Mr Gladstone was seventy years of age, but he entered into the contest with undiminished spirit and energy. "The Midlothian campaign," as it came to be called, has already become historical. The number of places at

which he spoke, the large audiences he addressed, the results in gaining seats for Liberal candidates, and his own return by 1579 votes against 1368 polled by Lord Dalkeith, son of the Duke of Buccleugh, proved that the Liberal cause had been well maintained. The representation of Leeds, too, had been open to Mr Gladstone, but he was already pledged to Scotland, and Mr. Herbert Gladstone, the youngest son of the Liberal leader, having unsuccessfully contested Middlesex with Lord George Hamilton, was returned for the cloth city.

It was obvious that Mr Gladstone could no longer refuse to resume his place at the head of the Liberal interest, nor was it more than a momentary question who should be prime minister. The result of the elections was the return of 351 Liberals and 240 Conservatives, as against 351 Conservatives and 251 Liberals in the previous parliament. The Home Rulers numbered 61, as against 50 in the former elections. In the first speech made at Edinburgh by Mr Gladstone on his electoral journey he had referred to his political opponents, and concluded by saying

"I give them credit for patriotic motives, I give them credit for those patriotic motives which are so incessantly and gratuitously denied to us. I believe that we are all united, gentlemen—indeed, it would be most unnatural, if we were not—in a fond attachment, perhaps in something of a proud attachment, to the great country to which we belong—to this great empire, which has committed to it a trust and a function given from providence as special and remarkable as ever was entrusted to any portion of the family of man. Gentlemen, I feel when I speak of that trust and that function that words fail me, I cannot tell you what I think of the nobleness of the inheritance that has descended upon us, of the sacredness of the duty of maintaining it. I will not condescend to make it a part of controversial politics. It is a part of my being, of my flesh and blood, of my heart and soul. For those ends I have laboured through my youth and manhood till my hairs are gray. In that faith and practice I have lived, in that faith and practice I will die."

This declaration touched a chord in the heart of the country, which had not ceased to vibrate when, on the 13th of December, 1882, the premier received from all parts of the country,—from great political and social bodies as well as from private individuals, and from societies and schools of men, women, and children,—warm and enthusiastic congratulations on having completed fifty years of parliamentary life, chiefly passed in active and often in strenuous efforts for the advancement of the welfare of the country.

On the 21st of April, 1881, all England mourned the death of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. From the Queen upon the throne to the cotter's child sitting on the door-step the intelligence was received with a sentiment that arose from a sense of national loss, but many, including her majesty, felt also that they were bereaved of a true and genial friend.

In an early page of this book,¹ written on the day following his death, some record will be found of a political career which was perhaps the most remarkable of modern times. Of his personal and intellectual characteristics numerous illustrations will be found in these volumes.

Earl Russell had quietly gone to his rest full of years on the 28th of May, 1878. He was in his eighty-sixth year, and, though he was still honoured, he had so long been out of the sphere of practical statesmanship that, as the *Times* said, his death removed from the world the shadow of a great name.

Thiers had died in 1877, and Victor Emmanuel in 1878, and events had been so many and so quick that it seemed but yesterday that Napoleon III. had come in his second exile to England, and had there been laid in the mausoleum at Chislehurst. Thirlwall, the great Liberal bishop, had died in 1875, and the witty, able, and courtly Bishop of Winchester two years before him. In 1870 the sudden death of England's great novelist, Charles Dickens, had brought to thousands of men, women, and children the sense of a personal loss. Lord Lytton, the brilliant speaker and writer of romance, died in January, and

John Stuart Mill, the logician and political economist, in November, 1873 Canon Kingsley, the scholar and writer, who had once lived in a luminous mental haze of "Christian Socialism," passed into the land of light and love in the first month of 1875 In the previous year intelligence of the death of Livingstone had come from Unyanyembe In 1870-1871 Mr Stanley, a young and energetic Welsh-American, was sent out by the proprietor of a New York newspaper to endeavour to discover Livingstone, from whom for a long time nothing had been heard Mr Stanley found him at Ujiji, and accompanied him on a journey Livingstone afterwards went on an expedition to the unexplored regions south-west of Lake Tanganyika After much toilsome travelling, and having suffered greatly from dysentery, he died on the shore of Lake Bangweolo, May, 1873.

There had been many great and serious losses besides these. Sir Arthur Helps, Harriet Martineau, Lord Lawrence, Sir Rowland Hill, Lord Westbury, Landseer, Lord Clarendon; and later George Henry Lewes, George Eliot (Mrs Cross), Anthony Trollope, and others whose names have already appeared in the course of this narrative, had left the conflict in which they had borne a part

No sooner had the new ministry been formed by Mr Gladstone than it had serious difficulties to contend with. The outrages committed in Ireland drove the government to abandon for the moment all attempts at a policy of conciliation

There had been 1253 outrages in the previous year, and most of them in the later months of the year Houses had been broken into, incendiaries had been at work, cattle had been maimed and tortured, horrible and brutal attacks had been made, not on men only, but on women and children Tenants who had paid an amount of rent unauthorized by the Land League, landlords who demanded payment or had ejected tenants, occupiers of farms or dwellings from which former tenants had been expelled for non-payment of rent, and persons who had agreed to work for anybody who had paid his rent,

were hable to assault, or to continued persecution by which life was endangered None dared to claim compensation for outrages committed on them few dared to prosecute

The government was obliged to act, and acted swiftly and sternly The remedy was summary for it was to give power to the lord-lieutenant to issue a warrant for the arrest of any person whom he might suspect of treasonable or agrarian offences, and to detain him as a prisoner without trial till September, 1882 This part of the "Protection of Life and Property Bill" was, of course, vehemently opposed by the Irish party, while many Liberals advocated the introduction of remedial instead of coercive measures Mr Bright (chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) reminded the house, amidst assent from the Home Rulers, that he had formerly stood up for Ireland, and said that he had not at these times thought all the proposed coercive measures necessary, the basis of his hostility to them having been that they were not accompanied by any remedial measures, or even by any admission of grievances, but now a land bill was promised and would be brought in The Irish party had commenced to carry out threats of obstruction, and the house had sat twenty-two hours The next sitting lasted for forty-one hours, during which motions for adjournment were made over and over again by the Home Rulers, and rejected by the house Members of each party came in detachments to relieve those who had carried on the struggle It was an extraordinary spectacle, to see a few men, by merely technical opposition, wilfully preventing legislation and delaying the entire work of the session against the great majority of the house. At length the Speaker declared, amidst the support of the majority, that a new and exceptional course of procedure was imperatively demanded, and he was satisfied that he should carry out the wishes of the house if he declined to call on any more members to speak The question was then put, amidst cries of privilege from Home Rulers, who were vehemently illogical in demanding all the privileges of legal precedent to enable them to defy and deride law and order Leave was then given to bring in the bill

The reports of all the commissions, with one exception, agreed that it was of vital importance to establish a court for the purpose of dealing with the differences between landlord and tenant, and for the protection of tenants against arbitrary increase of rent. But it was also necessary to maintain the right of assignment or sale of tenant-right, the old law of the country recognizing the right of the tenant to sell whatever interest he possessed in his tenancy, which by the act of 1870 had become something considerable, so that the commissioners had recommended a recognition of it, and that it might be enforced without injustice to the landlord. The cardinal feature of the bill, then, would be the court, to which, however, an appeal would not be compulsory but optional. This court, which would also act as a land commission and regulate all the proceedings of the local courts, would consist of three members, one of whom must always be a judge or an ex-judge of the Supreme Court, and it would have power to appoint assistant commissioners and sub-commissioners to sit in the provinces. Every tenant would be entitled to go to the court to have fixed for his holding a "judicial rent," which would endure for fifteen years, during which there could be no eviction of the tenant except for specific breach of certain specific covenants or non-payment of rent. There would be no power of resumption on the part of the landlord during this time, and his remedy would have to take the form of a compulsory sale of the tenant-right. After the fifteen years had expired application might be made to the court for a renewal of tenancy *toties quoties*. The conditions as to eviction would remain if the tenancy were renewed, but the landlord would have a pre-emption of the tenant's right if the latter wished to sell. The court, in fixing the rents, would control the unlimited growth of rental and of tenant-right. There were other provisions of the bill which protected tenants and extended the advantages of the rules of the court even to those who were under the Ulster custom, or who did not choose to apply to the court itself.

By the second part of the bill the *Land Commission* would be enabled to realize a

scheme for supplying landlords ready to sell and tenants desiring to purchase their holdings. In such cases the commissioners would have power to advance, to tenants intending to purchase, three-fourths of the purchase-money, or one-half of the purchase-money when the tenant agreed to pay a price to the landlord and to hold from him at a fee farm rent. The rest of the purchase-money might be borrowed elsewhere, and purchasing tenants would be indemnified against encumbered estates or defective titles. The Land Commission could purchase an estate and resell it in small lots to the tenants if three-fourths of them, paying not less than three-fourths of the total rent, desired to become holders. Advances for this and other purposes were to be charged at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and repayable in thirty-five years. Advances might be made for agricultural improvements for the reclamation of waste lands when state aid was met by a corresponding outlay of private capital, or in cases where there was a baronial guarantee, the treasury would advance three-fourths of the cost of projected improvements. Advances to be determined by parliament were also to be made to assist emigration. The result of the bill would be to restrain the increase of rent by certain rules, to regulate compensation for disturbance, to establish the right of the tenant to sell his interest, to prevent evictions except for default, and to forbid resumption by the landlord except for grave and reasonable causes, which might be brought in question before the court.

We need not follow the distracting and protracted debates and obstructions amidst which the bill went through committee, and, with several modifications, became law. It passed at last, and though there were endeavours to introduce changes which would have made some of the clauses in favour of the tenant nugatory, and other alterations of a cancelling character were proposed, the measure was at last completed.

In noticing offences against the law, especially crimes of violence, it should be remarked that according to statistics issued the number of indictable offences within the ten years (1870-

1880) in England, Wales, and Ireland indicated a slight increase of crime in recent years, both absolutely and relatively to population. The number of crimes reported to have been committed was uniformly smaller in Ireland than in England and Wales. The ten years from 1871 to 1880 included five years of great prosperity of trade and high wages, and five years of decline of trade and lower wages. The average of the two periods of five years had been, per 1000, England and Wales from 1875, 1.98, Ireland, 1.36, from 1876 to 1880, England and Wales, 2.09, Ireland, 1.37. Indictable offences were thus shown to have been greater in number during the five good years. As to Ireland, the larger number of crimes at the commencement and end of the periods 1871-72 and 1879-80 was clearly due to the relations between landlords and tenants. Although during the past ten years there had been a slight increase of crime, the number of persons committed for trial had diminished in every part of the United Kingdom, which points to the fact that the graver crimes had diminished in number. In Scotland and Ireland the proportion of committals was uniformly greater than in England and Wales. On an average of ten years the percentage of convictions was 78 per cent in England and Wales, 76 per cent in Scotland, and 55 per cent in Ireland; in 1880 the proportion in Ireland was only 50 per cent. This is suggestive, especially as in Ireland the proportion of convictions in cases of offences against property was considerably greater than in offences against the person. In England, in 1880, 72 persons were apprehended for murder, of these 13 were discharged for want of evidence or want of prosecution, or 18 per cent of the whole, and 59 committed for trial, or 82 per cent. In Ireland in the same year 53 persons were apprehended for murder, 37, or 69 per cent, were discharged for want of evidence, and 16, or only 30 per cent, committed for trial. Of 61 committed for trial in England, 28, or 46 per cent, were convicted, of 35 committed for murder in Ireland, only 3, or $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, were convicted. In proportion to the population the offences against public order were 5.13 to the thousand

in Scotland against 1.16 in England. The offences against morals were in the proportion of 0.21 to the thousand in England, against 0.04 in Ireland. Offences against the person were 11.58 to the thousand in Scotland, against 2.82 in England, and the offences against property 6.6 per thousand in Scotland, against 2.27 in Ireland. Drunkenness was worst in Ireland, being 16.60 per thousand, against 6.77 in England and 7.26 in Scotland. But for drunkenness and small crimes the criminal statistics were favourable to Ireland. What aggravated the state of crime in Ireland was the recurrence of political offences, and agrarian crime was seldom absent from Irish criminal jurisprudence, but no criminal was brought to justice, although the offences were often grave.

In education Ireland compared unfavourably with England and Scotland. One quarter of the population was unable to read or write. The progress in education made in the past fifty years had, however, been great, for in 1841 the proportion of illiterates to the population was 53 per cent. In 1851 it had fallen to 47, in 1861 to 39, in 1871 to 33, and in 1881 to 25. The eastern and northern provinces stand on an equality in regard to education, the proportion of illiterates in each being 20 per cent, but Leinster had made rather the greater progress, the proportion there having been 44 in 1841, while in Ulster it was but 40. In Munster there were 29 persons out of every 100 unable to read or write, and in Connaught 38. Fifty years ago the percentage of illiterates in the western province was as high as 72, while in 1881 the untaught were distributed among the religious denominations in the following proportions:—Roman Catholics, 30.1 per cent, Episcopalians, 10.9, Presbyterians, 7.1, and Methodists, 5.5. The greatest progress as regards primary education seems to have been made among the Roman Catholics. But the number of Protestant Episcopalian children attending the National Schools had increased in ten years by 54 per cent, and this is regarded as a proof of the subsidence of religious prejudice. It is worth notice that, in spite of the former denunciation of the Queen's

Colleges by the priesthood, the percentage of Roman Catholic students in the three colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, increased between 1871 and 1881 by 76 1 per cent, in Cork alone, the number of Roman Catholic students rose from 88 to 179

In 1880 there left our shores for the United States, 69,081 English, 14,471 Scotch, and 83,018 Irish; for British North America, 13,541 English, 3221 Scotch, and 4140 Irish, for Australasia, 15,176 English, 3059 Scotch, and 5949 Irish, for all other places, English, 14,047, Scotch, 1305, Irish, 534. The grand total is 227,542, compared with 164,274 in 1879 Including foreigners, 332,294 individuals left our shores, 281,560 as steerage, and 50,734 as cabin passengers. Of the former 156,150 sailed from Liverpool, 26,058 from London, 19,068 from other English ports, 26,340 from Glasgow, and 53,944 from Londonderry and Cork, all of whom went to America, in the proportion of 17 to the Republic to 1 to the Dominion

The total of those who went to British North America was 29,340, to Australia and New Zealand, 25,438, to the East Indies, 4527, to the British West Indies, 1543, to the Cape and Natal, 9803, to British possessions in Central and South America, 2203, and 2166 to all other British possessions

The proportion of male to female emigrants was nearly 5 to 3, namely, 203,294 to 129,000, but among British subjects only, the relations of the sexes were somewhat different, and in round numbers there were 13 males to 9 females. The Irish took most women with them, which is an indication of a more permanent separation from the mother country, their relations being 48 men to 45 women, the English were 7 to 4, and the Scotch 13 to 8. Of the 188,950 adults of British origin of both sexes, 19,971 men and 25,239 women were married, the explanation of the excess being that the surplus women were going out to join their husbands, 92,470 were single men, 51,197 were spinsters, and there were also 38,592 children under twelve years of age

The emigration of persons of Irish origin, which had fallen very low between 1875 and 1879, suddenly rose in 1880 to 93,641, or 12,000

in excess of the annual average of the previous ten years. The proportion of Irish emigrants to the total from the United Kingdom, which had fallen to about 25 per cent, rose to 41 per cent. The figures being.—English emigrants, 111,845, or 49 per cent of the whole, Scotch, 22,056, or 10 per cent, Irish, 93,641, or 41 per cent. In 1886–87 the total emigration was 168,221 English, 34,365 Scotch, 78,901 Irish. The total number of emigrants from Ireland from May 1851 to the end of 1887 was 3,197,419

The Roman Catholic Church is still, as it has been since Henry II, the dominant religious community in Ireland. Its members, according to the census of 1882, numbered 3,960,891, or 76 54 per cent of the whole population. Protestant Episcopalians numbered 639,574, or 12 36 per cent, Presbyterians, 470,734, or 9 10 per cent, and Methodists, 48,839, or a little less than 1 per cent

We cannot pass from our references to the important measures of the period under review without dwelling for a moment on the bill which made employers liable to pay damages for injuries sustained by work-people in their service in consequence of carelessness or neglect of persons in authority over them. the Ground Game Bill, which permits farmers to kill hares and rabbits on their farms. the Burials Bill, permitting any persons to bury their dead in the churchyards of the district where there is no public cemetery. and the Married Women's Property Bill, by which protection is given to women against the rapacity and cruelty of worthless husbands

The Married Women's Property Act secures to a married woman for her absolute use the wages which she earned by her own labour and the profits of her own skill in literature, art, or other employment. Deposits in savings-banks, property to which she becomes entitled as next of kin, and pecuniary legacies not exceeding two hundred pounds, are also made her own and placed at her own disposal. This significant assertion that the marriage should not be held to annihilate the individual rights of a woman was greatly extended and simplified by the act of 1882. The very first sub-section provides that "a married woman shall . . . be

capable of acquiring, holding, and disposing by will or otherwise of any real or personal property as her separate property in the same manner as if she were a *feme sole*, without the intervention of any trustee" The same section goes on to declare that she may enter into contracts without the intervention of her husband, and abolishes the rule whereby, if she brings an action at law, or is sued by someone else, her husband must be "joined for conformity"

After providing that any contract entered into by a married woman shall be presumed, unless the contrary be expressed, to bind her separate property, and subjecting her to the law of bankruptcy if she engages in trade, the act proceeds in the second clause in these words "Every woman who marries after the commencement of this act shall be entitled to have and to hold as her separate property, and to dispose of in manner aforesaid, all real and personal property which shall belong to her at the time of marriage, or shall be acquired by or devolve upon her after marriage."

A woman married before the commencement of the act is entitled to all the property which shall accrue to her after that date. When a married couple are living apart, either of them is subject to criminal proceedings for interfering with the property of the other, just as if they had never been married. A married woman may accept any trust, or become executrix or administratrix, without the consent of her husband.

Let us, in this place, devote a few passages to some more recent evidences which sustained good hope for the future maintenance of commercial and social prosperity.

The progress of the country could not be doubted. Although there had been well-founded complaints of the "depression of trade," the same complaints arising from similar conditions were heard in every country in Europe and also in the manufacturing centres of the United States of America. These conditions had been chiefly a too large production while the demands of commerce were pressing, the protracted influence of strikes among operatives, and the paralysing effects of continued hostilities of labour

against capital. Our commerce was maintained, though some of the conditions of trade had altered, and were likely to undergo many further changes. The amount of revenue derived from customs and excise had increased since the year 1882, when the figures were—customs, £19,275,268, excise, £27,170,798, as compared with £19,210,465, and £25,372,183 for the year 1881. The figures for 1883 were—customs, £19,682,700, excise, £26,982,900, for 1884—customs, £19,646,600; excise, £27,048,100, for 1885—customs, £20,557,800; excise, £26,501,600. The amounts for 1886–1887 were—customs, £20,135,855, excise, £25,212,883, for 1887–1888—customs, £19,579,476, excise, £25,625,520, for 1888–89—customs, £19,971,190, excise, £25,474,403. Trade had somewhat fallen off, but revived again with considerable advance in the latter half of the year 1889.

The total income for the year 1882 amounted to £86,000,000, which showed a small increase on the previous year, and an increase of four and a half millions on that of 1880. There was little opportunity, however, for that retrenchment which it is the professed aim of the Liberal government to promote, for retrenchment can only be achieved by the adoption of the two other watchwords which had yet to be translated into action—"peace" and "reform." Of the eighty-five and a half millions of revenue, about twenty-nine and a half millions went to pay the interest of debt, chiefly incurred by the cost of former wars and provision against war, and an equal sum for the payments for maintaining the army and navy, and for the remaining liabilities for the former Afghan and South African wars—£535,000 and £500,000 respectively. In 1878 there was £3,500,000 for our share in the Russian-Turkish war, in 1879 and 1880, for the war in Zululand and the Transvaal, £4,821,720, and £472,200 for Griqualand and Sukukuni expeditions, and, in 1881, for the Afghan war, £500,000. This brings us to the conclusion that debt and war, including provisions for protection against invasion, cost about sixty-nine per cent of the whole revenue, and that about sixty-five per cent of that revenue is derived from customs, excise,

and income-tax—above a million and a half being derived from what is called house-tax—an impost inflicted on the tenant in place of the window-tax, which in 1851 was repealed, and the house-duty substituted

In round numbers the gross totals of income and expenditure for 1882 up to 1892 have been—1882 income £86,000,000, expenditure £85,000,000, 1883 income £89,400,000, expenditure £88,500,000, 1884 income £87,500,000, expenditure £87,100,000, 1885 income £88,000,000, expenditure £89,000,000, 1886–1887 income £91,000,000, expenditure £89,000,000, 1887–1888 income £90,000,000, expenditure £87,000,000, 1889 income £88,473,000, expenditure £87,684,000, 1892 income £90,994,000, expenditure £89,927,773. The war expenses in this period included those for the Egyptian expedition in 1883, and for the Soudan expedition for the relief of Gordon. The financial reforms achieved to 1885–1886 included the reform of the legacy duties, the reduction of the railway passenger duties, and the charge of certain corporate properties with succession duty.

Another sign of the national enterprise to which reference may be made is the advance of our shipping and carrying trade. It is impossible to form any true estimate of our imports and exports and of our national industry without taking this powerful element into account. The total tonnage entered and cleared of ports in the foreign trade alone was, in 1850, 14,000,000 tons, 1860, 24,000,000 tons, 1870, 36,000,000 tons, 1880, 58,000,000 tons. Thus the increase in thirty years was fourfold. The same result is obtained if vessels with cargoes are alone taken. If we take the English tonnage engaged in this trade we find—1850, 9,000,000 tons, 1860, 14,000,000 tons, 1870, 25,000,000 tons, 1880, 41,000,000 tons, 1884, 46,000,000 tons; the foreign tonnage being 17,000,000 tons. The amount of foreign tonnage engaged in this trade increased only fourfold. It must be noted also that our steam tonnage largely increased in this epoch. Thus we have to deal with two leading classes of facts—first, the increase of our shipping trade, second, the development of our steam marine. In considering the nature of the growth of our

trade and that of other countries we must take into account how the world has developed within the last fifty years. There are the enlarged territory and production of North America, the advance of South America, the practical opening of Africa west and south, the growth of the Australian colonies, and the increase in Indian produce by the construction of railways. Then there are the opening up of the Pacific World, the discovery of gold in California and Australia, the cargoes from the west coast of South America, Peru, and Chili of guano, nitre, wheat, and copper. If nothing else had occurred, the vast expansion of trade in the Pacific must have produced great effects, and at least doubled the trade of the world.

Sixty years ago steam played but an inconsiderable part in foreign trade. Sailing ships, or steamers with wooden hulls, were made with the timber of the United States, Canada, Norway, and Russia, and were fitted with the hemp of Russia and other countries. Our materials for ship equipment were chiefly imported from abroad, and we had to pay the foreigner for them, while the foreigner had great advantages for engaging in the same enterprise. Now, the hulls are made of iron and steel, the rigging and cables also, the engines are of metal, and a chief working material is coal. As all these articles, so far as we are concerned, are of home production, we no longer have to import them, we no longer have to pay a tax for acquiring them, and we turn to account the products of our own soil. The foreigner is seldom able to compete with us. The Americans, who have the advantage of home timber, have lost that resource, and their home iron is produced under less favourable circumstances. Thus, by the addition and application of steam in iron and steel vessels, the economical conditions of our shipping trade have been greatly altered, and inasmuch as the trade of the world has expanded, so do we obtain not only our share of the increase of this trade, but a share enhanced by our possession of advantages in the new mode of carrying.

It is interesting to note that on a given date, the 30th of September, 1872, the total number

of merchant vessels, sail and steam, under construction in the United Kingdom was 455, representing 325,109 tons. At the same date in 1882 the number had increased to 617, representing 876,769 tons, an increase largely due to the adoption of steel as a material for ship-building. In September 1887 the numbers had resumed the ordinary rate of increase so far as tonnage was concerned. It stood at 394,340 tons, but the vessels numbered only 249, showing their increased size.

Even an outline of the increase of those material advantages which promote national and social progress, not only in England but throughout the civilized world, would not be complete without reference to the amazing development of the means of transit and of communication, and from a table of railway mileage published in 1882 it would appear that Germany came first with 21,500 miles, followed by Great Britain, 18,200, France, 17,200, Russia, 14,600; Austria, 12,000, Italy, 5500, Spain, 4900, Sweden, 4600, Belgium, 2500, Switzerland, 1565, Holland, 1435, Denmark, 1160, Roumania, 920, Turkey, 870, Portugal, 660, and Greece, 6 miles. In 1884 the lines of Great Britain extended to 18,864 miles. They are now about 20,000. As for the receipts of British railway companies, their total in 1869 was only £41,000,000, but it was £62,962,000 in 1880, £64,338,000 in 1881, and is now £85,000,000. The receipts from third-class passengers, which specially illustrates the condition of the working classes, increased from £7,000,000 in 1869 to £15,000,000 in 1880. The total receipts from passenger traffic alone in 1884 was £27,757,000, and the total traffic yielded 70½ millions.

In Great Britain there were in 1881, 26,465 miles of telegraphic lines, as compared with 59,090 miles in Russia, 43,650 miles in France, 31,015 in Austria-Hungary, and 14,265 miles in Germany—Germany coming first with the total length of wires, having 159,910 against 134,465 miles in Russia, 125,265 in France, and 121,720 in England. But the total number of messages in 1881 showed for England 29,820,445, France, 19,882,628; Germany, 16,312,457; Austria-Hungary, 8,729,321, and Russia only 7,298,422. The number of mes-

sages in England in 1889 amounted to 58,000,000. Sixpenny telegrams were introduced in 1885.

In England the gross amount received and the gross amount expended in respect of the post-office telegraph service from the date of its transfer to the government, viz.—from 1870 to March 31, 1880, was £11,592,160, 18s 3d, and the gross amount expended £9,920,597, 9s 7½d. In the year 1880 the gross amount received was £1,469,795, 6s 6d. The present receipts are above £2,000,000.

The computed population of England and Wales in 1871 was 22,760,359. In 1881 it was 25,798,922. The increase from 1840 to 1882 had been 10,068,109. In Scotland there were 3,666,375 persons in 1871, and 3,695,456 in 1881, an increase of 1,094,764 since 1840. In Ireland in 1871 the population was 5,386,708, and in 1881 5,294,436, whereas in 1840 the population was estimated at 8,155,521, and increased in remarkably uncertain proportions till 1846, when the decrease commenced, which has continued chiefly through emigration in fits and starts, but during the years from 1845 to 1854 at a great rate, afterwards in less proportion till 1875, when the decrease on the previous year was 5350. In 1876, however, there began a definite increase on the population of 1875 of 12,124, and in the following year a further increase of 17,288. In 1879 and 1880 the increase was maintained at above 12,000 for each year, but fell again in 1880 to 226, and in 1881 had been replaced by a decrease of 197,000, in 1882 by further decrease of 32,000, in 1883 by 82,000, in 1884 by 52,700, and in 1885 by 44,000, the population being now under 5,000,000. The whole population of the United Kingdom in 1871 was 31,513,442, in 1881 34,929,679, and in 1885 36,326,000. It is now about 39,000,000.

The population in the large towns has increased. Birmingham at the last census had increased from 340,000 to 400,000, Liverpool, from 493,000 to 552,000. Manchester had only slightly increased, but Salford had increased from 124,000 to 176,000, Bristol, from 182,000 to 206,000, Leeds, from 259,000 to 309,000, Leicester, from 95,000 to 122,000, Nottingham, from 129,000 to 186,000, and

Coventry, from 41,000 to 47,000 The ratable value of Birmingham, Liverpool, and other towns has also greatly increased

The number of electors in 1880-81 was 2,399,370 in England, 138,440 in Wales, 310,218 in Scotland, and 229,461 in Ireland, making a total of 3,077,489, but the extension of the franchise in 1885 added considerably more than two millions. The assessments in the metropolis and in counties, boroughs, and universities amounted in 1884 to £432,855,448 for England and Wales, £54,782,336 for Scotland, and £34,222,230 for Ireland, or a total of £521,860,014.

There was an increase in the foreign trade, export and import, of the United Kingdom, as shown by the entries and clearances in the British ports, of 60 per cent in the ten years from 1870 to 1880, and the values of our trade greatly increased in 1881 and 1882 In 1885-87, though commercial depression all over the world somewhat diminished the relative values, the volume of our trade was maintained, and in 1888 to 1889 the signs of commercial revival were again manifest

The total real value of imports and exports from and to our colonial possessions was in 1865, £124,387,551, in 1875, £161,074,982, in 1881, £178,220,852, in 1882, £191,768,514, in 1883, £189,082,426, in 1884, £184,116,545, in 1888 it was £178,000,000, exclusive of bullion and specie

Our foreign exports and imports represented in 1881, £694,105,264, which was nearly three millions less than the totals of 1880

The total real values of exports and imports in 1880 were £697,644,031, in 1882, £719,680,322, in 1883, £732,328,649, and in 1884, £685,986,152, a decrease of 46 millions as compared with 1883, but an increase of 30½ millions upon 1875 (nine years), 196 millions upon 1865, and 425½ millions upon 1855 In 1885 the total was £642,371,600, in 1886 it had fallen to £618,530,400, but in 1887 it again rose to £642,990,700, in 1888 to £685,530,000, and in 1889 to nearly £700,000,000

In the forty-one years from 1840 the increase of the value of goods imported had risen in 1881, 540 per cent, the increased value

per head of the population being £11, 7s 4d. as against £2, 7s. 6½d The value of British produce and manufactures exported had risen from £51,308,740 to £234,022,678, or 356 per cent, and the proportion per head from £1, 18s 9d to £6, 14s. These figures are very full of suggestion. They mean a vast accession of comfort, a much larger supply of food, a remarkable improvement in the condition of the labouring population They also suggest that with increasing freedom of commerce trade had increased, and that the national ledger shows under the head of foreign traffic the gigantic total of more than fourteen thousand millions sterling for the twenty-eight years from 1854 to 1881 inclusive

One more word on this subject Since the remaining shilling duty and some other restrictions were removed from foreign grain in 1870, the proportion of food brought here from abroad has vastly increased. In the twenty-one years from 1849 to 1869 the importations were about 583,000,000 cwt of wheat and wheat flour, 110,000,000 cwt of barley, 109,000,000 cwt of oats, 183,000,000 cwt of maize, and a total, including large quantities of peas and beans, of 1,046,123,490 cwt In the *twelve* years from 1870 to 1882 the figures were about 677,000,000 cwt of wheat and wheat flour, 132,500,000 cwt of barley, 143,500,000 cwt of oats, 334,000,000 cwt of maize, and a total of 1,334,701,083 cwt, a proportionate increase of sufficient magnitude to mark emphatically the date of the removal of the remaining restraints upon food supply It must be remembered, too, that the increase in national prosperity has been accompanied by that steady and compatible increase of population which is itself sometimes an evidence of well-being

One glance may be taken at the vast extent and the constantly increasing commercial relations of that colonial empire the contemplation of which seems to dwarf the physical and numerical proportions, while it enhances our sense of the vigour and intense vitality of the portion of the realm in which we live

From the North American colonies to the teeming provinces of our Indian possessions, from the West India Islands to Africa, Fiji,

the Australias, and various settlements, the computation is made from year to year, and may be regarded as approximately accurate when it recounts that the British Empire, including the United Kingdom, consists of an area of 9,000,000 square miles, with a population of 325,000,000, a revenue of £210,000,000, an expenditure of £190,000,000, a debt of £1,150,000,000; imports and exports of £1,012,000,000 value, and a total of shipping, inwards and outwards, but excluding the

coasting trade, of 57,000,000 tons, of which 45,000,000 tons is British.

From the seeming dry bones of such statistics there should arise in the imagination of the reader a great living nation—a nation which has held a foremost place in the councils of the world, and has gone forth from the small island which is its central home, not only conquering and to conquer, but to increase and multiply and to replenish the earth.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LATEST STRIDE

Parliament in 1882—State of Parties—Lord Randolph Churchill—The Parnellites—Egypt—Conference at Constantinople—Landing of British Forces—Tel-el-Kebir—Occupation of Cairo 1883—Mr Gladstone's Policy 1884—The Khedive—Disasters in the Soudan—General Gordon goes to Khartûm—"Too Late"—Votes of Censure—Attitude of the Government—Ministerial Mistakes—The Army of Rescue—The Nile Expedition—The Tragedy of Errors—War in the Desert—Advance Australia!—The New Reform Bill 1885—Redistribution of Seats Bill—The Lords—"Riding for a Fall"—Mr. Gladstone gives place to Lord Salisbury—General Election—The Irish Vote—Liberal Success—Conservative Government—Want of Staying Power The Radical Cabinet 1886—Mr Gladstone proposes "Home Rule for Ireland"—Split in the Cabinet—"Government of Ireland" Bill—Irish Land Bill.

It may be well to look again at some of the events of 1882 and at the position of Mr Gladstone's government at that time, in order that we may better estimate the gravity of the situation and the difficulties, some of which had been accumulating before the parliament of 1880 came into power, with a triumphant majority, the members returned to the House of Commons being 354 Liberals, 237 Conservatives, and 61 Home Rulers. These respective figures subsequently underwent some changes, the relative condition of parties being affected by by-elections in favour of the Conservatives, but in 1882, though the numerical importance of the Liberal supporters of the government was not much diminished, the burden of parliamentary duties was greatly increased by the continued obstruction and hostility of the Irish party, and the lawless condition of some districts in Ireland. At the same time, the results of the Anglo-French financial control which had been established in Egypt by the government of Lord Beaconsfield, was leading to the necessity for further intervention on our part for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the Khedive Tewfik Pasha,—who had succeeded his father Ismail, after the latter had been compelled to abdicate by those financial advisers and controllers.

Both on their Irish and their Egyptian policy the government of Mr Gladstone soon had to sustain attacks all round, and more than one tentative endeavour so to legislate for Ireland as to conciliate the Home Rule party and pacificate the country, met with opposition from former friends as well as from foes, and was denounced by the Tories, by the remaining members of the advanced Whig party, by many Liberals who felt that they were being driven out of sympathy with the ministry. Even some Radical members could not believe in a policy of indulgence and conciliation which, as they considered, involved the abandonment of reasonable measures of protection against men who had proclaimed untiring hostility for the purpose of wringing concession after concession from the government, until demands for Home Rule in the sense of an Irish parliament and an Irish executive under its control should be accomplished.

Among the most persistent assailants of the government, or rather of Mr Gladstone, was Lord Randolph Churchill, son of the sixth Duke of Marlborough and Lady Frances Anne Emily, eldest daughter of the third Marquis of Londonderry. Lord Randolph was elected, in 1874, to represent Woodstock, of which constituency his father may be said to have been the owner. Another candidate,

the Hon George Brodrick, a well-known man from the Liberal side, had the effrontery to contest the election, and Liberal notions had extended so far in the borough that he scored 404 votes against the hereditary representative. Judging from his subsequent performances, opposition and the incitements of antagonism seemed to have set free Lord Randolph's faculty of speech—a faculty which he subsequently developed with such rapidity that he became one of the most accomplished logomachists in the House of Commons, with a brilliant vocabulary of invective and vituperative epithet which rivalled even that of the most prominent of the Parnellites. While his father was Lord-lieutenant of Ireland under the last Beaconsfield administration Lord Randolph lived a good deal in Dublin, and took some part in public and official affairs.

But on Irish, as on most other questions, the member for Woodstock seemed to be determined not to attach himself definitely to any party or policy, although he affected to be a Tory rather than a Conservative, and gave some faint reflections of the Tory democracy professed by Lord Beaconsfield sixty years ago, and shadows of which still linger in the fancies of a few among those young men who like to be decorated at their own expense by dames of the Primrose League¹

Three other members took their seats along with Lord Randolph on the front bench below the opposition gangway, from which circumstance they were jestingly called "The Fourth Party," a name which they retained till their differences (for they, of course, could not long agree) reduced them to three and then to two. Mr John Eldon Gorst, Q C, the member for Chatham, was the legal member of the party, and when the Conservatives again came into office was made solicitor-general. The Hon Mr Arthur Balfour, nephew and assistant private secretary to Lord Salisbury, was another, but a rather dubious member of the quartette, and the other was Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, the member for Portsmouth, whose former accomplishments in the diplomatic service had marked him out for office when, though he had lost his seat, the Con-

servative government afterwards came in and sent him to Constantinople to confer with the sultan on the affairs of Egypt. Thus, as we shall see, all four had work to do. Lord Randolph Churchill being taken up as it were hand over hand into the cabinet for the secretaryship of India. In 1882, however, this (to use a phrase of Mr Gladstone) appeared to be in the dim and distant future, and Lord Randolph Churchill was devoting himself chiefly to the art of assailing Mr. Gladstone not only with political invective but with such personalities as had not often been heard in parliament for the previous five-and-twenty years. He had obtained the position of an unattached ally of the Conservative leaders, who, though they smiled in a deprecatory fashion, felt that a champion who never missed an opportunity to seize upon or to provoke a quarrel, might be valuable and should not be made dangerous by neglect, although he was a continual source of vexation and distrust.

The term "boycotting," in relation to a particular system of persecution in Ireland, has been familiar ever since the autumn of 1880, when Captain Boycott, agent to Lord Erne, near Lough Mask, on the borders of Galway and Mayo, endeavoured to recover rent that was due from some of the tenants, and thereby incurred the animosity of the Land League. He was at once sentenced to social excommunication. His servants were commanded to leave him, no labourer dared to remain in his employment; local shopkeepers were forbidden, under threats of unknown penalties, to supply him with ordinary household requisites. His fields and byres were left untended, and he and his sisters were at last almost entirely cut off from communication with the people around them. One or two of the servants of the family held out till their lives were threatened and they were afraid to remain any longer, but Captain Boycott would not yield, and his sisters, who were brave and determined women, went out armed and drove to distant places to make necessary purchases. As they were much liked by people in the district they hoped to be able

¹ Vol. I. pp 268, 326

in time to live down the persecution, but the emissaries of the League made known that the life of anyone known to assist them would be in danger, labourers, who might have agreed to work for them, were intimidated by the conviction that they would be shot in the fields, and it was known that gangs of armed ruffians were ready to break into the houses or cottages of any of those who showed sympathy with Captain Boycott's family

It would have required a large force of police permanently to protect the victims of this mode of terrorism, and the standing crops on the estate would have been unharvested but for the determination of a number of the peasant farmers of Ulster in Cavan and Monaghan, who united in an expedition for the relief of Lough Mask House against the agents of the Land League, who had gained a despotic influence over the peasantry of the district, and were loud in their denunciations of "the invaders," as they called the men who marched boldly to aid Captain Boycott in getting in his harvest. There were fears that a serious conflict might take place, and the government becoming alarmed a body of troops, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, numbering about a thousand men, was despatched to the scene of operations to prevent disorder. It was, however, out of the question to keep a military force there for the protection of one family, and after the crops had been gathered the soldiers departed, and the country people of the locality were once more under the terrorism of midnight bands and the threats of assassination. Captain Boycott was obliged to leave the farm in which he had invested all his capital, and the success of "boycotting" as a means of intimidation or of punishment was established and continued to extend.

It was even then becoming painfully evident that one of two practical issues would have to be chosen. Either to enact severe repressive laws or to yield to the demands of those who declared that they represented the determination of the majority of the Irish people to obtain a form of government which would be equivalent to what they meant by Home Rule. There were two questions, however, which required to be answered

before any steps could be taken in that direction—Did the leaders of the Land League, the members of the Irish party in parliament, some of whom were maintained by subscriptions, the larger proportion of which came from the Irish in America, really represent the people of Ireland? and would those who clamoured for Home Rule be satisfied with anything short of an independent government with an Irish parliament in Dublin and the ultimate Repeal of the Union? Agrarian crimes continued, and the position assumed by certain leaders of the League tended to defeat the operation of the Land Bill. They represented in vehement terms that by supporting the League, refusing to pay rent, and "holding the harvest," the tenants could secure more than the utmost that they would be likely to obtain from parliament. The more moderate of the Home Rulers, who were not unwilling to accept the provisions of the Land Bill, were themselves in a difficulty. A large proportion of the funds of the League came, as we have noted, from the United States—from the pockets of the Irish Americans, whose leaders proclaimed their hatred to England, and from a distance advocated in ferocious language a "policy of dynamite." Men like O'Donovan Rossa preached not only sedition but murder, and their utterances were echoed in some of the newspapers published in America with the avowed object of supporting the demands of the League.

An explosion on board the *Dotterel*, one of the ships of the British navy, in Magellan's Straits on the 26th of April, 1881, when 135 of those on board perished and 12 only were saved, was spoken of with exultation by some of the cowardly miscreants on the other side of the Atlantic as the work of Irish-American dynamiters, though there was reason to believe, from the subsequent evidence on inquiry, that there were no grounds for such a statement. Attempts were afterwards made to blow up or damage the Liverpool Town-hall, the Salford barracks, and the Mansion House in London, but without much mischief ensuing. "Infernal machines" were discovered on some of the ocean-going steamers, and arms and explosives were found at several

places in England and Scotland. These and subsequent attempts to blow up trains on the Metropolitan Railway, and the explosions which took place at the Home Office, in the Tower of London, and at Westminster Hall were acts of sheer malignity, the perpetrators of which could have had no definite political motive, and were the wretched unreasoning tools of those who, while safely remaining in America, profaned the name of Ireland. Happily they failed to accomplish the full measure of the crimes which they had instigated, and they also failed in the purpose which they appear to have contemplated that of terrorizing the English people. They were unacquainted with the English character, and instead of producing a panic, they only succeeded in causing profound and undemonstrative indignation, which branded them as enemies of the human race. It was feared for a time that the operatives and labourers in British workshops and factories might make the mistake of resenting these atrocities by boycotting their Irish fellow-workmen, but the public temper was not turned in a direction which would have been so deplorably unfair.

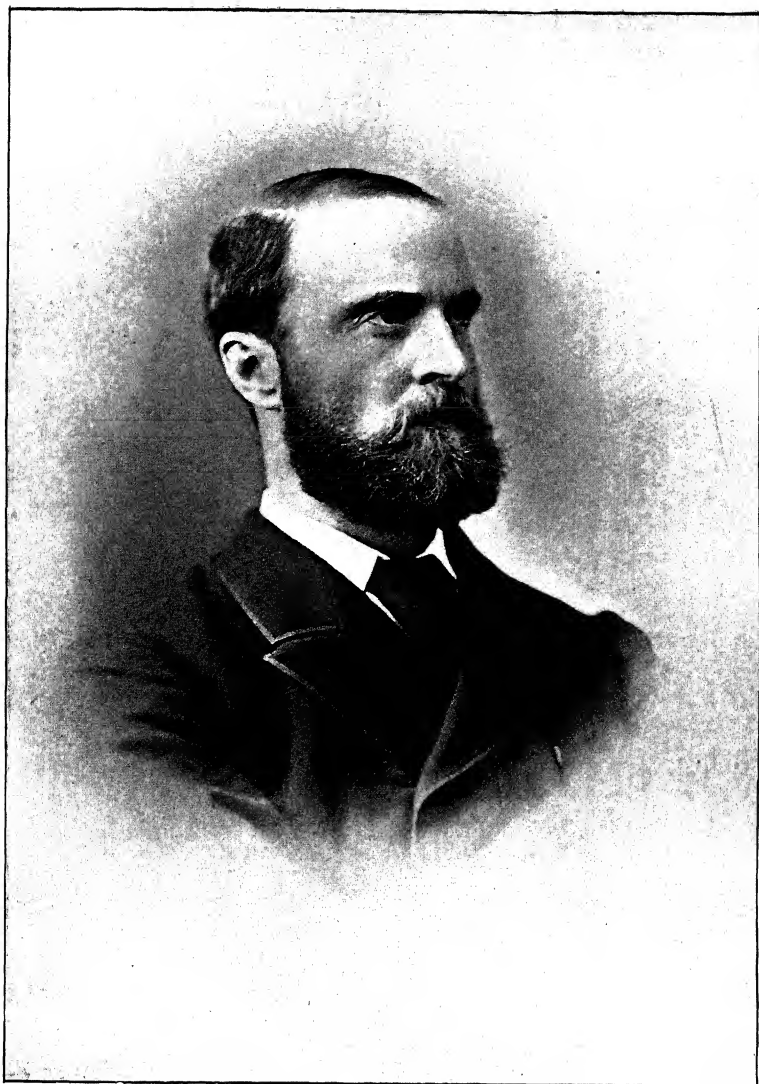
Lord Salisbury, at the end of the year (1881), speaking at a banquet at Hitchin, said, "All these efforts that are made with various descriptions of refinement or brutality by those who affect to improve the condition of the Irish people have but one object in view. Whether it be the murderer on the hillside, the utterer of seditious speeches, or the more prudent and cautious organizer of obstruction in parliament, they all have this one object in view—to make England so weary of Irish connection that Irish independence shall be conceded."

But, as we have seen, the majority of people in the country did not agree with Lord Salisbury that the Irish Land Bill, against which he was speaking, was a dangerous and unwarrantable concession. However deeply they might deplore the means taken by the Irish party to give emphasis to their demands, there were comparatively few who doubted (Lord Salisbury himself was far from doubting) that Ireland had claims the justice of

which could not be denied or much longer withstood. The misery was that some men, who appeared in parliament as the chosen representatives of the Irish people, repeatedly used language which, to Irish audiences may have been only designed to give fervid emphasis to ordinary expressions, but to other hearers and other readers were threats of violence and personal incitements to crime. The persistency with which they endeavoured to obstruct every attempt to carry out useful and necessary legislation, and perhaps, above all, their supposed association with those who had directed malignant efforts which might have destroyed a number of innocent people in England, alienated those who were anxious to remove every disability which in the name of the Unity of the Kingdom separated Ireland from Great Britain. Irish opposition frustrated such efforts to obliterate past injustice as would secure for Ireland a measure of Home Rule which would give her representatives the internal government of the country and control over all but imperial interests.

It should be understood that what has been said of the "attitude" of the Irish political leaders, of their parliamentary utterances, and "the way that they have with them," refers chiefly to some *pronounced* members of the party. They, however, always contended that, whatever may have been the seeming result of their utterances, they have used their influence to prevent outrage and to control violence; though Mr Parnell acknowledged the recognition of boycotting as a "rough remedy."

Perhaps they considered it sufficient answer to the charges brought against them to deny their accuracy, and to attribute them to want of sympathy with Irishmen and Ireland. There may be something in this, and it is assuredly necessary to make great allowances for Irish characteristics. Indeed we are met on the very threshold of the endeavour to explain the peculiar view which influenced Irish allegiance by the fact that Mr Parnell, the chief of the party, who, it is said, could control the votes of two-thirds of the Irish people, was only an Irishman "on one side," was a landlord, a Protestant, and had little of



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

the favour or ready fluency of an orator Mr John Dillon was perhaps, next to Mr Parnell, the foremost representative of Irish feeling, and no one listening to his measured monotonous accents would for the moment think that such passionate and violent *words* could be said in such a manner To read his speeches one would fancy they were delivered with vehemence, but the level sad tone of voice suited his appearance—his tall, thin, consumptive-looking figure, pale face, jet-black hair, and large, dark, impressive eyes “If the priests do not stand by the people the Catholic Church is doomed,” he once said, and this is the kind of thing he could say, but he could be bitter and personal—and not only could be, but very often was, and seemed to glory in it. No one, however, doubted the purity of Mr Dillon’s political motives, and he and Michael Davitt were the most influential of the Parnellite party after Mr Parnell himself, while Mr T M Healy (who left a situation in a railway office at Newcastle to become Mr Parnell’s secretary, and entered Parliament in 1880), and Mr W O’Brien, the editor of *United Ireland*, represented the fierce assailants who led parliamentary attacks, and Mr Sexton the more prosaic, matter-of-fact side of the party

Probably there was no Englishman in Parliament less understood by the Irish party than Mr Forster, the secretary for Ireland His plain, straightforward, uncompromising honesty of purpose and devotion to duty raised him above fear, and he was convinced that nothing could be achieved for the relief of the Irish people or for securing their just claims until the common laws of civilization were observed, and the security of life and property enforced Mr Forster was a man of very deep convictions, great intensity of character, and earnest sympathy It was positive pain and grief to him to be urged to the conclusion that physical force must be employed to put an end to the anarchy and crime which seemed to be increasing at the very time that efforts were being made to legislate in the direction of liberty and popular right, but even his attempts to mitigate the laws which were put in force were looked upon with more than

suspicion, and he was constantly reviled and insulted A recommendation which he gave, that the armed police should load their guns with buckshot in order as much as possible to avoid inflicting fatal injuries when obliged to fire, was the occasion of a perpetual and bitter taunt The nickname, “Buckshot Forster,” was spoken with a ferocious accent of detestation, which was painfully absurd to everybody who knew the man and saw what he had to undergo

“This has been to me a most painful duty,” he said when he urged the passing of the so-called Coercion Bill “I never expected that I should have to discharge it. If I had thought that this duty would devolve on the Irish secretary I would never have held the office. If I could have foreseen that this would be the result of twenty years of parliamentary life I would have left parliament rather than have undertaken it But I never was more clear than I am now that it is my duty I never was more clear that the man responsible, as I am, for the administration of the government of Ireland ought no longer to have any part or share in any government which does not fulfil its first duty—the protection of person and property and the security of liberty”

He soon ceased to have any such share, for the policy with regard to Ireland was undergoing a change, the leaders of the Home Rule party who had been arrested for preaching sedition and rebellion, were to be released at a time when he believed that it was more than ever necessary to show a firm hand, and with pain, both on account of the necessity which forced this conviction upon him and of his separation from the cabinet presided over by Mr Gladstone, he resigned the Irish secretaryship.

Mr Gladstone in his speech at Leeds in October, 1881, when speaking of the condition of Ireland, had said “Amidst difficulties which rarely have been equalled, and with the recollection of splendid services personally rendered to the people of Ireland from pure, disinterested, individual philanthropy in the early days of his youth, Mr Forster represents in Ireland that cause which I hope will

triumph I hope it will triumph I have not lost confidence in the people of Ireland" The reference to Mr Forster's earlier arduous endeavours to assist in alleviating the condition of the Irish peasantry during the famine was appropriate, and the declaration that his efforts to sustain the operation of the Land Act were but a continuation of the same desire to benefit the Irish people, was intended to point to the fact that Mr Parnell and several of the members of the Land League were actively endeavouring to frustrate the operation of that measure and to obstruct the pacification of the country—that Mr Parnell, the man who had "made himself the head of the most violent party in Ireland, and who had offered the greatest temptations to the Irish people, desired to arrest the operation of the act—to stand, as Aaron stood, between the living and the dead, but to stand there, not as Aaron stood, to arrest but to spread the plague" Mr Gladstone added "If the law, purged from defect and from every taint of injustice, is still to be repelled and refused, and the first conditions of political society are to be set at naught, then I say, without hesitation, the resources of civilization against its enemies are not yet exhausted"

He pointed out the material progress that had been made in Ireland in the past twenty years, and instanced the farming class, which might be said almost to constitute the body of the nation, understood as the term is understood in Ireland Forty years before, the deposits in the Irish banks indicating the amount of free savings was about five millions, fifteen years later they had risen to some eleven or twelve millions, and were then (at the end of 1881) nearly thirty millions, an enormous proportion of which was agricultural savings. With regard to moral and legal progress, that also had been remarkable There was still one painful and grievous exception to the diminution of offences against the law, namely, agrarian offences, but whereas forty and fifty years before, the whole of the community was adverse to the execution of law, and there were some 14,000 offenders annually committed, the law, except as to agrarian offences, had come to be as well executed in

Ireland as in England, and the numbers recorded in statistical comparisons of criminal offenders had fallen from 14,000 to 3000 These were indications of real progress about which there could be no mistake. "They are encouragements to us to persevere and fall back upon that stock of resolution and of patience by which it is that a nation grows great, and when it has grown great keeps its greatness We will not be daunted or baffled by difficulties, we will spend every effort and every resource, against whatever opposition, in the accomplishment of a great and noble work"

That work was to be carried far towards accomplishment by the operation of the Land Act Some sections of the Land League itself, notably in county Clare, had declared that it ought to be accepted for the purpose of making an impartial trial of its provisions, and Mr Isaac Butt, who until his death three or four years before had been the leader of the Irish party in parliament, had said, speaking of a measure that would give effectual security of tenure to the Irish tenant "Such a measure would obliterate the traces of the ascendancy of conquest, it would teach the population of Ireland to regard the institutions connected with landed property with a friendly instead of a hostile feeling It would conciliate them to the law, which they now regard as their enemy, because they know it chiefly as enforcing landlords' rights Take the great body of the people into partnership, with proprietary privileges, and you do more to attach them to the law or the constitution than you could effect by all the political or religious concessions you could make Other questions engage their feelings or their passions, the land question touches their very existence and their life"

It was to accomplish the security of the tenant by maintaining for him proprietary privileges that the Land Act had been passed, and yet the leaders of the Land League were using every effort to frustrate its operation

Mr Gladstone might possibly have selected from the speeches of the elder Dillon illustrations of the benefits to be derived from a hearty alliance between the Irish party and advanced Liberals, and its endorsement by accepting

the Land Act, but he could have found no encouragement from anything ever said by the younger, the member for East Mayo. It was he who at a meeting in March (1881) had declared that if the Land League were broken up, the people would still be imbued with its principles, that the farms would lie as idle and desolate then as they did that day, and that the man who took a farm from which an honest man had been evicted would be treated as before—as a traitor, a swindler, and a robber, with whom no honest man or honest man's children would speak or deal. He repeated, that a man who took such a farm should be pointed out as a traitor, and his children after him cursed by his neighbours. There had been a considerable amount of cursing in Mr Dillon's addresses. He cursed Mr Foster. He had cursed Mr Gladstone at the time that, instead of listening to the demands of the Land League, the so-called "Coercion" Act was being enforced, and the leading members of local branches of the League were being arrested. He had been so thoroughly aware that his speeches were illegal and seditious that he defiantly challenged the government to arrest him, and in the spring of 1881, when Mr Parnell had declared that he did not believe it would be possible to create a fair tribunal, and that "the attempt at fixing a fair rent, though it offered an enticing prospect to the rack-rented farmers, would result in disappointment to them," Mr Dillon urged the people at a meeting near Clonmel to obstruct the levying of rack-rents by every device which their ingenuity suggested, and to punish the man who assisted the landlords to levy their rack-rents. He advised them to keep within the law, not because he respected the law, and not because he believed that they respected it, but simply and solely because it did not pay to allow the landlords to catch them outside the law. He therefore advised them to exercise their ingenuity in sailing as close to the wind as they possibly could. "If you want earnestly and like men to carry out the policy of the League you must learn to know that the only way in which you have got to revenge yourselves or to protect yourselves against such acts of

tyranny is to attack the men whom you have the power to attack, and wherever you see a man, no matter what his profession in life, helping a landlord who does a thing like that, let the Land League of Tipperary follow him through every turning of his life, let them, if they can, ruin him as he sought to ruin you in your difficulties."

On the following day Mr Dillon was arrested at Portarlinton, and it was feared that the action of the government would excite some violent demonstrations, but no organized disturbance took place, though there was a continuance of those outrages which were incited by the speeches of many of the more violent exponents of the principles of the League. Mr Dillon was released three or four months afterwards on account of ill-health, and he retired from active political life for the remainder of the year, not, as Mr Gladstone seemed to have concluded, because he was reluctant to oppose the operation of the Land Bill, but because Mr Parnell did not take up a still more uncompromising attitude with regard to it, and preach more emphatically what Mr Gladstone designated "the doctrines of public plunder."

The premier did not charge upon the whole Home Rule party the doctrines which he denounced, since a considerable proportion of the nominal Home Rulers did not hold those doctrines, though many who rejected them in their inmost souls, refrained from appearing to stand aloof because they considered that extreme and extravagant representations were alone appropriate to the object of obtaining "justice for Ireland."

Mr Parnell had, twelve months before, told the people of Ireland that they ought to pay, not the rents they had covenanted to pay, but the estimate of Griffith's valuation. He proclaimed that whereas the rental of Ireland was seventeen millions of money, the landlord was entitled to nothing but the original value of the land before the spade was put into it, and that the rental he might justly claim was not seventeen millions, but possibly about three millions of money. He instructed the people that until he gave them leave they were not to go into the court which the parliament of

the country had established. They were not to go there till he had framed certain test cases for him and his brethren of the Land League to take into court, and these would be cases of rents which were fair and moderate rents, the court would therefore reject the application, and Mr Parnell and his train would then make that rejection a reason for telling the Irish people that they had been betrayed, that the court was worthless, and that the Land Act ought to meet with their unequivocal condemnation. Mr Gladstone aptly quoted from the written opinions of a friend. "What is amazing and discouraging is that, during the past eighteen months, no Irishman in Ireland has lifted up his voice to warn his countrymen or to condemn the rebel faction led by Mr Parnell, that there has been no meeting of any importance, no movement of any kind, no expression of opinion in support of public law and public order. The upper classes, the landowners, are silent or are refugees, and their power is gone. There is no middle class there, as there is in England, to step forward to sustain the government and denounce evil. A general cowardice seems to prevail among all classes who possess property, and government is expected to preserve peace with no moral force behind it."

Subsequent events showed that those members of the ministry who were in accord with Mr Gladstone sought to enforce the law that the operation of the Land Act might not be frustrated. It was, they believed, necessary to vindicate the authority of the government, that they might be able to proceed with measures intended to remove the disabilities of which the Irish party complained, and by establishing order to secure for Ireland an improved condition of social and political life, to be followed by tranquillity and commercial prosperity. It had to be shown, however, that the party of violence and the political agitators who endeavoured to frustrate such efforts should learn that they could not intimidate those whose duty it was to maintain the law. In September, 1881, there was a great convention of the Land Leaguers in Dublin, where for three days delegates from all the branches of the League in Ireland met in the Rotunda

to discuss the Land Act and to decide on their future action. The hall was crowded with those who claimed to be the representatives of the tenant farmers of the country, and as the meeting was for conference there were men from the Protestant North, from Ulster, and the district where the descendants of the Scottish settlers held their farms. It was evident that a great majority of the priests had decided to support the League. A large number of them were present, and several spoke in terms which pledged them to the leaders of the movement. Perhaps they accepted it because they thought it a good alternative. There had been instances in which their opposition to the lawless declarations of those who advocated terrorism had resulted in their being deserted by a large proportion of their congregations, who showed their disregard of clerical injunctions by abandoning all restrictions and becoming members of the still-existing Fenian association, by which the maiming of cattle, murderous assaults, and assassination were represented to be justifiable demonstrations.

There was nothing alarming in the proceedings at the convention, nor in the address of its chairman, Mr. Parnell, who, while professing that the League would make the best of the Land Bill, intimated that its operation would be controlled by the preparation of those test cases, the effects of which, as we have seen, would be to frustrate the beneficial working of the measure. It was represented that the bill itself was but a tentative instalment of what should be demanded from the government, and that so far from diminishing the work of the League it would make its active efforts the more necessary. The comparatively quiet and even subdued tone of the proceedings was no indication of the real attitude of the Irish leaders. Their doctrine was not that of assisting but of resisting the government, and though men holding the extreme views of Mr Dillon dissented from the apparently moderate representations made at the meeting, Mr Parnell contrived to secure the support of the large body of the peasant labourers, who had previously held aloof and followed the dele-

gates of the Fenian conspiracy. This seemed to promise a diminution of those atrocities, reports of which came from various parts of the country. Mr Parnell had apparently succeeded in bringing within the controlling influence of the League those who had acknowledged no political remedy but continued outrage. He had announced that the time had come for something to be done for the labourers, and had said that he was ready, if necessary, to put himself at the head of their movement, and to give it a definite and organized form. Even in England numbers of persons thought that this might be the dawn of a brighter day—that under a definite, and perhaps an endurable political organization, directed by a leader who might open the way for reasonable conciliation, there were hopes of the restoration of order and the adoption of such concessions as would lead to the pacification of the country. Large meetings of the League were held in the disaffected districts, many of which were attended by Mr Parnell, who was then, or soon afterwards, called the uncrowned King of Ireland, a phrase which, like much else that was striking, had been borrowed from what was said of or by Daniel O'Connell. On his return to Dublin he was received with enormous enthusiasm by a great crowd, and was drawn in a torchlight procession through the streets in his carriage from the railway-station to the offices of the League, where he and Mr Sexton addressed the multitude in speeches which added to the popular excitement.

It would appear that the government at this time had some inclination to the opinion that Mr Parnell might adopt a policy resembling that of O'Connell, and convert the League into an association for carrying on political agitation without encouraging crime or actual rebellion. At all events there were symptoms of a desire to relax the sentences against some of the prisoners who had been arrested for seditious and criminal speeches, but one of them, Father Sheehy, was released from prison, with the result that he at once went about the country haranguing the people in language more violent than ever, and denouncing the ministry in unmeasured terms

to audiences who regarded him as a martyr to a tyrannical alien government a view which seemed to be endorsed by Mr Parnell, who went with him to Cork, where they were received with the same enthusiasm as had marked the demonstration in Dublin.

It might have been that Mr Parnell had secured less control over the followers of the Fenian societies and the union of labourers than he had wished or expected. Events afterwards showed that though various secret associations maintained a connection with the Land League they did not abandon their own special organizations, nor subordinate their own organization to that of the larger society. They still held their secret meetings, obeyed directions from their own central authority, and plotted sedition and murder. It was asked, Would Mr Parnell succeed in leading them, or would *they* drag *him*? Was the League not strong enough to control them, or did its leaders contemplate uniting the two bodies by partly adopting the language and appearing to endorse the lawless proceedings of those who were already outside the pale of the law, and were soon likely to be regarded as the enemies of social order and ordinary humanity?

At any rate the hopes or expectations that the proceedings of the convention and the influence of the leaders of the League would result in successful efforts to prevent agrarian crimes, and to restore respect for the laws that govern civilized communities, were not realized. Either the League and its leaders were comparatively powerless to forbid violence, or they sought, by appearing to countenance the language and even the practical application of the language of violence and crime, to maintain the large nominal accession to their ranks which had been achieved by the union with the extremists. Mr Gladstone and the ministry waited in vain for any appearance of a controlling influence exercised by the League. The language of the leaders addressed to large audiences was not always either seditious or violent, but it was often doubtful, and was sometimes such as could not be easily distinguished from incitement to crime and to defiance of authority. The refusal to pay rent

was accompanied in various parts of the country by atrocities committed against those who would not join in the manifesto against the landlords, or who were willing to pay the fair value of their holdings. The families of those who became tenants of places from which the former holders had been evicted were in constant jeopardy: cattle were maimed and tortured, women and children injured, men shot from behind hedges, whole districts terrorized by night-gangs of armed ruffians, who entered houses and cottages or fired through the windows upon the inmates. It had become necessary that some determined and decisive action should be taken by the government to vindicate its authority, and to show that its reluctance to resort to strong measures was not caused by timidity, and that previous endeavours to satisfy the just demands of the Irish people had not been extorted by the menaces of the League. It was no time to palter. Something had to be done practically to contradict the assertions of priests and anarchists, that the policy of intimidation had been successful. Mr Parnell had retorted on Mr Gladstone with denunciations which again brought Mr. Dillon to his side to repel with scorn the declarations that he had retired from the fray because he would not take the responsibility of opposing the operation of the Land Bill. The decision of the government was prompt enough. On the 12th of October a cabinet council was summoned. Mr Forster went to Dublin with an order for the arrest of Mr Parnell, and on the following morning (the 13th) the leader of the Land League was taken from his hotel and lodged in Kilmainham jail. A few days afterwards Mr Sexton, Mr O'Kelly, Mr Dillon, and other prominent members of the League were also arrested, Mr Egan, the treasurer, escaping to Paris, and some other officials seeking safety by keeping out of the country.

There were already a considerable number of prisoners in Kilmainham, and Mr Michael Davitt, who had been the practical founder and organizer of the League, had been arrested on the 3d of February, brought to England for trial, and sent to an English prison. He had already suffered a term of imprisonment

for being concerned in the Fenian conspiracy of 1867, but had been liberated on ticket of leave in 1879, when he threw himself with intense energy and great eloquence into the agitation carried on by the League. Mr Davitt, however, though he had been in America, and perhaps in consequence of what he had heard and seen of the "Irish-American" party, spoke emphatically against all attempts to further the cause of Irish patriotism by deeds of outrage and violence. On one occasion, while reminding his hearers that no great movement ever triumphed in Ireland or elsewhere without numbers having to suffer for their devotion, he added, "but glorious indeed will be our victory, and high in the estimation of mankind will our grand old fatherland stand, if we can so curb our passions and control our actions in this struggle for free land, as to march to success through privation and danger, without resorting to the wild justice of revenge, or being guilty of anything which could sully the character of a brave and Christian people."¹

Mr Michael Davitt doubtless had intended the League to be an organization for agitating the land question in a manner that could not be pronounced unlawful. Indeed he contended that the Fenians had held aloof from it for the reason that it was a constitutional organization, and that therefore Mr Forster was not justified in describing it as an unlawful society holding secret meetings, but as Mr Davitt's own addresses were also distinguished by utterances which the government could not tolerate from a political prisoner who had been set at liberty conditionally on his not repeating the offence for which he had been convicted, he was arrested after delivering a speech of considerable violence during the time of the parliamentary elections.

There had been growing misunderstanding and suspicion on both sides, arising in a great measure from a certain incompatibility in the respective national characteristics, which was emphasized by the relative position of English ministers and Irish leaders. The comparatively self-restraining and reticent temper of the former prevented them from

¹ *Annual Register*, 1881.

fairly estimating the unrestrained demonstrativeness and almost irresponsible exaggeration of the latter. The verbal adroitness which evaded logical argument, and the volubility which embarrassed debate, looked like wilful and perverse antagonism or contempt, and the impassioned harangue, rounded with incendiary metaphor and pointed with seditious suggestion, was sometimes interpreted as breathing enmity when it would only bear the construction of denunciation and reproach. On the other hand, the Irish estimate of some of those who were honestly anxious to cancel past misgovernment, and to secure real "justice for Ireland" by measures which would be gradual but effectual in their operation, was, that every effort they made was not only so inadequate as to deserve no thanks, but so delusive as to merit only scorn and opprobrium. The impossibility of the English understanding the Irish character, and of showing sympathy for Irish claims and needs, was bitterly urged by the Home Rulers, and on the other hand English members of parliament on both sides of the house as bitterly complained that their best intentions were constantly misrepresented by the leaders of the Irish party.

There were some among the advanced Liberals, who were again accepting and even rejoicing in the name of Radicals, who saw the fallacy and injustice of both representations. It may be accepted as a common human experience, that when two persons have reached a point of dissension where they are thoroughly and honestly angry with each other, they are nearer to reconciliation than during a period of cold mistrust and sullen suspicion. The heat of indignation is in itself expressive of a kind of sympathy, inasmuch as it is opposed to indifference. It is human, and following the ebullition of feeling comes a sense of the need of forbearance. The endeavour to justify anger in some sort arouses a sense of justice, and after the storm of antagonism comes a gleam of possible conciliation.

It is not unreasonable to suggest that the outspoken wrath of the prime minister and other members of the government, and the

retorts of the Irish leaders, made an appreciable change in the political situation, though it did not become evident until passion had subsided. It was as impossible to suppose that all the representatives of Home Rule were actuated by base or sinister motives, as to believe that English statesmen deliberately set themselves to refuse to the Irish people those rights and liberties which were claimed and exercised by the people of England, Wales, and Scotland. Nothing could be plainer than that the Liberal policy was to cancel as far as was possible the effects of past misgovernment, and to commence a new career—not merely of conciliation, but of restoration, but the manner in which it was proposed to effect these changes was not acceptable to those who doubtless represented the desires of the Irish peasantry. They were too gradual for the impatience of leaders and people alike, and they never seemed to hold out the expectation of achieving the results contemplated by the originators of the Land League. The landlord was regarded as the usurper who held possession of the soil as the representative of the right of conquest, and though it might be shown that this view was altogether illusory, that it would be impossible to undo the events that had marked the history of generations, and that the present owners of the land were not usurpers who only consented to lend the land to the tenant on terms which were oppressive, the League contended that existing conditions had arisen from the ancient tyranny, and that if the tenant were obliged to accept the terms offered to him or leave his holding, he had only the alternative of starvation upon the land for which he could not pay the rent, or of being evicted—to find himself and his family still starving, and hopeless of obtaining either food or shelter. Of course there is a vast tract of argument open before coming to this view. Where was the sympathy for landlords who had purchased or inherited estates, and having reduced rents to the lowest reasonable figure, found themselves without resources, and menaced by a tenantry who refused to pay rent at all, and met every just demand with threats of violence or

with actual outrage, not only against the owners but against anyone who ventured to become tenants of the holdings which had been neglected and half abandoned? The cry of "tenant right" had drowned all others. The rapid growth of the League, and the prospect of its acquiring an authority and influence which would paralyse the government and defeat its slower attempts to remedy the evils complained of by assessing the just claims of owners and holders, carried its leaders beyond what was, perhaps, its original intention. They began to believe that rebellion or threatened insurrection was a short road to repudiation of all obligations except those which might be established by an Irish Parliament, if not absolutely independent of British aid, so constituted as not to be amenable to any authority of the British government.

This was the situation at the moment when the order was given for the arrest of Mr Parnell and his associates, and, even should it be admitted,—as Sir Charles Russell afterwards said,—that the government of Ireland had been conducted on the principle, not of considering what it was that the Irish people exactly wanted, but what the government thought they ought to want,—there was apparently no alternative but to show that no part of the kingdom should be committed to anarchy by the unchecked assumptions of the leaders of an association, the aims of which were opposed to the maintenance of the laws.

The blow fell unexpectedly, and the arrests were made almost at the moment that the League was displaying renewed defiance in the belief that the government was palsied. On the 12th of October Mr. Gladstone was attending a meeting at the Guildhall to receive an address from the lord-mayor and corporation and the artisans of London as a testimonial of the respect and admiration with which they regarded his labours in the service of the state. To this was added a request that he would sit for a marble bust to be placed in the Guildhall. It was evident that at this meeting, which chiefly represented the middle class of the community, the prompt

and decisive action of the ministry and the arrest of the threatening Irish leaders was received with favour.

Unlike Daniel O'Connell, who, when he was sentenced, issued a proclamation enjoining the Irish people to commit no breach of the peace,¹ the imprisoned leaders of the League published a manifesto calling upon Irish tenants to pay no rent while their representatives were in jail. They were evidently not prepared for the vigour with which the government was about to act. During the trials in the early part of the year Mr Justice Fitzgerald had declared that the Land League was an illegal association, but the advisers of the government did not seem able to come with certainty to the same conclusion, and the League was suffered to go on. It professed to be a combination operating by constitutional means, legal agitation, and passive resistance. The government was, therefore, reluctant to suppress it. A ministry which had Mr Gladstone as its chief, and Mr Bright, Mr Chamberlain, and other advanced Liberals, as members of the cabinet, was prepared to allow considerable latitude to an association which fervently declared its sole aim to be to obtain by legal means the recognition of the just claims of the Irish people, and denied that it was responsible for crimes and outrages which were the traditional results of long misgovernment, and the frequency of which had been much exaggerated in official reports. So the League had grown with impunity, and had attained a more powerful influence from the fact that it had originally been supported by the Irish clergy. Archbishop Croke of Cashel maintained it with vehement eloquence against Archbishop Maccabe of Dublin, who was as vehemently opposed to it, and numbers of the young priests, many of them doubtless because they believed it was a constitutional and lawful as well as a national and patriotic association, joined it warmly, and thereby aroused the enthusiastic appreciation of the peasantry.

A Ladies' Land League was formed under the presidency of Miss Anna Parnell, the sister of the member for Cork, and at the

¹ See vol. II p 126

meetings of its members the language used was no more conciliatory than that of the male members of the society. The Archbishop of Dublin denounced the ladies' association in a pastoral letter, Archbishop Croke sprang to its defence; and then ensued the rather unseemly spectacle of two prelates hurling at each other language which could scarcely be distinguished from anathema. The result was that Archbishop Croke became the representative ecclesiastic of the League, or, as it was then also called, the Nationalist party, and he made quite a triumphal procession through Ireland, representing, perhaps, to the peasantry the sanction of the Church to the demonstration against the landlords. The language of political injunction on behalf of the League was frequently to be heard from the pulpits of the parish churches. In one case, at Parsonstown, the curate, seeing some soldiers of the 20th present at divine service, took the opportunity to introduce this element into his address, which had the effect of causing the lieutenant in command to take up his sword and belt and march out, followed by his men, who promptly obeyed his order to leave the building, amidst a storm of opprobrium.

The address issued by the imprisoned leaders was ill-judged. The government was not to be alarmed by denunciation. It had not sent the leaders of the League to Kilmainham to punish them, but to put a stop to their active antagonism for a time. The League itself was proclaimed an illegal and criminal association, and its various branches were suppressed throughout the country. It appeared to have collapsed, and the Land Act came into more active operation. For a time the courts were crowded with applicants desiring to take advantage of its provisions, and additional commissioners had to be appointed to fulfil the increased duties. There was, however, no immediate diminution in the number or aggravated character of the offences which continued to be committed, and it seemed as though the more distinctly criminal organizations, which had become partially connected with the League, were endeavouring to incite the lawless part of the

population to acts of increasing violence, and to establish a reign of terror, for even in the towns murderous assaults were committed by the emissaries of secret societies.

We have only noted what was the course of events in Ireland in 1881, and it has been necessary to revert to this period in order to enable us to understand the more recent situation. But we may for a moment pause at the state of affairs in parliament during the same period. Mr. Parnell and his colleagues repeatedly used language in parliament during the early part of the year, which was made doubly significant by later occurrences. It was almost impossible to resist the impression that having to deal with a Liberal government, anxious to do justice and to make concessions, and containing that democratic element with which Mr. Parnell was afterwards desirous of forming an alliance, the Nationalists thought they might go so far as to secure measures which the people of Ireland would accept, and at the same time preserve towards the government an offensive and antagonistic attitude which would make such concessions appear to have been obtained through fear. The professed ultimate aim was to obtain "Home Rule," but the meaning of "Home Rule" had not been clearly defined, and the ground of explanation lay open between an extended system of local self-government for Ireland, or such distinct legislation as would be equivalent to an independent government and virtual repeal of the Union. Extremists like Mr. Dillon would not stop short of proclaiming their demands for the latter, but of Mr. Parnell and others, who took more statesmanlike and reasonable views, it was believed that they saw the futility of demanding more than was possible, whatever might be the manner of their assertions. A time came when it was pretty generally understood that though the leaders of the "National Party" professed to their followers to take each concession only as an instalment towards Home Rule, they did not, and would not, interpret self-government to mean separation from England or absolute independence of the authority of the British government.

Assuredly even the most "advanced" members of the cabinet were not prepared to contemplate actual severance of the government of the two countries. It is doubtful whether (apart from the Irish party), a single member of the house would have voted for "Home Rule" in the sense of an actual repeal of the Union and a breach of the empire. There had been secessions because of the alleged injury which the Land Bill would inflict on owners of property in Ireland. The Duke of Argyll left the cabinet for the reason that ownership would, in his opinion, be in commission or abeyance, a condition which would not fail to be injurious to the agricultural industry of any country, and especially of a country like Ireland. His place of privy-seal was filled by Lord Carlingford, though some of the Radical party thought that the vacancy should have been supplied by Mr Fawcett or Sir Charles Dilke.

It is worth noticing before we leave this period, that early in the session Mr Parnell, speaking at Glasgow, had said that Mr Gladstone's attempts to protect the Irish tenants would fail as regarded the smaller tenants. Expropriation would be the better, because the quicker solution of the question. Instead of emigration from Ireland to America he would rather see emigration from the west to the east of Ireland, all the smaller holders were wanted at home, and might be there provided with employment. There was plenty of improvable land in Connaught and elsewhere, and at the cost of five millions of money 100,000 families could be brought in for this purpose. If he had his way, and speaking as a practical farmer, he would bring back to Ireland every Irish man, woman, and child who had gone to England, and would find employment for every one of them. Mr Gladstone might have the support of the Irish people for his bill if he would only protect the present small holders in their properties. If he failed, the last chance he or any other English statesman would ever have would be lost.

We have seen what interpretation was afterwards put upon protecting small holders. The language used by the Home Rulers before

meetings in England and Scotland was of a very different character to that used to Irish peasants in Ireland.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in the clear and incisive language which characterized his speeches, put the case as between the government and the Parnellites with unmistakable clearness at Birmingham. Mr Parnell, he said, and those who followed him, had never concealed the fact that their chief object was not the removal of grievances in Ireland, but the separation of Ireland from England. "Mr Parnell, speaking in Ireland, said that he would never have joined the Land League, he would have taken no part in the great agitation which had been called into existence to redeem the Irish people from the consequences of centuries of wrong, if he had not thought it would have helped him in the Nationalist and Separatist movement in which he chiefly took an interest. How can we satisfy these men?" asked Mr Chamberlain. "Our object is not the same as theirs, we want to remove every just cause of grievance. They want to magnify grievances and intensify differences. We want to unite the Irish people and the English and the Scotch in bands of amity. What we want to find out is this, we want to try how we can protect the honest tenant from the unjust procedure on the part of a cruel and harsh landlord, and we want, on the other hand, to do that, so that we may not at the same time protect the dishonest tenant in his dishonesty, and help him to take advantage of this agitation to rob his creditors, refusing, with money in his pockets, to pay his landlord, who perhaps is poorer than himself."

The Land Bill had been delayed, not only by the Parnellites, but by the Tories, who strove by amendments and discussions to force upon the government provisions for the compensation of the landlords for what they called the confiscation of their property, and Mr Chamberlain very much doubted (perhaps his doubts negatively amounted to a certainty) whether those amendments were suggested by Irish landlords who, he believed, were only anxious for a reasonable settlement. He was inclined to think that they were suggested by

English landlords, who were afraid of inconvenient precedents

Much interest was shown in the expressions of Mr Chamberlain. He had not been very long in parliament, but he had made his mark at the very outset of his political career. It was only after this generally known that Mr Chamberlain was a Londoner. He was born in London in 1836, and it was not till he was eighteen and had finished his education at University College School that his father, who had joined the firm of screw-makers known as Nettlefolds, at Birmingham, took him into the business, which succeeded so completely, that after the father's death in 1874 Mr Chamberlain was able to retire from it and devote himself to a political career, higher than that of the mayoralty of Birmingham, to which he was elected two years in succession. But Mr Chamberlain had done very earnestly whatever public duty lay before him, and especially in matters of public education. As first chairman of the executive committee of the Education League, and in 1873 as chairman of the Birmingham School Board, he had become well known, so that when he contested Sheffield against Mr Roebuck, though he failed, it was felt that he would soon be in parliament, and on Mr Dixon's retirement from the representation of Birmingham in 1876 he was elected in that gentleman's place. After his first session, which he seems to have devoted to studying the forms and the manners and customs of the House, he was a success. Manner, method, and the telling style of his clear and often trenchant speeches, gave him at once a commanding position, which was recognized by the offer of a place in the government when the Liberals came into office in 1880, and Mr Gladstone formed a ministry in which Mr Chamberlain was made President of the Board of Trade with a seat in the cabinet, an unusual distinction for a man who had not previously held a minor official position. The object of the leaders of the Land League agitation, he said, was to use it as a basis for securing national independence. In such a case as that conciliation was at an end. "Unless the government and the country

are prepared to accept the idea of the secession of Ireland from the Union and the severance of the two countries I think that the time had come when the government was bound to assert its authority. Are we prepared to consider the Union itself as a standing grievance? and are we prepared to admit that the question of separation is an open one between us? For myself, I am not prepared to admit that it is possible, either in the interests of this country or the interests of Ireland, that there should be created a hostile power within striking distance of these shores. I suppose the first result would be that independence would be the signal for civil war, in which we should be forced to take a side, but if this were avoided, Ireland independent must always be jealous and afraid of England. The greater power, the commercial supremacy of the larger country, would always be a subject of anxiety and alarm to the smaller. Ireland would be crushed under the weight of military and naval expenditure, which it would have to maintain in order to secure its separate existence. We should find our burdens enlarged in proportion. The two countries would be a standing menace the one to the other. Sooner or later the condition would be intolerable, and we should have to commence the struggle anew. Ireland would have to be reconquered, or England would be ruined. I am not prepared to face these contingencies, and therefore I say—Liberal and Radical as I profess myself to be—I say to Ireland what the Liberals or the Republicans of the North said to the Southern States of America, 'The Union must be preserved.' Within these limits there is nothing which you may not ask and hope to obtain: equal laws, equal justice, equal opportunities, equal prosperity—these shall be freely accorded to you. Your wishes shall be our guide, your prejudices shall be by us respected, your interests shall be our interests, but nature and your position have forged indissoluble links which cannot be sundered without being fraught with consequences of misery and ruin to both countries, and which therefore we will use all the resources of the empire to keep intact."

When parliament met in 1882 the Speaker

read a letter from the secretary to the viceroy of Ireland announcing the arrest of Mr Parnell and some of his followers, and the subsequent liberation of Mr Sexton on account of his ill health

The Land Bill had been described by Mr Chamberlain as providing for an impartial tribunal, to which every small tenant in Ireland could go in order to fix a fair rent between himself and his landlord if they should happen to disagree. Yet there were already evidences that the bill would not be of permanent practical avail. It had been strenuously opposed by the Conservatives, and though it had been at first accepted by the Irish clergy and by the great majority of the Irish representatives as the basis of a satisfactory settlement, it was made comparatively inoperative in benefiting the people for whose advantage it was intended. Though the League was supposed to be inoperative also, and its leaders were in prison, crimes of violence were still resorted to, as Mr Forster declared, for the purpose of punishing those who dared to disobey the "no-rent" manifesto of those leaders. Still more stringent measures would be needed for the suppression of criminal offences which the League, if it had not directly encouraged, had certainly not made any persistent effort to prevent. Mr Forster visited the disturbed districts, and spoke from his own observation and inquiries, and he had arrived at the conclusion that the Parnellites who had been arrested should be detained in prison while measures were taken for more energetically enforcing the law. He did not hesitate, however, to release Mr Parnell on parole that he might attend the funeral of a relative who had died in Paris, and that parole was honourably observed, the leader of the Irish party making no demonstration, and entirely refraining from making any appearance in public.

In the debate on the address Mr P. T. Smyth, who claimed to represent the Nationalists, had distinctly declared by a motion of amendment, that the only way to settle the Irish question was the restoration of Irish independence without impairing the security of the throne. This was the survival of the

doctrine of O'Connell, and was, in fact, a proposal for Home Rule, and it may be suggestive to note that Mr Gladstone, while expressing regret that so vague a motion should not have been allowed to be withdrawn instead of being forced to a division by Mr. Smyth's supporters only to be negatived,—declared, that considering the manner in which parliament was overcharged by too great a centralization of duties, he, for one, would hail with satisfaction any measure of local self-government for Ireland, or for any portion of the country, provided only that it conformed to this one condition, that it did not break down the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, but that the want of any definite or practical scheme, agreed upon by any considerable section of the Irish members themselves, added most terribly to the difficulty of any government desirous of settling the question. The separation of Irish from Imperial questions so frequently demanded was rendered a thousand times more difficult since scarcely two Irish members were agreed as to the boundary line between them. This was, in effect, no more than Mr Gladstone had said in his Midlothian addresses, but the opposition professed to regard it as an invitation to an inquiry into the possibility of Home Rule. In the light of more recent events this conclusion does not seem to have been unfounded, and though, when the prime minister was afterwards challenged to explain his meaning he replied that he had done nothing but repeat what he had said on previous occasions without objection, and that he was not prepared to give anything to Ireland that he would not give to England and Scotland, he also declared that a demand from Ireland that purely Irish affairs should be under Irish control, was, in his opinion, not so dangerous that it should be refused consideration, but the proper way of meeting it was to require those who proposed it to say what provision they intended to make for the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.

In answer to Mr Lowther, who accused the government of making use of the Land League for their own purposes, Mr Gladstone emphatically denied the aspersion, and em-

phasized his indignant protest by pointing out that the League was in full operation during the time of the late government, which had taken no effectual means of grappling with it, but that the present government had arrested the leaders of the League at the very first legitimate moment, namely, when, by denouncing the payment of rent as a crime and punishing it by outrage, they had brought themselves within the words of the so-called "Coercion" Act. By the terms of that act the prisoners could be kept in jail till the following September, but it was almost certain that if they were brought to trial no Irish jury would return a verdict, and there was no disposition on the part of the majority of a Liberal ministry to continue to hold them as hostages while severe measures of repression were exercised to put an end to the disturbances which were taking place. The Land League had been declared unlawful, and the authority of government had been vindicated. There were not wanting signs that the retention, without trial, of the leaders of the movement, and probably as many as 600 or 700 men who had been arrested for inciting to or committing violence and disturbance, would not be insisted on, and that the government had some further proposals to make towards concession which might prove to the Parnellites that they were not actuated by hostility to reasonable demands, but were prepared to carry out their professions of a strong desire to propitiate and to pacify.

The Liberals were united, but both sides of the house had begun to perceive that a decided cohesion of the Parnellites and the Home Rulers who had not been active supporters of the Land League would make the Irish vote of no little importance on a division, and might eventually give it preponderating influence. When the house met after Easter affairs in Ireland had become very serious, and there were signs that the business of parliament would be obstructed, though—or rather because—one of the first proceedings would be to secure the adoption of new rules and regulations for relieving the debates from obstruction. Intimidation and lawless aggression had continued to keep Ireland in a

condition that seemed to demand a resort to measures of great severity. Neither women nor children were spared by the armed ruffians who were terrorizing the rural districts, and men who were not in accordance with the "no-rent" policy went armed and were attended by constables to protect them from murderous assault.

The Conservatives, who had repeatedly denounced the Land Bill and the government for concessions which would encourage the agitation of the League for the purpose of abolishing landlords and giving the land to the peasants who tilled it, now prepared for an electoral campaign, and before entering upon it made a tentative offer to the Irish leaders which could scarcely be regarded otherwise than as an endeavour to steal a march upon the Liberal government and make a bid for the Irish vote.

Mr W H Smith, whose judgment, experience, and temper could be relied upon, brought forward proposals for the extension of the provisions of the Land Act of 1870, the effect of which would have gone far to create a peasant proprietorship. Mr Bright had pointed out in 1864 that what was actually wanted was the breaking down of the laws of primogeniture and entail, so that in course of time, by a gradual and sure process, the Irish people might become the possessors of the soil of Ireland. Two years later he had suggested a parliamentary commission empowered to buy large estates, particularly of English proprietors of Irish property, and to re-sell them in existing farms to existing tenants, to whom the money to purchase them should be advanced on easy terms. It will be seen that the Land Bill was an approach to this scheme, but Mr Smith's proposals would have gone beyond the suggestions of Mr Bright, as, if entirely carried out, it would have enabled tenants to become proprietors by means of aid from the state, which would have enabled them to purchase the land, while compensating owners by paying something like twenty years' purchase of the rentals which they were unable to realize under existing conditions. This was a remarkable proposition when viewed in the light of more recent

Conservative declarations, that such a mode of purchase would mean saddling England with a responsibility which could only be met by increased taxation, but it should be mentioned that Lord Salisbury in the subsequent electoral campaign, while attacking the government for having failed in legislating for Ireland, referred to Mr W H Smith's scheme, not with words of actual approval, but as a proof that the Conservatives were not afraid to grasp the situation, however they might deplore the series of events which had led to such concessions as they were now prepared to make. But Mr John Edward Redmond, the member for Wexford, who was one of the leaders of the Irish Nationalists, also proposed a bill for cancelling the arrears of rents of the small farmers who were unable to pay up to the date of the Land Act, and to apply the residue funds of the Irish Church to the payment of the remaining debt. This as a definite proposition Mr Gladstone referred to with satisfaction. It was regarded as an authentic desire of the Nationalist party to make the working of the Land Act an effectual security for the peace of the country. The prime minister said he hoped it might be regarded as a gleam of light on a horizon long dark, for though he had confidence in the strength of the country to vindicate its rule, yet the compulsory government of any portion of the empire was alien to public opinion, and any sign of returning peace and concord should be gladly welcomed. A measure was in preparation which it was understood would be in accordance with the principle of both the proposed bills, and these declarations, as well as the signs of approval from the Irish party, gave rise to the immediate expectation of a change in the relative attitude of the government and the Nationalists, especially as it was observed that Mr. Forster, who still insisted on the necessity for maintaining the law by repressive measures, was not in accord with other members of the cabinet.

The situation had changed, and everybody was anxiously waiting to know what would be the next proceeding of a government which had accepted the principle of a bill proposed

by one of the representatives of the Irish National party, while the leaders of the recent movement were in Kilmainham prison as "suspects," and liable to be kept under arrest till the autumn, for having taken illegal means for frustrating the operations of a Land Bill, which seemed now to be a measure inadequate to meet the demands of the Irish people whom those leaders claimed to represent.

Mr Sexton had asked that Messrs Parnell, Dillon, and other parliamentary representatives should be released on parole that they might be present in the house during the session, but Mr. Forster was entirely opposed to such a step, which, he said, would only be preliminary to a demand for their unconditional release. He would hold them under arrest until more stringent measures for putting an end to the prevailing outrages had produced some result which might be accelerated by their influence or by the withdrawal of their manifesto.

It soon became evident that this view would not be adopted by his colleagues, and there were rumours of discord in the cabinet, which were confirmed when, on the 28th of April, the resignation of Lord Cowper, the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was announced, and the immediate acceptance of the office by Earl Spencer showed that such a contingency was not altogether unexpected. Lord Cowper afterwards stated that his resignation was attributable to the necessity for his giving attention to personal affairs, and not to any disagreement with the ministry. This explanation, emphatic though it was, did not altogether remove the impression that he shared with Mr. Forster, not only surprise, but disapproval, when the government suddenly made known a determination to set free Mr Parnell and his colleagues, and intimated to the less conspicuous prisoners that their speedy release from prison depended on the course adopted by themselves and their followers or sympathizers. But the release of the Parnellites was not decided on except on such grounds as the government believed justified them in adopting conciliatory measures.

The opposition was active and vigilant—watching every opportunity to accuse and

discredit the government, and to place ministers in a position of difficulty, and an alleged understanding or arrangement between the cabinet and the prisoners in Kilmainham was made the most of, by giving it the name of the "Kilmainham treaty" and assuming that a secret agreement or bargain had been concluded between the prisoners and the government, by which the former, in return for their partial support of measures to be proposed, were to be restored to liberty with the expectation of important concessions

When all was told, it appeared that, on the 13th of April, Captain O'Shea, the member for county Clare, had written to Mr Gladstone and Mr Chamberlain on the subject of eviction for arrears of rent, urging the government to deal with it. This letter, while containing an expression of the views of the writer, was also apologetic with regard to the length and the unauthorized character of the communication. Mr Gladstone replied, saying that he would communicate the contents of it to Mr Forster, that no apology could be required either for the length or freedom of the letter, but that both demanded his acknowledgements. "I am very sensible of the spirit in which you write, but I think you assume the existence of a spirit on my part with which you can sympathize. Whether there be any agreement as to the means, the end in view is of vast moment, and, assuredly, no resentment, personal prejudice, or false shame, or other impediment extraneous to the matter itself will prevent the government from treading in that path which may most safely lead to the pacification of Ireland."

Mr Chamberlain, replied to the letter which he had received, in much the same strain. "I think I may say that there appears to me nothing in your proposal which does not deserve consideration. I entirely agree in your view that it is the duty of the government to lose no opportunity of acquainting themselves with representative opinion in Ireland, and for that purpose that we ought to welcome suggestion and criticism from every quarter and from all sections and classes of Irishmen, provided that they are animated by a desire for good government, and not by

a blind hatred of all government whatever. There is one thing must be borne in mind—that if the government and the Liberal party generally are bound to show greater consideration than they have hitherto done for Irish opinion, on the other hand the leaders of the Irish party must pay some attention to public opinion in England and in Scotland. I shall rejoice whenever the time comes that a more hopeful spirit is manifested on both sides."

There was nothing of the language of compact or negotiation either in Mr Gladstone's or Mr Chamberlain's answer, but Captain O'Shea's letter was a privileged communication belonging to cabinet correspondence, and Mr Gladstone, while absolutely denying that there had been negotiations in any sense such as that which the opposition imputed, refused to produce the letters which might have been evidence of the intentions of the released members. Mr Parnell, volunteered to explain to the house what was the attitude of the imprisoned members. The proposal to bring forward an Arrears Bill, which might be acceptable, would materially alter their probable relations to the government. The explanation was contained in a letter written by Mr Parnell from Kilmainham to Captain O'Shea on the 28th of April. This letter was in the possession of Mr Forster as Irish secretary. Mr Parnell read from a copy of it furnished by Captain O'Shea. It said "I desire to impress upon you the absolute necessity of a settlement of the arrears question which will enable us to show the smaller tenantry that they have been treated with justice and some generosity. . . . The proposal you have described to me, as suggested in some quarters, of making a loan, over however many years the payment might be spread, should be absolutely rejected for reasons which I have already fully explained to you. If the arrears question be settled upon the lines indicated by us I have every confidence—a confidence shared by my colleagues—that the exertions which we should be able to make strenuously and unremittingly would be effective in stopping outrages and intimidation of all kinds. As regards permanent legislation of an ameliorative character, I may

say that the views which you always shared with me as to the admission of leaseholders to the fair-rent clauses of the act are more confirmed than ever. So long as the flower of the Irish peasantry are kept outside the act there cannot be any permanent settlement of the Land Act, which we all so much desire. I should also strongly hope that some compromise might be arrived at this session with regard to the amendment of the tenure clauses. It is unnecessary for me to dwell upon the enormous advantage to be derived from the full extension of the purchase clauses which now seems practically to have been adopted by all parties. The accomplishment of the programme I have sketched out to you would, in my judgment, be regarded by the country as a practical settlement of the land question, and I believe that the government at the end of this session would, from the state of the country, feel themselves thoroughly justified in dispensing with farther coercive measures."

The language of conciliation is apparent here, and it may be mentioned that this letter was written just after Mr Parnell had returned to Kilmainham prison on the expiration of his parole. It will easily be understood that Mr Gladstone and Mr Chamberlain would not have been justified in leaving unanswered a letter addressed to them, and containing what may be regarded as appealing references to the subject of Mr Parnell's declarations, and it can scarcely be said that their replies were too eagerly suggestive of a compromise when it is remembered that the Parnellites were in prison as suspects without trial, and that the serious and well-considered words written by Mr Parnell, though they were not in the nature of appeal or submission, and did not, in fact, bear any direct reference to the release of the prisoners, were emphatically directed to that better understanding and mutual concession which the avowed policy of the government was intended to secure. But those who thought, with Mr Forster, that there should be no compromise whatever with the Kilmainham prisoners, and that no proposition of theirs should be seriously regarded until the law

had been vindicated by the repression of outrages, and they had been taught that no agreement would be made by which the aid of rebels should be sought for the purpose of putting an end to rebellion—people who took this view of the case were not satisfied. They persisted in regarding the release of the prisoners as a dangerous concession. Those members of the opposition who were vigilantly waiting on events that they might see some opportunity of conciliating the Irish party with a view to the Irish vote at the coming general election, violently denounced the "Kilmainham treaty" as a "party move," and, as it often unfortunately happens in Irish affairs, an error, or perhaps a well-intentioned omission of a sentence in Mr O'Shea's copy of Mr Parnell's letter, gave the opportunity for the repetition of this charge with quite exaggerated emphasis.

Mr Forster, whose love of strict accuracy of statement was, perhaps, on this occasion accentuated by his strong objections to the course that had been taken with regard to the Parnellites, questioned the accuracy of the concluding part of the letter, and produced the original, which had been reserved on the ground of expediency and the ordinary usage with respect to cabinet correspondence. On this being read by Mr Parnell the concluding paragraph was found to be "*The accomplishment of the programme I have sketched would, in my judgment, be regarded by the country as a practical settlement of the land question, and would, I feel sure, enable us to co-operate cordially with the Liberal party in forwarding Liberal principles*, and that the government at the end of the session would, from the state of the country, feel themselves thoroughly justified in dispensing with future coercive measures."

Of course the words which are here placed in italics were suggestive of a party support, but if they were intended in this sense, there was no evidence whatever that they were so accepted, and there was certainly nothing to show that the response made to the communications from Mr Parnell and Captain O'Shea indicated a departure from the previous attitude avowed by the ministry contingently

on the Irish leaders exhibiting a desire for conciliation.

The subject did not drop, and subsequently Mr. O'Shea explained, that after inquiries and the collection of evidence which impressed him with the importance of the arrears question and the weariness of the country, he wrote to the prime minister asking permission to address him by letter on the subject. Shortly afterwards he saw Mr Parnell, who was then on parole, and expressed the hope that his release would be permanent, when Mr. Parnell had said, "Never mind the suspects, try and get the question of the arrears satisfactorily adjusted, and the contributions made not a loan, but a gift and on compulsion. The Tories have now adopted my views as to a peasant proprietary. The great object to be attained is to stay evictions by an Arrears Bill." Mr Parnell had expressed his conviction that the "Moonlighters" were sons of small farmers who were threatened with eviction. Hoping that the government might introduce some measure dealing with the desperate condition of the country, Mr O'Shea asked Mr Parnell to use his great personal influence towards the preservation of order in Ireland. It was after this interview that he wrote to the prime minister and the president of the Board of Trade. Encouraged by their replies he had had numerous conversations with Mr Forster, in which, while excluding all ideas of bargain or compromise, he had endeavoured to remove prejudices and misunderstandings, and though in this individual case he had not been successful, the result of his efforts was seen in the attitude of the cabinet in relation to Mr Redmond's proposed bill. He afterwards had several interviews with the prisoners at Kilmainham, but the question of their release was not discussed. He had urged the necessity of withdrawing their "No Rent" manifesto, and they had ceased to circulate it, but not as a bid or bargain for the liberation of the imprisoned members.

Mr Forster was not satisfied till, as a supplement to this statement, he had repeated the particulars of the principal conversation which he had had with O'Shea, who had just

come from Kilmainham and handed to him (Forster) Parnell's letter, saying that he hoped it would be a satisfactory expression of union with the Liberal party. Mr Forster had asked him whether he thought that that letter contained all that Mr Parnell would be inclined to say, and Mr O'Shea had said, "What more do you want? Doubtless I could supplement;" to which Mr Forster had replied "It comes to this, that upon our doing certain things he will help us to prevent outrages," or words to that effect. Mr O'Shea again said, "How can I supplement it?" referring, as Mr Forster imagined, to different measures. The latter gentleman, who did not feel justified in giving him an opinion which might be interpreted to be that of the cabinet, proposed to show the letter to Mr Gladstone and one or two others, when Mr O'Shea said, "Well, there may be faults in expression, but the thing is done. If these words will not do I must get others, but what is obtained is, that the conspiracy which has been used to get up boycotting and outrages will now be used to put them down, and there will be a union in the Liberal party." As an illustration of how the first of these results was to be obtained he said that Parnell hoped to make use of a certain person, and get him back from abroad, as he would be able to help him, and knew all the details of the agitation in the west.

This "certain person" was Sheridan, a released suspect, against whom the government had a fresh warrant, and who, under disguises, had eluded the police, going backward and forward as an emissary of those whom Mr Forster did not scruple to call "outrage-mongers."

Mr Forster's statement was received with no little applause by the Conservatives, though it would be difficult to see how it implicated the government. Mr. O'Shea protested that the word used by him in relation to the means of promoting boycotting was not "conspiracy" but "organization," and perhaps this was the case, for undoubtedly the Parnellites regarded boycotting, not as a crime, but as a rough remedy, resembling a kind of lynch-law. Mr. Parnell agreed in the main with

the version of the Kilmanham interview given by Mr. O'Shea, but he denied any personal intention to intervene between landlords and their tenants, and he interpreted the "organization" to imply, in his belief, not that the same organization under which outrages had been committed would be used to put them down, but that the persons taking part in "moonlight" outrages, which the Kilmanham prisoners strongly condemned, were the smaller tenantry who could not pay, and wished by means of the outrages to intimidate the larger tenantry and prevent them from paying their rents. He had suggested that Mr. Sheridan should be permitted to return to Ireland, and that Mr. Davitt should be released, as he believed that they would use their influence to discourage the commission of outrages, and to induce the tenantry to accept a settlement for the arrears. It can scarcely be said that this supplementary explanation gave clearness to the account of what actually took place, nor did Mr. Parnell's statements often contribute to a clear definition. They were apt to bear the appearance of leaving opportunities for interpretation according to contingencies, and it can be easily understood that a man in his position was anxious not to commit himself wholly to the avowed doctrines of Mr. Dillon on the one side, nor to say what would appear to place him in accordance with the government on the other. He must always be in an attitude which might make the appearance either of rebellion or loyal conciliation appear to be consistent with the profession of patriotism.

Mr. Forster's position was, at all events, consistent with his declarations. His honesty of purpose was never for a moment doubtful. When he resigned the Irish secretaryship and his seat in the cabinet Mr. Gladstone, speaking for himself and other ministers, bore earnest testimony to his integrity and worth of character, and to the regret that was caused by the conclusion that he had come to and his consequent resignation, and the prime minister utterly declined to permit the late secretary to be saddled with the responsibility of anything which had been done by the

government in the direction of "coercion" or the enforcement of the law. It was only when the ministry entered upon a new policy, and believed that, as Mr. Parnell and his colleagues had professed an alteration in their views, there was no longer a sufficient reason for keeping them as prisoners suspected of antagonism to the endeavours of the government to pacificate the country, that Mr. Forster differed from the conclusions of his colleagues in the cabinet.

Mr. Forster himself, when he addressed his constituents at Bradford, was as outspoken in his expressions of confidence in Mr. Gladstone. "There never was a time," he said, "in which this government—and not merely this government, but governments generally—required more strength than it does at this moment. You have confidence in Mr. Gladstone—not more confidence than I have—though with greater pain than any act I ever performed I had to cease to assist him in the particular post which I lately occupied. . . I left the government, as I say, with the greatest possible pain, because I could not believe that it was wise, or, under the circumstances, a right thing to release the three members of parliament without having reasonable belief that they would not, or could not, when they were released, do the things for which we had shut them up. . . It was not a difference upon principle. My colleagues were as determined as I am to preserve order. I am as determined as my colleagues—and history will prove it—to remove every Irish grievance, but we could not agree, and I felt that if I did not take that step which to me was a matter of so much pain, I should be in this position—that I should have been obliged in the House of Commons to vindicate and support that which I did not think was the right thing to do. I was one man against thirteen men, many of them better able to form a judgment than I am, but for this one reason—I had been in Ireland, and they had not, and I believe, nay, I am sure, that if they had my Irish experience, if they had had forced upon them, as I had, every morning and every hour the fearful combat that we were carrying on for law and order against

terrorism, against crime, against murder, against intimidation, they would not have thought it a safe thing to weaken—as I feel sure it would weaken, but as they fully believed it would not weaken—the power of the law and of the government to prevent breaches of the law by the step that was taken”

That these declarations had considerable weight there can be little doubt, for the public mind had not yet recovered from a terrible shock. The later explanations and discussions about the so-called “Kilmainham treaty” took place towards the close of a debate on the motion for leave to bring in a bill to deal with the arrears of rent in Ireland, but unhappily only a few days had elapsed since—almost immediately following the release of the three members—a crime had been perpetrated in Dublin which sent a thrill of horror through the country, and, it may be said, through every civilized community.

The assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr Burke is not likely to be soon forgotten, and there is no need to recount at length the horrible details of as foul a murder as ever was committed.

Lord Frederick Cavendish, second son of the Duke of Devonshire, and brother of Lord Hartington, succeeded Mr Forster as chief-secretary for Ireland. On the morning of the 6th of May he reached Dublin in company with Earl Spencer, the new viceroy, and in the course of the day they made an official entry into the city, took the oath at Dublin Castle, and at once commenced official duties. The new chief-secretary had taken a message of peace to Ireland, but peace was the last thing that was desired by miscreants who represented outrage and murder, and were associated with the coward party of dynamite in America, who committed crime by means of unquestioning wretches sent here as assassins, and bound to obey, under the penalty of their own footsteps being dogged and their own lives paying the forfeit if they dared to revolt from the tyranny of the secret committee, which regarded them only as unreasoning instruments.

At about seven o'clock in the evening Lord Frederick Cavendish left the viceregal lodge

to go to his own residence, and, meeting with Mr T H Burke the permanent under-secretary, commenced to walk with him through the Phoenix Park by the principal road, which is bordered by level sweeps of grass, shaded here and there by trees. It was a public highway, numbers of persons assembled in the park had passed along it during the day, and there were still several persons at a distance, who saw what they regarded as a casual scuffle, or rude horseplay, among some of the rough fellows who had been idling about during the afternoon. What they really witnessed was the murder of the chief-secretary and his subordinate. Four men, who had alighted from a car at some distance from the spot, rushed upon the unfortunate gentlemen from behind, and it was believed that Lord Frederick Cavendish was the intended victim. He was stabbed in the throat and chest with a long “dissecting” knife, the murderer reaching over his shoulder. As Mr Burke had for a long time been a permanent official, and represented no side in politics, it was supposed that he met his death only because he was in company with the chief-secretary, and endeavoured to defend him. Neither he nor Lord Frederick were armed, and though from the number of desperate wounds inflicted on them it was evident that they attempted some resistance, they were taken unaware, and the first injuries would probably have proved fatal. The horrible deed was perpetrated at about seven o'clock on a bright evening in spring, in a frequented highway, only a few yards from the Phoenix Monument, and within sight of the viceregal lodge, where Lord Spencer himself was actually watching the supposed scuffle from one of the windows, without for a moment suspecting that the man from whom he had so recently parted was being foully murdered. Some lads on bicycles, who had passed the two gentlemen shortly before, had reached the Phoenix Monument, round which they guided their vehicles, and on turning they saw a car with four men in it driving rapidly away. Presently they reached the spot where the two victims lay dead, from wounds in several places. A man, who was walking

with his dogs at some distance, had seen what he supposed to be a struggle in the road between some Dublin roughs, and, when two of them fell and the others jumped into the car and drove away, had either felt no surprise or was reluctant to interfere in a fight which might have involved him in trouble. When the alarm was given, and the bodies were recognized, the assassins had escaped, and no trace of them could be found, though it afterwards transpired that the car, being driven at a furious pace with four men in it, had been seen by more than one person.

The feeling produced by the crime in England was that of mingled horror and indignation. Had the temper of the English people been like that of the Irish abettors of crime and outrage, there might have been such a manifestation of public feeling as would have demanded measures of retaliation which would have gone far to exterminate the murderous associations by the adoption of as "rough remedies" as those which the leaders of the League had held to be excusable, if not justifiable, for the purpose of preventing the payment of rent. The leaders of what was now called the National party expressed, and doubtless felt, the utmost abhorrence of the crime which had been committed, and attributed it to the Irish-Americans. They at once issued an address, which concluded with the words —

"We feel that no act has ever been perpetrated in our country during the exciting struggles for social and political rights of the past fifty years that has so stained the name of hospitable Ireland as this cowardly and unprovoked assassination of a friendly stranger, and that until the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr Burke are brought to justice that stain will sully our country's name"

Similar feelings of detestation for the crime were expressed in various parts of Ireland. On the day after the murder a meeting, chiefly composed of Nationalists and Land Leaguers, was held in Cork, where they passed unanimously a resolution declaring "This meeting of the citizens of Cork, spontaneously assembled, hastens to express the

feelings of indignation and sorrow with which it has learned of the murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr T H Burke last night, to denounce it as a crime that calls to Heaven for vengeance, to repudiate its authors, whoever they may be, with disgust and abhorrence, as men with whom the Irish nation has no community of feeling, and to convey our condolence with the families of the murdered." The assassins, however, could not be found. The police were active and many arrests were made, but no evidence of guilt could be brought home to the prisoners.

It need scarcely be said that the effect of this atrocious deed was to defer the work of conciliation and the settlement of the terms of the Arrears Bill until a measure had also been considered for the prevention of crime in Ireland. Policy, no less than public feeling, demanded that special legislation should be exercised for the support of the authority of the government and its laws against those whose offences were such that people outside parliament were already declaring that they were entitled to no more consideration than would be shown to savage beasts, against which everyone was bound to protect himself.

The news of the murder did not reach the public till the following day (Sunday, May 7th), and was only known to the majority of persons on the Monday. The excitement was intense, but after the first outburst of indignant feeling had subsided there was little disposition to demand retaliation by the adoption of oppressively severe measures. A cabinet council was hastily held on the Sunday. Immediate instructions were sent to the viceroy, and it was resolved that the resolutions on parliamentary procedure, which were still being debated, should be abandoned, that bills might be at once introduced and pushed forward for extending and amending the Land Act and the "Coercion" Act. It showed both the conscientiousness and the courage of Mr Forster that he at once offered temporarily to resume the duties of the chief-secretaryship until some one else was appointed, but this was unnecessary, as Mr G O. Trevelyan, the secretary to the admiralty, at once accepted the office on its being offered to him. The

position of financial secretary to the treasury, which had been held by Lord Frederick Cavendish, was still vacant, and was conferred on Mr Leonard H Courtney, who had previously been at the colonial office with Lord Kimberley

On the whole it was considered reasonable to admit the declarations of the released Parnellites that this murder and other violent outrages were not to be attributed to the Land League, but had been greatly owing to the fact that the leaders of the League were in prison, and were unable to exercise a restraining influence on the operation of those secret societies which promoted crime and outrage for the purpose of making conciliation impossible. The public, however, found it difficult to accept the statement that the violent language and hostile attitude of the Irish leaders had not indirectly encouraged crime, and remembering the large proportion of the funds of the League which had been subscribed in America, there was an apparent contradiction in the representation of those leaders that the assassination in the Phoenix Park was the work of Irish-Americans, who being bitterly opposed to any endeavour to pacify the country, desired so to prejudice the League as to make any compromise between them and the government impossible

Mr Parnell, however, following the leaders of the parties in the house on the occasion of their expressions of sorrow at the untimely death of the murdered men—spoke frankly and earnestly on behalf of his party and of Irishmen in general—declaring their detestation of the horrible crime which had been committed in Ireland. He could not but acknowledge that under the circumstances it would be impossible for the government to refrain from taking some steps to repress outrages of such a nature, but he expressed his belief that this crime had been committed by men who absolutely detested the cause with which he had been associated, and who had devised and carried it out as the deadliest blow at the hopes of his party and the new course on which the government had entered

The funeral of Lord Frederick Cavendish

and was attended by a great procession of three hundred members of the House of Commons, the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Gladstone going first. More than 30,000 persons were present. The house assembled at nine o'clock in the evening, and Sir William Harcourt, the home secretary, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the prevention of crimes in Ireland. The deed which had been perpetrated was not an isolated event, but was the inevitable outcome of the secret societies and unlawful combinations which spread their influence over the country, and prevented the people from expressing their real feelings. Foremost among the evidences of existing terrorism was the intimidation of jurymen, who were prevented from doing their duty. Therefore the government had come to the conclusion that it was necessary for certain classes of cases, and on certain occasions, to create special tribunals, and had determined that these tribunals should be composed of the judges of the superior courts. Whenever the lord-lieutenant was of opinion that an impartial trial could not be secured for cases of treason, murder, attempts to kill, crimes of aggravated violence, and attacks on dwelling-houses, he would be empowered to appoint a special commission of three judges, who would sit without juries, and decide questions of law and fact, but their judgments must be unanimous, and there would be a right of appeal to the Court for Criminal Cases reserved. Districts where there was much crime and disturbance might be "proclaimed," and there the police would have power to search for arms, masks, threatening letters, and other instruments of crime, and to arrest persons prowling about at night and unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves. The Alien Act would be so revised as to give power to arrest strangers, and to remove those who might be thought dangerous to public safety. Incitements to crime, membership of secret societies, aggravated assaults on the police or on process-servers, and intimidation could be immediately punished on the authority of two stipendiary magistrates having summary jurisdiction. There would

and to take security for an alteration in the manner of conducting them. The lord-lieutenant would have authority to deal specially with unlawful assemblies.

Assuredly the proposed measure was a severe one, more severe than the provisions which Mr Forster had demanded, and its duration was to be for three years, but it was felt that a crisis had arrived, and as Sir Stafford Northcote said, if there was to be a departure from ordinary law it should be effectual for its purpose, and the exceptional law should be administered with firmness. Challenged by Mr Chaplin as to a previous assertion, that force was no remedy, Mr Bright said that what he had always maintained was that force was no remedy, not against force or violence, but against discontent in a country arising from causes which were sure to produce discontent. He pointed out that the bill would not affect innocent people, and any inconvenience it might occasion should be cheerfully submitted to for the sake of restoring order.

Mr Parnell and Mr Dillon urgently opposed the bill. The former regretted that the framers of the bill had not shared the temper with which the English people had received the blow dealt on the previous Saturday. That crime gave the government no warrant to place the lives and liberties of the Irish people at the mercy of the judges, and the measure would lead to a hundredfold more disaster than the coercion policy which had already failed. Mr Dillon said it was true that the murder of the two men, whom he would have given his own life to save, were the first political assassinations in our century, but they had occurred at the end of two years of Mr Forster's administration, and he warned the House that another two years' administration might be followed by a similar stain. The bill would exactly carry out the object of those who had committed the murder, and if the government were about to fall back on the old style of coercive legislation, he saw nothing for it but to retire from Irish political life.

Perhaps the prospect of this last result did not seem to the house to be a very unhappy

one. Mr Goschen, who said that he thought the house would neither be deterred by the violent language of Irish members from pursuing the legislation which it deemed necessary for the repression of crime in Ireland, nor from persevering in its endeavours to knit closer the bonds between the two countries, referred to the assertion of Mr Dillon and one or two other Irish members, that they washed their hands of all responsibility, and retorted, amidst much cheering, that the responsibility of governing Ireland rested with the executive, and not with members "steeped to the lips in treason," an expression which he was called upon to withdraw, and for which he substituted "who had signed the 'No Rent' manifesto, and had declared that they would not take off their coats for the land question alone."

Leave to bring in the bill was voted by 327 to 22, the minority consisting chiefly of the extreme Home Rulers, who, however, were enforced by the adhesion of Mr Cowen and Mr J C Thompson. The majority of the Irish members absented themselves from the division, but 27 voted with the majority, one of them being Major F O'Beirne, a Home Ruler.

The provisions of the bill were undoubtedly stringent, and there were grave doubts among the Liberals, both in and out of parliament, whether it did not carry the means of repression too far. It may have been a defect that some of its clauses would scarcely be likely to be put into complete operation, but it should be remembered, that the condition of the country and the prevalence of aggravated and brutal crimes as the result of secret conspiracies and seditious meetings made it appear necessary to prepare for dealing with extreme cases. It was an evidence of the general desire to recognize for Ireland the same rights and liberties which were enjoyed by the other portions of the United Kingdom, that even under these most exceptional conditions the suspension of trial by jury of men arrested on a charge of treason which might be founded on somewhat vague accusations was spoken of in terms of disapproval. The appointment of special commissions, too, was regarded

with dislike, and the Irish judges themselves objected to the duties to which they would be committed. On the whole there was an instinctive reluctance to make the bill operative against what might be merely political offences, or to enact penalties against men for differences of opinion, instead of enforcing the existing laws against criminals. But there was this to be considered: political offences in Ireland had come to be constantly associated with crimes against social order and personal safety. The legislation had to deal with a state of things where political meetings took the form of menace and intimidation. Reluctance to disperse a public meeting was attributed to terror on the part of the government, and such meetings were followed by offences against the laws. Too great alacrity to prevent political assemblies was represented as tyranny, which justified reprisals against people who had nothing to do with the action of the authorities.

It was evident that there would be a stiff contest before the bill could be passed. The Irish party was by no means unanimous, and though Mr Parnell did not oppose the introduction of the measure, and merely deprecated its being pushed forward without full opportunity for discussing and amending some of its clauses, Mr Dillon was entirely antagonistic to its provisions.

Mr Trevelyan showed his qualifications for the office which he had undertaken by bringing forward, in a graphic and striking manner, facts and details which showed the necessity of a measure for which he emphatically claimed that its main principle was not to increase the severity of the law, but to make its operation more certain, and to act with determination in suppressing secret societies. Mr Gladstone, replying to objections by Mr Dillon and Mr Sexton, contended that the bill would not put down such an organization as the Land League if the objects of that association were limited to the declarations of its prospectus without any other concealed designs. He agreed that conciliation meant justice, but justice meant justice to all, and included the use of force for the punishment of evil-doers. He placed his reliance for the

removal of discontent on the removal of the causes rather than on checking the expression of it. The Dublin assassination was not the cause of the bill, which had been contemplated before that dreadful occurrence made it impossible to delay its production. Its main basis was the wide-spread misery inflicted on a large body of the people for the exercise of their legal rights and the discharge of their legal obligations. As a proof of the existence, not only of some sympathy with the assassins, but of a wide-spread terrorism, he pointed to the fact that no information had reached the executive of the circumstances of the murder, which must have been known to many persons. The bill must be passed in its main lines, though the government would listen to objections in committee. That bill and the Arrears Bill were parts of one and the same policy, and he earnestly asked the house to lose no time in passing it. The second reading of the bill was carried by 383 votes against 45, the minority being composed of Home Rulers and a few English Radicals.

Before going into committee the bill met with strenuous condemnation from those who espoused the cause of the extreme Irish party, but Mr Plunket, who supported it from the front opposition bench, declared that the present difficulty was raised by the American-Irish: they furnished the forces with which the executive would have to deal in the future, and if the government did not govern Ireland by the imperial power, it would be governed for them by men of the O'Donovan Rossa stamp. The solicitor-general for Ireland insisted that the bill was solely to repress crime, and imposed no greater restrictions or inconvenience on well-disposed and law-abiding people than any good citizen would willingly bear for the general benefit. He believed that the judges would withdraw their objections to the jury clauses, and the search clauses would bring no innocent person into danger. The judicial were to be separated from the executive duties of the stipendiary magistrates, and those who sat and heard cases would have no concern with police functions.

The Arrears Bill had been advanced simultaneously with the Prevention of Crimes Bill,

and Whitsuntide was near. It was necessary to get both measures into committee, and two hours after the second reading of the Arrears Bill the committal of the Crimes Bill was proceeded with.

For thirty-six years the house had not sat on the day devoted to "the Derby"—the great horse-race on Epsom Downs, but on this occasion there was no adjournment, and the number of members assembled showed that the situation was grave and important. The proceedings of the debate were chiefly remarkable for a speech by Mr Dillon, in which he came forth as an irreconcilable. Neither the prime-minister, nor Mr Davitt, nor any other man could put down outrages in Ireland so long as there were evictions there. He never had, and never would, denounce outrages till the house denounced eviction, but he had honestly and earnestly endeavoured to show the people of Ireland that their own interests, their good name before the world, and the protection of their rights and the future of their country distinctly lay in putting a stop to outrage. He also endeavoured to point out that a weapon lay to their hands which would take the place of outrage. One of the means he relied upon to prevent murder was open public combination and the rough process they called boycotting, which he had advocated as it would be more effective than murder and outrage. Agrarian outrages, which had continued for centuries, were the result of the people being taught that there was no protection for them but outrage. They had been taught that if they submitted to law and order they would be swept away like flies from the face of the country.

Mr. Dillon did not appear to estimate the application of this assertion to the teachings of him and his colleagues.

He went on to say that when this lesson had entered into the heart of the people coercion was powerless, the question came to be, whether they should have a secret combination to murder or an open combination to boycott. Referring to the clauses dealing with press restrictions and to quotations that had been made by the solicitor-general for Ireland, he said that these quota-

tions were not from Irish newspapers, but from the organ of O'Donovan Rossa, who had no influence in Ireland, and made these attacks because they helped his income, and it was only the notice he received from the house that kept him from bankruptcy. He added that if the government had refused to give another coercion act the landlords, in view of the proposals made by the opposition with regard to a personal proprietorship, would have been glad to come to terms, and would have accepted twenty years' purchase for their estates. Now they would ask twenty-six or twenty-seven, the tenantry would not buy, and the long war would go on, with occasional horrible outrages and secret combinations, till the bill had come to a close, when the Land League would spring up again, they would be face to face with the same land movement, the landlords would not get more than ten per cent purchase. If they had to pass through a horrible period of outrage, when Captain Moonlight would take the place of the Land League in spite of coercion acts, then another movement would arise, based on a much more advanced platform.

Mr Gladstone might well call this "a heart-breaking speech." He did not expect, he said, that any representation would have the smallest effect upon Mr Dillon's steeled feeling, but there were others who might have sympathized to a great extent with him, who were not prepared to go to the fearful lengths he had just described. In one respect he thanked him for that portion of his speech. It tended, at least, to the attainment of one great public object—that was to clear the issue which was raised between the government and all law-obeying and law-abiding men on the one side, and the honourable member on the other. Deliberately, and even coldly and with perfect self-possession, he had told the house that he would refuse to denounce outrage as long as they refused to denounce evictions. What were evictions? Eviction was the exercise of a legal right, it might be to the prejudice of a neighbour, it might involve the very highest responsibility, nay, even deep moral guilt. There might be outrages for which, all things considered, the

persons might be less guilty in the sight of God. That he did not deny, but there might be evictions which were the last, the extreme, and the unavoidable remedy for the establishment of those legal rights on which the existence of society depended. A man who deliberately and insolently denied them, a man who audaciously refused to fulfil his contract, the most equitable contract in the world, a contract under the judicial rents recently established, with money in his pockets, perhaps loaded with benefits by the man whom he defied, furnished a case where the possessor of the property, after exhausting every means of conciliation, was driven to make use of the power of the law for the establishment of his legal rights, and perhaps the support of himself and his family. By Mr Dillon the landlord who exercised the legal right of eviction was placed on the same footing as the perpetrator of outrage, and a distinction was drawn between one kind of illegality and another, boycotting being defended as a legitimate process. Boycotting was combined intimidation made use of for the purpose of destroying the private liberty of choice by fear of ruin and starvation. It was enforced by the murder which was not to be denounced. By boycotting Mr Dillon meant nothing but merely ruining men who claimed to exercise their private judgment in a direction opposite to his. If Mr Dillon did not approve of violence, he must know that those who justify illegality were responsible for other illegality following upon it which they did not sanction. In fact, Mr Dillon was the apostle of a creed of force and oppression which tended to the destruction of all liberty, and to the erection of a despotism differing from every other despotism as being more absolutely detached from all law, tradition, and restraint.

This was a clear exposition of the attitude assumed by the extremists. The alternative of such utterances as those of Mr Dillon was such as no government in the world could contemplate. The abandonment of Ireland to murder, anarchy, and bloodshed, meant the eventual interposition of military law and government by the sternest Cromwellian

methods, far exceeding in severity anything that could possibly be countenanced under the proposed bill.

It was no wonder that the other Irish members backed away from Mr Dillon's declaration, that Radical members repudiated it, and that Liberals who had intended to propose considerable modifications of the bill would feel bound to support it, as Mr Dillon's speech had shown it to be a necessary measure. Mr Parnell reserved the expression of opinion till the following day, but he had evidently found that he could not support Mr Dillon's declarations. He endeavoured to excuse them, and even went so far as partly to uphold his defence of boycotting, but he admitted that boycotting had been abused. If the arrears question had been settled he should have recommended that the agitation should be conducted within the laws applicable to England as well as Ireland. He claimed for the Irish tenant the same right of combination as was possessed by the English workman, and no more, and he was willing to insert in this bill any special definition which was required by the nature of the case. He appealed to the prime-minister to let the Arrears Bill be tried for a short time, and not to press on a bill which would throw everything into the hands of the secret societies and serve the purposes of the Phoenix Park murderers.

If this was the case, it was pretty evident that the ex-Land Leaguers had been playing off the secret societies and the Irish-Americans against the government, and it was now time to take a firm grasp of the situation. As Mr Trevelyan pointed out, the bill was framed, not for the benefit of Englishmen, but to protect the poor Irish farmer. Under the existing jury system about thirty agrarian murders had been committed with impunity. His announcement that persons hitherto in the position of special resident magistrates would not be allowed to sit in court, but that the duty would be intrusted to magistrates designated by the lord-lieutenant, was received with cheers by the Irish members, who were assured that entire freedom of discussion would be allowed both in the press and in public addresses so long as speakers and writers

did not incite to outrage or intimidation. The bill went into committee on the 25th of May, and the house adjourned for the Whitsuntide recess, but it was expected that it would be delayed by every act of obstruction which the Irish party might be permitted to exercise, and that every opportunity would be taken by the opposition to frustrate the Arrears Act, and to disparage and eventually to defeat the government policy, which had been attacked by Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon in telling speeches on the day before the bill was committed previous to the adjournment of parliament.

These expectations were not disappointed. It is needless to follow the details of the method of obstruction adopted by the Irish party, against whom it became necessary to enforce extraordinary rules of parliamentary procedure, and occasionally to suspend from participation in the debates Irish members whose vexatious interruptions—evidently intended to cause unnecessary delay, and to protract discussion by the interposition of irrelevant talk—were often expressed in language too violently or grossly abusive to be endured in a legislative assembly.

The government was determined to make the suppression of boycotting an essential part of the bill, though efforts were made in committee to modify the clauses that related to it. Several important amendments were agreed to, however. One was, that the bill should have no retrospective action as regarded charges of treason, and consent was also given to the principle that the judges employed on a commission should be taken from a roster settled by ballot instead of being chosen by the lord-lieutenant, and also that their reasons for conviction should be given in open court. It was agreed that the treasury should provide for the expenses of witnesses and acquitted prisoners, and for the payment of counsel to defend prisoners in destitute circumstances. The jurisdiction of commission was to be limited to cases in which an Irish judge and jury would have jurisdiction. After a long and heated debate, and many divisions on the clause for suppressing intimidation, the home secretary assented to a

clause which would permit all the acts claimed to be justifiable by workmen under the Trades Union Act of 1875. The "curfew clause," authorizing the arrest of suspected persons who were away from their homes more than an hour after sunset and before sunrise was passed, but Mr Gladstone consented to the restriction of the right of search for arms to the daytime, except when there was reason to suppose that an illegal meeting was being held, a concession which was received by the Irish members with warm approval. The clause involving a special alien act for Ireland was extended to the whole of the United Kingdom, Mr Bright observing that his opposition to the Alien Act of 1848 was because that act was intended to prevent the introduction of opinion, whereas this was directed against actual crime. He referred to the necessity of protecting the kingdom against the contamination of American criminals of the deepest dye, and from the Chicago Convention, which he characterized as a "convention of traitors," words which drew forth a violent protest from Mr Healy, who had been one of those who summoned the convention, was present at it, and spoke at a meeting in connection with it, but repudiated all responsibility for what was done at the convention itself.

A long discussion, or rather a protracted wrangle, followed. The ordinary business of the house, even the vote on account for the civil service, was obstructed, and Mr Sexton threatened to oppose it unless the government gave some explanation of the enforcement of the statute of Edward III, by which a number of persons, including ladies, had been imprisoned in default of bail. Mr Trevelyan replied that there were twelve persons imprisoned under this act for ordinary offences to one who had been detained for agrarian crime. The lord-lieutenant in releasing prisoners had regard to the length of time since their arrest. There had been 940 arrests since the passing of the Protection Act, and of 917 cases detained 23 had been re-arrests. The number released had been 755, so that it was obvious that those still detained were to be regarded as the worst cases, and the lord-

lieutenant in ordering releases had to consider the safety of the country and the condition of the districts to which the "suspects" belonged. A great many were imprisoned for intimidation, which bore a much larger proportion to the agrarian crime than it had done five or six months previously, though there were as many agrarian offences in one month as there had been in the whole year in 1872, 1873, or 1878-1879. The Irish government were earnestly endeavouring to temper justice with mercy.

The Irish members continued their tactics of vexatious obstruction till the patience of the house and of the country was well-nigh exhausted, but members on both sides continued to sit with a determination not to yield to attempts to frustrate the duties of parliament. During the one memorable sitting of thirty hours thirty-one divisions were taken, the minority never numbering more than forty, and mostly counting only fourteen to twenty. Eight divisions were taken on mere motions for the purpose of obstruction viz to report progress, and that the chairman leave the chair, and this continued after a number of Irish members had been suspended, when the minority never exceeded twelve. It became necessary to take some strong measures, and a motion of urgency was carried by 402 against 19. The urgency rules of the previous year were laid on the table, and another rule was added, providing that the "Closure" might be imposed in committee by a majority of three to one. When this new rule was read by Mr Erskine May, Mr. Justin M'Carthy rose and read a resolution, which had been adopted by the Parnellite members, that, as the Irish parliamentary party had been expelled from the house, under threat of physical force, during the consideration of a measure affecting vitally the rights and liberties of Ireland, and as the government, during the enforced absence of Irish members from the house, pressed forward material parts of the measure in committee, thus depriving the representatives of the Irish people of the right to discuss and to vote upon coercive proposals for Ireland, they resolved to take no further part in the proceedings in

committee on the Coercion Bill, and they cast upon the government the sole responsibility for a bill which had been urged through the house by a course of violence and subterfuge, and which, when passed into law, would be devoid of moral force, and would be no constitutional act of parliament. He and most of his colleagues then left the house, not without a good deal of cheering from the ministerial side, and some of them afterwards returned to watch the progress of the debate.

Business went on with some expedition then, for under the rules no division was to be taken unless twenty members rose when its supporters were called upon by the chairman. The remaining clauses were passed with one or two concessions, and the bill passed the third reading.

The Arrears Bill followed that proposed by Mr Redmond in its principal features. It was limited to holdings of under £30 a year, Griffith's valuation, and only applied to tenants who could show that their rent between November 1880 and November 1881 had been paid. The benefits of the bill were to be alike open to landlord and tenant, the principle of compulsory purchase or sale being thus made equitable, and the tenant would have to give proof before a competent tribunal of his inability to pay before his demand upon the landlord or the state would be entertained, that tribunal to be either the land commissioner's court or the county court. In cases where the claim was fully made out, the state would pay half the arrears accruing before November, 1880, or one year's rent by a free gift of the amount required. When both the tenant and the state had paid their respective amounts the whole of the remaining arrears would be cancelled, and the courts would register the arrangements. Tenants evicted up to a certain date were to have the advantages of the bill, and applications to take advantage of its provisions were to be lodged by either landlord or tenant before the 30th of June, 1883. To carry out the scheme about £2,000,000 might be required, of which the surplus of the Irish Church fund would furnish three-fourths, and if parliament were afterwards applied to for a grant, half a million

would be given from the consolidated fund. Various amendments were made in the Lords which would have changed the character of the bill to the advantage of the landlords, but only those which it was declared would give no undue preference were adopted on its return to the House of Commons. The two houses were again in conflict, but it was not a time for the Lords to exhibit uncompromising hostility, and though Lord Salisbury denounced the measure, and would have stood out against it in spite of the determination of the government, his colleagues were so opposed to raising another conflict that he found himself in a small minority, and the measure passed after Mr Gladstone had made such very moderate concessions as satisfied the *amour propre* of the Upper House.

The severity of the "Crimes" Bill was justified by several murders. On the 8th of June Mr Walter Bourke, and the military escort who accompanied him for his protection, were both shot from behind a loopholed wall, on the 29th Mr. Blake, Lord Clanricarde's agent, and Mr. Keene, his steward, were killed in the same manner, on the 17th of August at Maamtrasna, in the Joyce country, where two bailiffs had been murdered early in the year, a party of disguised ruffians entered the house of a family named Joyce, consisting of a man, his wife, mother, two sons, and a daughter, and massacred them all with the exception of one son, who was severely wounded. The murderers were seen and tracked by three farmers, who gave evidence which led to the arrest of the gang. The crime was committed because the Joyces were suspected of knowing who it was that had murdered the two bailiffs, whose bodies had been found in Lough Mask. Three of the murderers were convicted and executed; five others pleaded guilty and were condemned to death, but the death penalty was commuted by the lord-lieutenant; and the three murderers of the bailiffs were afterwards discovered on the evidence of an informer, and were tried, and two of them were sentenced to death.

Comparative tranquillity continued till the end of November, when fresh outrages broke forth in Dublin. On the night of November

25th an attack was made on several detectives by a number of armed men, and one of the detectives was killed, and the next night a man named Field, who had been a juror in the trial of a man who had been executed for the murder of a policeman, was stabbed several times while he was standing outside his own house. The assassins escaped, leaving the man, as they believed, dead, but he eventually recovered from his dreadful injuries.

On the 17th of October an "Irish National Conference" was held at the Ancient Concert Rooms, Dublin, for the purpose of uniting in one body all the sections of the Irish party—Land Leaguers, Nationalists, and Home Rulers, under the title of the Irish National League, the objects of which Mr. Parnell announced were "national self-government, land law reform, local self-government, extension of the parliamentary and municipal franchises, and the development and encouragement of the labour and industrial interests of Ireland." This new organization at first seemed likely to cause dissension among the national party, especially as while Mr Parnell's views on the land question were the establishment of a peasant proprietorship, those of Mr Davitt were in favour of the nationalization of the land. Mr Dillon also differed from the leader of the party, but these differences were adjusted, or, for the time, were not allowed to interfere with the new organization, which, however, caused a split among the National Irish in America.

This review of the Irish question has occupied more space than should have been devoted to it had it not been that it was to become the "burning question" of the Gladstone administration of 1886, and has continued to be a potent difficulty to the present time. The reader of these pages should therefore be acquainted with such of its outlines as must come into the estimate of the latter period of the government of Mr Gladstone, and the relation of his contemporaries to the steps that may follow towards Irish social and political progress. By the end of the session of 1882 Mr. Gladstone and several of

his colleagues were almost worn out and temporarily disabled by the arduous duties that they had been called upon to fulfil. Happily financial legislation required little strenuous exertion. Mr Gladstone had introduced his budget, but there were no special features in it. A slow revenue and an increasing expenditure, showing an augmentation of above $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions beyond that of the previous year, arising from inherited war charges in the Transvaal and elsewhere, left no opportunity for changes in the incidence of taxation, but the surplus of £350,000, small as it was, made further imposts unnecessary. The beer duty had produced less than was expected, and Mr Gladstone attributed it to an improvement in the habits of the people and an increase in the number of coffee-houses. As further evidence of increased temperance, as shown by the decline of the revenue on drink, it was stated that the alcoholic revenue, which had increased from £23,000,000 in 1867-68 to £31,000,000, in 1874-75, had fallen back to £28,444,000 in 1881-82, and the wine duties from £171,000 in 1874 to £136,000 in 1881. In 1867 we raised $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of our revenue from alcohol, in 1874, 51 per cent, but in 1881 the percentage had sunk to $46\frac{1}{2}$, though it must be borne in mind that duties had been remitted from other articles of consumption which in the former years had left those on alcohol less proportionately conspicuous. There had been an increase in the amount received from tea duties, but those on coffee had not augmented. The savings of the people were also evidence of greater temperance and thrift. In the previous year the amount intrusted for investment to the government by savings-banks depositors had been £3,189,000. All that the house was asked to vote was £250,000, which was to be raised by increasing the duty on four-wheeled carriages from two to three guineas, and on two-wheeled carriages from fifteen shillings to a guinea.

The session cannot be said to have been barren, in which two measures were passed that were of such vast importance in relation to the strenuous efforts which were being made to find a solution for the Irish question. The

difficulty of maintaining the authority of law and the due order of procedure in parliament had been stupendous, but as we have seen there were external troubles and anxieties in relation to the attitude which we had assumed with regard to Egyptian affairs, and these were themselves sufficient to try the strength of the administration.

This attitude had been the result of the position that we held towards the Egyptian government in consequence of the intervention of the cabinet of Lord Beaconsfield in 1879, which, in conjunction with the French government, undertook the responsibility of ruling the internal affairs of Egypt, and thus again was the outcome of the employment of European government officials to inquire into and administer the financial affairs of the country. The actual interposition may be said to have begun with the mission of Mr. Cave, whose long and careful inquiry and report in 1876 showed that the "unified" debt of Egypt should be estimated at £91,000,000, which had been incurred in twelve years by a country whose annual revenue during that period had not averaged £8,000,000.

It would not be possible within the limits of these pages to enter into an account of the conditions that led to an English naval force being sent to Alexandria, the events which followed the suppression of the mutinous rebellion raised by Arabi Pasha, and the occupation of Cairo and other parts of the country by the British troops who, under the command of General Sir Garnet Wolseley, had defeated the army of the rebels at Tel-el-Kebir, taken the principal ringleaders prisoners, and restored the authority of the khedive Tewfik and the Egyptian government. British interposition in Egypt is an historical episode of sufficient importance to form a separate record, and the reader is referred to the author's complete narrative of the *War in Egypt and the Soudan*, which can scarcely fail to be interesting, since it contains an account of the earlier conditions that led to British intervention, and the more recent, and perhaps still more exciting, narrative of the extraordinary work of General

Gordon, the records of the rebellion of the savage fanatic tribes led by the Mahdi or false prophet, and the strange wild story of long marches in the land of desolation, and of the battles by which British soldiers and sailors fought their way across the desert amidst a vast horde of hostile and fearless tribes. To follow that narrative¹ would require more space than can be devoted to a subject which is only incidentally associated with the story of the social and political progress of the period in which it occurs. While M. Gambetta was in power in France, and repeatedly urged upon Lord Granville the necessity for immediate intervention to check the military revolt of which Arabi was the principal leader, there was some expectation of maintaining the authority of the khedive, but Gambetta's ministry was defeated, and that of M. de Freycinet, who succeeded him, was actuated by the old jealousy of English influence. The French and English controllers at Cairo remained in accord, although it was discovered that a French agent Baron Ring had actually stimulated the rebellion by private communications with its leaders, whom he had entertained at his house. He was recalled by the French government, but Arabi was already to a great extent master of the situation, and the financial administration and the settlement of the Egyptian budget were discussed without reference to the controllers, who declared that the measures proposed would, if adopted, seriously prejudice the interests of France and England, and reduce the influence of their representatives in the council to a minimum. M. de Blignieres, the French controller, resigned after having, in conjunction with his English colleague Mr. Colvin, shown that a surplus of £600,000 had been obtained in the past year, and that the proposals of the chambers would result in a deficit.

The situation was one of great difficulty. There were complications and suspicions on each hand. The agents of the ex-khedive Ismail were seeking in the disturbed state of

the country an opportunity for obtaining the restoration of their master. The khedive Tewfik, not unsuspected of half complicity with the demands made by the mutinous leaders for the expulsion of all foreign influence, was yielding to the insurgent officers and compromising with Arabi, who had been made minister of war, though he had the charge of rebellion hanging over him. The sultan or his ministers at Constantinople had begun to make tentative approaches to Arabi, to whom the government of the Porte might give such encouragement as would lead to the obliteration of the independence of the khedivate, and leave an opportunity for the intervention of the sultan as suzerain with claims that might afterwards be urged to his own advantage.

The implied pledges of the British government included the support of the government of the khedive—who had been placed on the throne by British authority,—the protection of the European population of Egypt, especially in Cairo, Alexandria, and the trading centres, and the maintenance of the neutrality of the Suez Canal, a vastly preponderating interest in which belonged to England both on account of the very large number of British vessels which passed along it, and the commercial importance that it had attained thereby, and because it had come to be the ready highway to our Indian possessions.

Fortunately the Earl of Dufferin, our plenipotentiary at Constantinople, was a man of remarkable diplomatic ability, and of firm, and yet conciliatory, temper, and the sultan and his ministers gained not a single point because of the delay occasioned through attempts to frustrate European intervention by implied undertakings to send a Turkish force to maintain order in Egypt, but without any guarantees for the subsequent independence of the khedive's government.

It was evident to the representatives of the powers meeting in conference at Constantinople that intervention was absolutely necessary, and it had been determined by the English government to intervene for the suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of the khedive's government. Lord Dufferin showed

¹ The *War in Egypt and the Soudan* (Thomas Archer Blackie & Son) deals with the whole subject of British relations with Egypt, from the period of the invasion by Napoleon Bonaparte to the present time.

great tact and courtesy when, with the representatives of the other great powers, he met for consultation with the sultan, who talked of occupying Egypt with a Turkish army. But nobody quite trusted the sultan's intentions, and it at length was decided, with the consent of all the powers, that France and England should in the name of Europe take the responsibility of occupying the Suez Canal with a protecting force, to prevent its being blocked or seized upon by the insurgents. This was settled, but before the final conference of Lord Dufferin with the sultan had concluded, troops had arrived in Egypt from England, and contingents were being pushed forward to make reconnaissances of Arabi's position at Kafr-Dowar, not far from Alexandria.

During the delay and indecision caused by the difficulty of obtaining any definite concert with France, Mr. Gladstone and the members of the government were so reticent on the subject of their Egyptian policy that the opposition assailed them with repeated taunts and reiterated questions, but failed to elicit any declaration of their intentions. It was not till the second week in June that Sir Charles Dilke brought forward the first instalment of papers relating to events which had happened early in the year. Mr. Gladstone had said that the government would protect Tewfik's life and position against any pretender, and would not acknowledge Arabi to be other than a rebel—not a patriotic leader, but a mutineer, who, with his companions, had endeavoured to subvert the regular government of the country for his own ends.

The English ministry had endeavoured to sustain three principles, which were in accordance with making the best of the policy that had been left them by their predecessors. To retain the co-operation of France, and fully carry out the system of dual control, to respect the claims and the position of the Sultan and the Porte, and at the same time to prevent them from acting independently in Egypt—a difficult matter, because the sultan, as chief of the Mohammedan religion, held an important relation to many of the native rulers in India, as well as to

those in Algeria and in Tunis, where the French had, by their persistent demands and then dominating temper, produced much irritation and resentment. At the same time it was necessary that we should do our best to maintain some settled and regular government in Egypt, that we might secure our already preponderating interest in the highway to India, and also guard against the imposition on the country of an international control, which would inevitably lead to European discord and confusion.

The whole responsibility fell upon England, partly because of the suspicion in France that the hand of Prince Bismarck was to be seen in the proposed conference of the great powers. The French people began to think that if their government should be drawn into an active participation in the Egyptian enterprise, it would give Bismarck an opportunity for attacking them. The de Freycinet cabinet was already tottering, and the result of this feeling was that the French squadron was withdrawn from Alexandria to Port Said. There was still one move left. M. de Freycinet assumed that the protection of the Suez Canal was a question quite apart from intervention in Egypt, and the English government loyally supported him in informing the conference that France and England were ready to take the responsibility of protection, and in inviting the other powers to join them. It was believed that Bismarck, not desiring to put an end to so weak a ministry as that of de Freycinet, and yet unwilling to give France the position of a protector of the canal, thought he could improve the situation by inducing Turkey to send troops under the restrictions named by the powers, but he was too late. We had been left to bear the brunt, and our government had accepted the position, and demanded that before Turkish troops could be landed the Porte should conclude a regular military convention. If we were to stand alone our claims must be recognized by the other powers who had promised their support and acquiescence. This caused Bismarck to diplomatize by inducing Italy to propose what he had been instrumental in preventing, namely a

joint European protection of the canal by France and England; but the other powers did not give the requisite mandate, and this led to the reversal of the vote of credit to the French government and the resignation of the de Freycinet cabinet, a result which practically put an end to the immediate connection of France with Egyptian affairs and with the subsequent campaign. Whether Prince Bismarck had calculated on the prompt action of England cannot be easily decided, but at all events our government took the matter into their own hands. A vote of credit had passed parliament, and with the calling out of the reserves and the preparation for despatching a considerable force to Egypt, we commenced that campaign which, if Mr. Gladstone's government had not been drawn into further intervention in the Western Soudan, and a consequent participation in the error of sending General Gordon to Khartûm, would, perhaps, have concluded without affording grounds for the reproaches which were heaped upon them by opponents, who, having no definite policy of their own, were ready to seize with avidity upon every error, even though it may have been the result of yielding to the demands which they were themselves instrumental in urging upon the ministry.

At any rate, when once the government had determined to grasp the situation, little time was lost, and with the arrival of troops at Alexandria the situation rapidly changed. A telegraph cable was laid from Alexandria to Port Said, Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived in chief command; troopships sailed to Aboukir, and, while the Egyptians wondered what was going to be done, sailed eastward and occupied Port Said. The campaign was rapid, the engagements sudden and successful; and Arabi and his rebel army were driven from all their positions further and further toward Cairo, until they occupied a strongly intrenched and fortified camp at Tel-el-Kebir, where, after a swift and brilliant assault by the British forces, they were utterly defeated and the whole army routed. This was on the night of September 12 and morning of September 13. The British losses were 54

killed, of whom 11 were officers, and 342, including 22 officers, wounded. The Egyptian loss was about 1000 men, and 3000 surrendered, while 15,000 threw away their arms and dispersed over the country. In the course of the day our Indian contingent had occupied Zagazig, and the cavalry and mounted infantry, by a forced march of 39 miles under a blazing sun, reached Cairo on the evening of September 14, where Arabi was captured, and the city was preserved from disturbance and perhaps from destruction.

The trial of Arabi, in accordance with British principles of justice,—his gratitude for the care which our representatives took that he and his colleagues should not be left to the uncertain jurisdiction of an Egyptian court uninfluenced by British procedure,—the deportation of the group of leaders to Ceylon,—the trials and sentences of numbers of inferior prisoners,—the visitation and reform of the prisons where convicts were confined,—the active and noble devotion to duty displayed by the British civil and military officers, and the men under their command, during the subsequent outbreak of cholera, which prevented the removal of our troops from Cairo and other centres in 1883,—the formation of a body of police and gendarmerie under Colonel Valentine Baker, and of an Egyptian army under the command of General Evelyn Wood,—and the long and arduous efforts by which Lord Dufferin, and those who worked with him, gave to Egypt a system by which every department of the government could be brought under better and harmonious regulations, form the chief story of the year 1883; but the interesting narrative can only be thus briefly referred to in these pages. Mr Gladstone was able to say, in his retrospective address to the electors of Midlothian two years afterwards, when he referred to the policy, which had been inherited by his government, and the results which had been attained —

“The policy of a foreign intervention in Egyptian affairs, of which I have not ceased since 1876 in parliament and in the press to point out the certain dangers, has produced its natural results, which the late adminis-

tration (his own) strove anxiously and incessantly, yet in vain, to avert. The chief sources of comfort on reviewing a series of transactions generally painful are, that we have respected, to the utmost of our power, international laws and arrangements; have used every administrative effort to support our gallant forces in maintaining the honour of the British arms, have, beyond all doubt, introduced most valuable improvements, too sorely needed, into Egyptian law and government, and, finally, have indicated provisions on a reasonable basis for the future government of Egypt and the exercise of its legal autonomy without foreign intervention. I affirm that every step which we took in Egypt down to the time of the operations against Arabi Pasha in 1882 was the direct consequence of the agreement with France for reciprocal support, and for the maintenance of a native government, which had been concluded in 1879 before our accession to office. The French chamber, in the exercise of its undoubted right, rejected in 1882 the proposal of its ministry to take part in military measures. Sorrowfully, but without doubt, though I felt less than many of my countrymen, the pressure of the argument from British interests other than of honour, I held, and I still hold, that that paramount interest compelled us, in the execution of our pledge for the maintenance of a native government, to re-establish the authority of the khedive and the peace of the country, and to prosecute all the practicable reforms.

Our judgment was sustained by public opinion. In November, 1883, we had reached a point at which we were able to advise the evacuation of Cairo, together with the immediate reduction of the occupying force to a brigade in Alexandria and at Port Said. We had thus, in my judgment, a hopeful prospect of an early evacuation of the entire country.

It was then that the disasters of an unhappy war in the Soudan, in no way due to us, produced a state of things so menacing to Egypt itself, that we found it our duty at once to take measures intended to prevent the extension of the disturbances beyond that

region. But we insisted upon its evacuation by Egypt, and we offered our aid towards the withdrawal of the garrisons by peaceful means."

The expedition to Egypt had required a vote of credit for £2,300,000, and troops had also been brought from India to augment the force, but the maintenance of peace in the country and the gradual but rapid application of the plans for reform and reconstruction in the government was effected by Lord Dufferin, and Sir E. Malet, Sir C. Wilson, Sir Evelyn Wood, Colonel Stewart, and others, who acted under his general instructions.

During the year 1883 this work went on, but the progress was necessarily slow, though the utmost energy was used, and the appearance of cholera at Cairo, Damietta, and other parts of Egypt, made it necessary to delay the recall of that larger portion of the army of occupation which had prepared to return to England, while the want of sanitary regulations and any regular medical organization had to be met by the despatch of a competent medical and surgical staff from England, and the employment of the newly formed gendarmerie and some British troops to form cordons for preserving order in and near the infected districts.

When parliament met on the 15th of February there appeared but little promise of activity. Ministers had been jaded and almost exhausted by the arduous work of the previous year. Until some time after the reassembling of parliament Mr Gladstone did not return from Cannes, whither he had been for the benefit of his health. The royal speech announced the establishment of tranquillity in Egypt, the restoration of Cetewayo to Zululand, and an improvement in the condition of Ireland, but there was a long debate on the address, and several amendments, which were framed in such a manner as to convey censure on the government, though they were negatived, showed that the opposition intended to lose no opportunity to disparage and denounce the ministry. The first amendment proposed by Mr Balfour, while assuring her majesty of support in such measures as might be necessary for a satis-

factory settlement of the affairs of Egypt, regretted that steps were not taken at an earlier period. It is difficult to know exactly what was the meaning of this proposition—which was rejected by 259 to 175 votes—for the government had declared against any unnecessary armed interposition in Egyptian affairs, and the conditions that had led to the rebellion were referable to the policy of the preceding government of Lord Beaconsfield and the administration of Lord Salisbury. It may be noted, however, that throughout the Egyptian difficulty the opposition continued alternately to question and denounce every active step taken by the ministry;—to urge them to more decisive interposition, to demand that they should declare a policy which would have been almost tantamount to the complete occupation and defence of the country in the interests of the khedive,—to accuse the khedive himself of gross treachery, and to defend, not only Arabi, the chief rebel, but his murderous lieutenant, who was answerable for the massacre and destruction in Alexandria. This, at all events, was the temporary attitude of Lord Randolph Churchill, whose characteristic was persistent perversity.

When the Egyptian military expedition had been determined on, and the reserves were called out, Mr Bright had resigned his position in the cabinet. He held that he could not, after so many years declaring himself to be an opponent of armed interference in foreign countries, countenance the despatch of the army. He remained in the cabinet as long as he felt that he could do so, because of the deep regard in which he held Mr Gladstone, and it was very painful to him to be obliged to leave it on the ground of consistency. He had been from time to time endeavouring to teach his countrymen the opinion and doctrine which he held, that the moral law was not intended only for individuals but also for the life and practice of the state, and he could not repudiate what he had taught and preached during the period of a rather long political life. To this Mr Gladstone replied, that though that was not the occasion for arguing the question of difference that had unhappily arisen between Mr. Bright

and those who were proud to be his colleagues, he might venture to assure him that they concurred with him in thinking that the moral law applied to states as it did to individuals, and that the difference between them—a difference most painful to him (Mr Gladstone) and to them all—was a difference upon a particular case, and a particular application of the law to that case. "It is to us as it is to him," said Mr Gladstone, "an occasion of the profoundest pain. But he carries with him the unbroken esteem, and, upon every other question, the unbroken confidence of his colleagues, and their best and warmest wishes for his happiness, and that it may follow him in the independent position to which he has found it necessary to retire."

There had been some other ministerial changes because of Mr. Gladstone having relinquished to Mr. Childers the immediate duties of the chancellorship of the exchequer, and by the admission to the cabinet of Lord Derby and Sir Charles Dilke. Some changes in minor but yet important offices were also made, but on the whole the composition of the administration was unchanged.

Early in January the authority of the law in Ireland was actively vindicated. Mr Healy and Mr Davitt with one of their associates were committed to prison by the Queen's Bench for contempt of court, for having refused to engage not to repeat language calculated to provoke a breach of the peace. Mr O'Brien, the editor of *United Ireland*, was indicted for libel, for having charged Earl Spencer with bribing juries to secure conviction for murder, but in this case the conviction was defeated by a disagreement of the jury, and Mr O'Brien during the trial was elected M P for Mallow, obtaining a large majority over the solicitor-general. Mr Healy, too, was returned for Monaghan. These events, however, had been preceded by one far more exciting. While the authors of the Lough Mask and the Castle Island murders were expiating their guilt with their lives, the detective police in Dublin arrested a number of men suspected of complicity in criminal organizations. These men were examined before the magistrates at

Kilmainham, with the result that they were found to be inculpated, not only in the crime of which they were suspected, but with the Phoenix Park murders.

Two or three informers were produced, whose revelations, especially in regard to a series of abortive attempts to murder Mr. Forster, were startling enough, but far more so was the transfer from the dock to the witness-box of James Carey, the most important personage among the prisoners, a well-known Nationalist, a devout Roman Catholic, and a councillor of the Dublin corporation. Carey had been, as it proved, the centre of a murderous conspiracy, taking the name of "The Invincibles," the Phoenix Park atrocity was planned and in a measure accomplished by him, the actual assassins being among the men in custody. Before the magistrates, and afterwards at the trial, Carey gave an elaborate and unrefuted account of the manner in which the scheme for the "removal" of Mr. Burke, the under-secretary, was carried out, affirming that Lord Frederick Cavendish was unknown to the murderers, and became a victim through his accidental presence on the scene. He identified Brady, Kelly, Curley, and others as concerned in the affair, and sufficient corroborative evidence was forthcoming to justify the crown, ably represented by Mr. Murphy, Q. C., who was soon after raised to the bench, in indicting several of the prisoners for the murder in the Phoenix Park, others for the attack on Mr. Field, and the remainder for conspiracy to murder.

The trials took place in April before Mr. Justice O'Brien, who displayed remarkable ability, firmness, and patience throughout, assisted, it must be said, by juries who did their duty with dignity and courage. Brady, Curley, and Fagan were convicted of murder, as was also Kelly, who nearly escaped, however, through repeated disagreements of the jury, Caffrey and Delaney pleaded guilty on the same charge, the latter, who had been serving a term of penal servitude for the attempt on Judge Lawson's life, protesting that he was driven by threats into these criminal courses, and confirming the truth of Carey's chief

statements. Five of the prisoners suffered the extreme penalty of the law, and they have since been regarded by the Nationalist party in America and in Ireland as martyrs. The storm of execration which burst upon Carey was due quite as much to the semi-political disclosures in his evidence as to the fact that he gave Brady and his comrades to the gallows. He let in the light on the nature and working of the organizations through which the terrorism of the preceding years had been enforced, he showed how they were connected with the Land League through men like Sheridan, who had prompted "the Invincibles" to the murder of Mr. Forster, and who was nevertheless one of the agents recommended to the government by Mr. Parnell as capable of "pacifying" the country. True bills were found against Sheridan and two other persons who had been in close relations with Carey—Walsh and Tynan, the latter being identified with the mysterious figure "No. 1"—by the Dublin grand-jury, but there was no chance of obtaining their extradition from the United States. The government for some time detained Carey and the other informers in safe custody, but arrangements were finally made for sending them as privately as possible abroad. The colonies, however, objected to receive them and would not be responsible for them, and in Victoria the government interfered to prevent the landing of some of the informers who had been sent there. Carey, under an assumed name, embarked on board a ship for South Africa, but on the voyage between the Cape and Natal was shot by a fellow-passenger, who seemed to have assiduously cultivated his acquaintance and discovered his identity. This man was an Irish-American named O'Donnell, and the murder was hailed with savage triumph by his supporters in Ireland and America. Money was subscribed for his defence when he was placed on his trial at the Old Bailey, but, though he was very ably defended by Mr. Charles Russell, there was no doubt of his guilt, nor under such circumstances could he be acquitted of the capital charge. He was convicted and promptly executed, the demand

for a respite preferred by the American government in deference to the Irish vote being courteously but firmly refused.

The punishment of the Phoenix Park assassins, following that of the Maamtrasna, Lough Mask, and Castle Island murderers, tended to break up the centres of local terrorism, and in the north, as well as the south, some conspiracies to murder were discovered and punished. Towards the end of the year Mr Trevelyan was able to state that outrages had considerably diminished. The miscreants who professed to represent the Fenians or Irish-Americans, however, were hatching crimes, and making some efforts to intimidate people in England by sending wretched dupes or terrorized subordinates to attempt to destroy public buildings with dynamite without regard to the death or injury of innocent men, women, and children.

Early in the spring London was startled by the simultaneous attempts to blow up the Local Government Board buildings and the office of the *Times*. Other projects of the same wicked sort were detected or suspected elsewhere. At Birmingham the police, following up a slender clue with much patience and skill, discovered a secret manufactory of nitro-glycerine and evidence of the proprietor's communications with a number of men, chiefly Irish-Americans, arrested in London, Glasgow, and elsewhere, with explosives in their possession. Parliament meanwhile had passed an "Explosives Bill" with exemplary promptitude. On the trial, Norman, one of the prisoners, appeared as an informer, and four of the others, convicted of having planned the destruction of several public buildings, of having brought over funds from America for the purpose, and of having explosives in readiness for use, were sentenced to penal servitude for life. A similar conspiracy at Glasgow was afterwards brought to light, and the criminals were convicted and punished at Edinburgh. Another alarm was occasioned a few months later, when an attempt was made, with partial success, to produce a destructive explosion at two points on the Metropolitan and District Railways about the same hour. Though a good deal of injury

was done to a train near Praed Street, the design was on the whole baffled, the authors were not discovered, though there was no doubt that the means and the motives were the same as in the earlier outrages.

These attempts, so far from carrying terror to the people of England or of London, produced a widely spread indignation and disgust against the murderous conspirators, who, while themselves remaining in security in another country, sent their emissaries here to commit reckless havoc, which happily, however, had little fatal result. Buildings were much injured, a few weak people terrified, and some hurt, and the scoundrels were not always caught. Those who were arrested were brought to trial in the regular methodical way, duly defended, and when convicted on indubitable evidence were punished no more severely than the crime merited. A good many Englishmen clenched their hands when they thought of the cowardly ruffians who were ready to wreak their spite against England by the indiscriminate murder of inoffensive people, and some vows were made that if one of the scoundrels were caught red-handed he should not need a trial. If the object of the assassins was to cause a panic that should benefit Ireland the result was not attained either then or at a later date, when some further attempts were made to assert the policy of dynamite by explosives at Westminster Hall and at the Tower of London, the perpetrators of the latter being discovered and sentenced, though not to capital punishment as they would have been in most countries.

The Irish party in the House of Commons, of course, repudiated any association with these crimes; nor were they suspected of being in any way concerned with them, but they continued their acrimonious and frequently violent attacks on occasions when they thought there was an opportunity for asserting the programme which their leaders had prepared.

Still the legislative measures concerning Ireland were considered with a view to conciliation of the Home Rule party, and the Crimes Act was put into operation with careful

determination to make it effectual without carrying it to extremity. The session was not distinguished for its enactments, but it was by no means barren, since some useful measures were passed, such as the Agricultural Holdings Bill for England and Scotland, the Corrupt Practices at Elections Bill, the Bankruptcy Bill, and the Patents Bill; and the budget, when it appeared on the 5th of April, was such as might commend itself to the House, since the only change in the burden of taxation was the removal of the extra three halfpence income-tax imposed to meet the cost of the Egyptian expedition. A quarter of a million of the surplus was reserved as a margin, the rest being exhausted by this remission of the three halfpence in the pound income-tax, the provision for sixpenny telegrams, a reduction in the railway passenger duty, and some small changes in gun-licenses and method of collecting income-tax. Prospects were dull. The previous harvest had not been up to the average, and commerce was suffering from depression, any considerable relief to which did not seem probable, but there had for some time been a cry for "Fair Trade," which, being interpreted, meant the imposition of retaliating duties on importations from countries which placed high or prohibitive duties upon British goods. This proposition, to return to a disguised protectionist policy, was not likely to be accepted by a Liberal government; and those Conservatives who were at all likely to form a cabinet in the event of a change of ministry, could only speak in terms of conditional approval of the reimposition of duties which, if the theory were well founded, should be extended to the protection of the farmer as well as the manufacturer, so that the whole battle of the repeal of the corn-laws would have to be fought over again.

The attention of Parliament and the country was, however, to be directed still more intensely to the course of events in Egypt. Grants had been made to Sir Beauchamp Seymour and to Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had been respectively elevated to the peerage as Lord Alcester and Viscount Wolseley, and had returned to England. The British force

left in Egypt, under the command of General Graham and other officers, was being gradually but rapidly withdrawn, when alarming intelligence from Kordofan, Darfûr, and other places which formed the central towns or entrepôts of the vast desert territory known as the Egyptian provinces of the Soudan, lying between the Red Sea and the Nile and extending to the equatorial provinces and the confines of Abyssinia, caused the departure of some of the remaining regiments to be delayed. It is scarcely probable that the British force could have been entirely removed, for from the time of the capture of Arabi and the settlement of the country, the khedive and the Egyptian government had implored a continuance of the protection afforded by British troops, as well as the continued assistance of British officials in the work of administration. It had been intended, however, now that a native Egyptian army had been formed under the command of Sir Evelyn Wood and the gendarmerie and police were efficiently organized, to withdraw all but a few troops, when the news came that the half-savage tribes of the Soudan provinces were being stirred to rebellion, and that an insurrection was imminent because of the pretensions of a Mahdi or false prophet, who had induced many of the powerful slave-hunting chiefs to cast in their lot with him, partly, it was believed, because they desired to perpetrate the slave-trade, while both they and their tribes were anxious to throw off the Egyptian yoke. The Mahdi, however, appealed also to the gross fanaticism of the Soudanese. He declared that he was the prophet whose coming to restore the family of Islam had been foretold by Mahomet, and he claimed, not only to be descended from the family which had been designated, but to show marks in his face and peculiarities of appearance, which were held to be proofs of his mission to represent an independent cause, antagonistic alike to Egyptian and to European control, and indifferent even to the authority of the Porte and to the claims of the sultan to represent the faithful.

The insurrection had commenced two years before, and Colonel Stewart, who was at Cairo

at the time of the British occupation after the suppression of the rebellion of Arabi, had been sent to Khartûm to report as to the state of affairs in the adjacent provinces. He sent word that the power of the Mahdî was increasing, but it was thought that the rebellion might die out as other disturbances of a semi-fanatical nature had done. At all events it was emphatically represented to the khedive that no aid would be given by the British forces in Egypt to retain or to recover his authority over the Soudan. Should the rebel horde threaten Egypt itself the troops remaining in the country would join the Egyptian force in protecting the frontier and the Nile at Wady Halfa. Sir Evelyn Wood, who had taken service with the khedive to form a native army for the protection of Egypt, had only been able to enlist men on the distinct understanding that they should not be sent to serve in the Soudan, the country of vast, scorching, waterless deserts, which had been named the swallower of armies. The khedive could not bring himself to relinquish valuable places which were in the line of the trade route from the Equatorial provinces as well as on the desert route from the Red Sea, Suakim, and Massowa, to the Nile and Cairo.

If the Southern Soudan, Kordofan, and Darfûr were to remain a part of the Egyptian dominion, however, it was necessary at once to occupy Khartûm at the junction of the Blue and White Niles, and to check the movements of the rebel hordes upon Obeid, and the khedive commissioned General Hicks, a brave and able officer who had served in our Indian army, and now accepted a command from the Egyptian government, to proceed with an armed force and artillery to Suakim, and thence across the desert caravan route to Berber and Khartûm, there to collect and organize a regular army, to strengthen the garrisons of the forts which were dotted here and there, and to oppose the growth of the insurrection. Hicks Pasha, with some British officers who had taken service with him, started at once, and having reached Khartûm succeeded in forming a considerable force there and gained several victories over the followers of the Mahdî, but the whole of the

Soudan provinces were in a blaze, and the pashas and slave-hunting chiefs had mostly declared for the Mahdî, though some tribes remained loyal and inflicted several defeats on the insurgents. But the savage followers of the Mahdî were neither like Egyptians nor Bashi-Bazouks, and only other Arab tribesmen and the black troops would face their wild and desperate onslaughts. The Egyptian soldiers, unless commanded by European officers, yielded almost without a blow to their fearless and fanatic adversaries. The Mahdî took several places, and early in January had starved out the garrison at Obeid. It was thought necessary for Hicks, who had already succeeded in inflicting severe repulses on the enemy, to carry the war into Kordofan and proceed against the main body of the rebels. He prepared a plan of the march, and his experience should have secured for him the chief command, but that command was divided between him and the Egyptian general and governor, and Hicks found his advice disregarded, it was even declared, upon the only evidence which could be afterwards obtained, that he was deceived. The army, after long and toilsome marches through the desert country, where there was an insufficient supply of water, reached a tract of broken land and a valley or gorge known as Kashgîl, where it is believed a false guide led them into an ambush, and they were attacked on all sides by a vast host of the enemy which had been previously concealed. The whole army was cut to pieces, and Hicks and his officers were slain, after fighting with invincible valour to the last. This occurred in the early part of November, 1883, and the rebellion had reached the eastern provinces of the Soudan, bordering on the Red Sea, where Suakim and the garrisons of Tokar and Sinkat were threatened by a force of semi-savages under Osman Digma, one of the chief slave-dealers and lieutenant of the Mahdî. The troops and inhabitants of these places were likely to be cut off from all communications and starved out, as the people of Obeid had been before they surrendered. On the 6th of November the commander of the Egyptian force at Suakim collected his troops,

and accompanied by the British representative, Consul Moncrieff, proceeded towards Tokar, but had scarcely reached the place when he was attacked by a large force of the enemy, before whom his troops fled, though he himself, the British consul, and some other brave men endeavoured to rally them, and fought to the last, till they fell pierced with wounds from the terrible assegais, or broad-bladed spears, of the infuriated savages. Another attempt was made by 500 black troops and 200 irregulars under Kassein Bey to defeat the rebels near Suakim, which was then protected by a single English gunboat in the harbour, but though the black troops fought bravely, the force was insufficient, and the fierce insurgents at length gained the day and surrounded Sinkat and Tokar, the fall of which was feared.

It was then determined to intrust to Colonel Baker Pasha a task from which he might well have been excused from shrinking, namely, the formation of a military force from the bodies of gendarmerie which he had organized for the civil protection of the country. On the 18th of December he left Cairo for Suakim, and the drilling, preparation, and practice of troops lasted for the rest of the month. The black soldiers were brave enough, but the Egyptians were arrant cowards, and by the time Baker had led his army to Sinkat it was evident that they would not stand against the terrific onslaught of the Soudanese, who again defeated the force brought against them. The Egyptian soldiers fled like sheep, or lay down imploring mercy, to be speared remorselessly by the savage foe. Baker and his officers fought desperately, but it was useless to sacrifice their lives, and all that could be done was by the aid of the black troops and the few Egyptians who could be prevailed upon to fight on the retreat, to keep off the enemy so as to enable the remnant of the army to retreat to Suakim, where Vice-admiral Sir William Hewitt, who had been ordered up with some vessels of his Mediterranean squadron, was appointed governor in European interests.

Proposals for votes of censure on the ministry, and repeated demands for an explanation

of the intended policy of the government with regard to Egypt were brought forward by the opposition during the year 1884. The government had continued to declare that their policy was not the occupation of Egypt, and that the British forces there would not be employed for the purpose of aiding the khedive to suppress the rebellion of the Mahdi, as the insurrection in the province of the Soudan was not recognized as coming within the scope of the internal administration in which alone we had intervened for the purpose of supporting European claims and sustaining the legitimate government of the country against the rebellion of the military party. Our ministry had strongly urged upon the khedive the abandonment of the Soudan and the evacuation of Khartûm, where Colonel Coetlogon, who had been left in command by General Hicks, was now representing to the Egyptian government the necessity for the immediate evacuation of the town by the garrison and the European inhabitants, as it was impossible that amidst general rebellion without, and native disaffection within, he could long hope either to hold the place or get the threatened people out in safety. It was represented to the Egyptian government that they should at all events abandon the southern provinces and define the territory of the khedive in Egypt proper by a line drawn at Wady Halfa at the second cataract of the Nile, and that any attempt by the insurgents to invade Egypt beyond that line might be resisted by the Egyptian army with the assistance of the British troops remaining in the country. This advice was resisted by the ministry of Cherif Pasha, and on its being seriously pressed by the English government he and his colleagues resigned, and a new ministry was formed by Nubar Pasha, who with the khedive himself professed to be in accord with the policy recommended. Orders were given for the evacuation of Khartûm and the Egyptian garrisons of the adjoining provinces. Had this been done immediately after Hicks's defeat it might have been accomplished, but it was now too late to effect that movement, as the hordes of the Mahdi were swarming in Kordofan, occupied

Obeid, and were likely to advance to Berber and Khartûm itself.

The narrative of the appointment of Major-general Gordon to the difficult enterprise of withdrawing the garrisons and the European inhabitants from Berber, Khartûm, and the surrounding districts, the manner of his setting forth, his reception in the Soudan, his subsequent protracted defence, and the failure of the expedition that was sent to his relief to more than vindicate the courage and determination of British troops and British sailors under conditions that demanded the utmost exercise of both, has, we have already remarked, been told so fully that we need not dwell upon it at length. It was perhaps an error on the part of the government, harassed by taunts, to yield to the pressure of indiscriminating public opinion, stimulated by newspaper interviewers, and thus virtually to participate in the responsibility of appointing a man who, however he might have been qualified for dealing with the people of these Soudan provinces, of which he had formerly been governor-general, had miscalculated the probable survival of his former influence against the pretensions of the Mahdi. The pretender, while he professed to be raising the standard of the religion of Islam, promised to his followers, not only bliss hereafter, but deliverance from the oppression of the rulers placed over them by the Egyptian government and the restoration of the native sultans and chiefs. Many of these supported the rebellion because they sought to maintain the traffic in slaves which Gordon had suppressed, and to prevent the operation of the treaty, according to which slavery was to cease altogether in 1887—an agreement which Gordon himself declared would be unadvisable even if it were not impossible.

Major-general Gordon had agreed to enter the service of the King of the Belgians, to establish, in concert with Mr. H. M. Stanley, the famous African explorer, a mission for the suppression of the slave-trade on the Congo, but when, at the instance of Sir E. Baring, our representative at Cairo, the Egyptian government agreed to join with the English ministry in commissioning him to

proceed to Khartûm, he consented to go to the Soudan for the purpose of bringing out the Egyptian and European inhabitants with the garrisons, after having organized a system of settled native government by the local chiefs and sultans, who would, he thought, unite to overthrow the Mahdi.

It had been distinctly declared that no military operations were to be undertaken by Gordon at Khartûm or the adjoining provinces except such as might be necessary for enabling him to effect the evacuation of the country. He was not to expect any aid from British troops, but he was acting under the orders of the British government through our consular agent at Cairo.

It is perhaps not too much to say that this dual appointment of Major-general Gordon was the beginning of what may be called a tragedy of errors, but they were errors which were not confined to the government, they were shared by the press and by the country, and were emphasized by the opposition, whose indictment against the ministry was, not that Gordon had been commissioned, but that he had been commissioned too late.

It was too late in January, 1884. There was very little probability of his being able at that time to bring away all the people out of Khartûm, Berber, and the adjacent garrisons, and establish any regular government without an armed force sufficient to thrust back the swarm of the hostile and savage tribes, who, having declared for the Mahdi, had occupied the country between Suakim and Berber, and were moving down from the south and west upon Khartûm and approaching the Nile banks.

Looking back, as we now may, at the sad story of Gordon's mission to Khartûm it is fairly plain that very few people had approached an accurate estimate of the condition of affairs. Sir Samuel Baker, to whom Gordon had written a month or two before, urging him to undertake the relief of Khartûm, had estimated it, and when Gordon started had said that he went too late. The khedive and the Egyptian ministers appear to have had very considerable doubts of the efficacy of employing Gordon even a month before an

arrangement could be concluded. Probably if Gordon could have been in Cairo at the time of the suppression of Arabi's rebellion, and had accompanied Colonel Stewart to Khartûm, the whole aspect of affairs would have been altered, and, as a matter of fact, as early as the month of November, 1882, Sir Charles Wilson had recommended to our government the employment of Gordon to go to the Soudan, but neither Gordon nor the khedive were willing. Gordon, when he had resigned the governor-generalship of the Soudan, had spoken in plain disparagement of Tewfik, had almost openly quarrelled with him, and was naturally not desirous of returning to a country where he had suffered physically and mentally for long months of disappointment in the midst of treachery on the part of the Egyptian pashas, who should have supported his authority. The khedive and his advisers perhaps at that time fancied that they might, without re-instating so wilful and persistently dominant a person as the late governor-general, wait upon events, when the intervention of British arms might be extended to the suppression of Achmet Ali (the Mahdi), as they had been employed for the suppression of Arabi.

It is possible that when it was agreed to commission Gordon the khedive's ministry had no very enthusiastic expectation of his success, indeed, there were some evidences that Nubar Pasha thought he would be exceptionally fortunate if he could extricate the people of Berber and Khartûm before the Mahdi's hordes had closed the way of egress, but the British government had already ordained the abandonment of the Soudan. Cherif Pasha's ministry had gone out, and Nubar Pasha's ministry had come in, upon that question. They may privately have considered that it would be politic to let the power which was master of the situation have its own way. Whether this was the case, or whether it was that Tewfik and his advisers saw the necessity for the appointment of a competent European officer, it is difficult to say; but, at all events, General Gordon met with a warm and generous reception at Cairo, whether he went with Colonel Stewart

as his secretary, and was reappointed by the khedive to the position of Governor-general of the Soudan.

He and Stewart reached Berber with astonishing rapidity by a swift, uninterrupted camel ride across the desert. After a short stay at Berber they reached Khartûm on the 18th of February. There they found Colonel Coetlogon and Mr. Power, the correspondent of the *Times*, who had been appointed temporary consul, and at once began to make efforts to carry out the work that they had gone to accomplish. But it had become impossible without further aid. The Mahdi's insurrection had spread over the country. The road between Berber and Suakim was closed by a great body of the Hadendowa Arabs, and it became necessary to defend the remaining positions and eventually Khartûm itself, while the native chiefs were so far committed to the Mahdi that Gordon's influence could not re-establish centres of local government under rulers who would combine to crush the rebellion and restore peace to the country.

On the 12th of February, at the opening of the parliamentary session of 1884, a vote of censure on the government had been moved by Sir Stafford Northcote. The destruction of Hicks's army and the defeat of General Baker's attempt to relieve Smkat had now become known. Both Hicks Pasha and Baker Pasha, it should be remembered, were acting as officers in the service of the khedive and by the orders of the Egyptian government, the former expedition having been contrary to the advice of the British ministry.

The resolution moved by Sir S. Northcote was, "That this house, having read and considered the correspondence relating to Egypt laid on the table by her majesty's command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due in great measure to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by her majesty's government."

But the terms of Sir Stafford Northcote's proposed resolution differed from the speech that he made in support of it. His accusation amounted to a general condemnation of the policy of the government, because, having put an end to the rebellion of Arabi and

taken charge of the reorganization of Egyptian affairs, they had not supported the khedive in the defence of the Soudan. This Mr Gladstone was not slow to perceive, and he met the charge by going minutely and particularly into the operations in Egypt, but first, he reminded the house that the debate would be an historical debate, involving the development of great and useful lessons with regard to rash and unwise interventions. The situation in Egypt, with or without the aggravation of the Soudan, was one of the utmost anomaly and inconvenience, and, in some points of view, even of political danger. How had that situation come about? It was not one which his government made, but one that they found. They never had an option. It would not have been in keeping with the propriety of things to reverse the attitude which they found occupied by the British government in Egypt. They inherited from their predecessors certain engagements. The Dual Control was the establishment in the heart and centre of Egyptian government of two great functionaries, the representatives of two of the greatest nations in the world, who held their office in Egypt, and for Egypt, by a tenure independent of the will of Egypt, and dependent altogether upon the will of the two governments they represented. They went there pledged to each other for certain purposes, not merely to manage the revenues in the interests of the bondholders, but for general control, general advice, general support to the government of Egypt. The late ruler of Egypt had been displaced, and a new ruler had been put on the throne by the agency mainly of the British government—at any rate with an essential and, at least, equal share in the operation. The two governments had undertaken obligations towards that ruler, and these obligations were, when once they had established that extraordinary system, matters strictly and essentially consequential. They could not possibly have put Tewfik on the throne and have declined to support him, and they bound themselves to one another to support him, and to support him earnestly. They bound themselves, likewise, to one another, while

these were their obligations to him, to maintain the peculiar, and, in a certain sense, exclusive political influence that these two powers, and these alone, were to exercise in Egypt. It was obvious that the government were bound to counsel the khedive to the best of their ability. When difficulties arose in the country they were bound to give—by the position they occupied—their advice to the khedive upon those difficulties, and, having given that advice, they were bound to support it by consequent action to such an extent as circumstances might appear to demand, subject, of course, to the judgment of parliament. All those obligations and all the difficulties they involved ought to have been foreseen. The previous government had built up that curious system with their eyes open.

In March, 1876, at the very first beginning of the intervention and three years before the control was established, Mr Gladstone had said, in words of warning, "I should wish to know whether, if the proposition for the appointment of such a commissioner be entertained, the right honourable gentleman (Lord Beaconsfield) means the appointment of a commissioner who would really have such an effective control over all arrangements and the mode of accounting for these revenues that he could guarantee to us the receipt of the whole that it might be applied to the purpose in view? If this is what it does mean it appears to me that we are only shifting the difficulty one step farther, because, in that case, our commissioner is to take into his hands the administration of a very important portion of the government of Egypt, so that the measures which we may think necessary as a matter of prudence, to cover the proposal we are to consider, may entail upon us still greater difficulties, and mix us up still further with a heavier responsibility for a portion of the internal government of Egypt. When we have begun with one portion of the internal government of Egypt we may pass on to another. We may come to occupy the entire ground by a series of degrees not difficult to contemplate, and possibly this may have been in the mind of the right honourable gentleman

the other night when he said that, while the people of this country would view the diminution of the empire with horror they would see it increased without dissatisfaction "

Thus Mr Gladstone had pointed out that the arrangements then in partial contemplation, afterwards greatly developed and rigidly enforced, did advance from financial to political, and from political to probably territorial responsibilities.

In bringing forward this argument, in reply to Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gladstone added, "I have no charge of ill-motives to make against the late government. In my opinion they committed a great error, of which we are now from day to day bearing the burden. I give them every credit for honourable and upright motives. Though I then disapproved of the means, and now, I do not need to say, still more deeply lament those means were resorted to, yet I am fully persuaded that the object which the late government had in view was to secure a better government for Egypt. Further, I admit that very considerable practical and administrative advantages were secured for the fellaheen by the administration of the revenue, although I am afraid those advantages were far more than counterbalanced in their political importance by our having imported into the country that fatal and most dangerous idea that it was doomed to be placed under foreign domination, and that Egypt was to be governed and maintained for the benefit of persons beyond its borders" (Here came a cheer from Lord Randolph Churchill, who, at that time, was still insisting on the patriotism of Arabi, even if he had abandoned the advocacy of Arabi's colleague, who had planned the massacres at Alexandria.) "The noble lord cheers me," said Mr Gladstone, "and there is very great truth in what I take to be the meaning of that cheer. He probably thinks that Arabi was one who fought against that foreign domination. That is not my view. I think I could give conclusive proof to the contrary, but of this I do not entertain a doubt, that Arabi was able to give vigour and extension to his motives by appealing to that hatred of foreign domination, and so

long as foreign domination continues in Egypt, the danger will recur from time to time. So far, I have said something to show that I do not use idle words when I allege that the situation which we have now in Egypt was, in its root and origin, far beyond the power of such prosaic people as the present ministers to conceive. It was due to higher and more venturesome geniuses, such as those who preceded us. There has been no moment at which it was possible for us, consistently with our honour, to retrace our course. And we must look back as well as forward if we want to place before the English people—the people of the three kingdoms—all the lessons of this great question, which is far greater than the honourable gentleman would lead us to believe. I must remind the house that the difficult, onerous, and inconvenient—some may think it the almost hopeless—task which we have undertaken, is that, first, of putting down disorder in Egypt, and then of establishing at least some beginnings of tolerable government. That task is also one of considerable delicacy. It is one which we are executing not alone on our own behalf, but on behalf, I may say, of civilized mankind. We undertook it with the approval of the powers of Europe, the highest and most authentic organ of modern Christian civilization, but having undertaken it at their invitation, or with their concurrence, we must fulfil it as we received it from them."

With regard to the Soudan, he distinctly denied that we ought to have provided for the formation of an Egyptian army, and asked how the men were to be supplied, and where were the funds to supply them—Egypt had no means to constitute such an army. If there was one thing that the Egyptian had in horror more than another, it was being called upon to carry on the war in the Soudan, and Sir E. Wood's army was organized expressly without the obligation to serve in the Soudan.

"The other night, when I was referring to a paragraph in which something had been said about the Mahdi, I entirely declined to give any opinion about the Mahdi. I know this, and now I am speaking in conformity with the opinions of the man whom I look

upon as by far the highest authority on the subject—I mean the opinions of General Gordon—the Soudan is a vast country equal in size to France, Germany, and Spain, a desert country, as he states, with a deadly climate, inhabited thinly by sparse and war-like tribes, but still it is the country of those tribes. They love it as their country. The right honourable gentleman seems to me to have made up his mind—his whole speech shows it—that Egypt is in the right in subjecting that country, and in sending Turks, Circassians, and Anatolians to govern it. Sir, I have not made up my mind to any such thing. I decline to enter into that controversy. We have refused—and I believe the house will approve our refusing—to have anything to do with the re-conquest of the Soudan. During all my political life, I am thankful to say that I have never opened my lips in favour of a domination such as that which has been exercised by certain countries upon certain other countries, and I am not going now to begin. I look upon the possession of the Soudan—I won't say as a crime—that would be going a great deal too far—but I look upon it as the calamity of Egypt. It has been a drain on her treasury, it has been a drain on her men. I believe it is estimated that a hundred thousand Egyptians have laid down their lives in endeavouring to maintain that barren conquest, and at this moment, when your sympathies have been justly excited on behalf of 500 men in Tokar and on behalf of 500 men who were in Sinkat, there are nine-and-twenty thousand Egyptian soldiers, or soldiers in the service of the khedive, scattered over that enormous region. In those circumstances I utterly repudiate and repel the doctrine of the right honourable gentleman that it was our duty to construct a military system for Egypt by which—I am supposing now that she had the means which she had not—she would have been able to re-establish in its fulness the re-conquest of the Soudan.”

Mr. Gladstone then went on to state, that so far from there having been delay in employing General Gordon, it had been considered in November, 1882, but there were difficulties on both sides between the khedive

and the general. This, coupled with the fact that when the defeat of Hicks became known the evacuation of Khartûm could have been immediately effected, made an important difference in the alleged responsibilities of the government.

On the 1st of December Lord Granville had reason to believe he was in a condition to offer the services of General Gordon to the Egyptian government. Unfortunately they were refused, but not entirely without reason. The reason given was one that did not satisfy the government, but still it went far to silence them. The objection made was this—“The Soudan is a country of strong Mohammedan fanaticism. For us to send a Christian as our agent, with a view to govern it, might be a dangerous course, which might cause a still more serious outbreak.” It was difficult to thrust that objection rudely aside, and it caused further delay. That was the offer of Lord Granville on December 1st. But the government became acquainted with the sentiments of General Gordon, and, as time went on, the aversion of the Egyptian government became mitigated, and at last entirely removed. However, it was not till the 16th of January—that is to say, eight days after Nubar Pasha came into office—that they sent to the British ministry a request for a qualified officer to undertake the conduct of the evacuation of the Soudan. That was sent on the 16th of January, and on the 18th General Gordon was on his way to Egypt.

He had in view the withdrawal from the country of no fewer than 29,000 persons paying the military service to Egypt, and the government felt bound, before taking any such step as sending a British force to relieve the beleaguered garrison and people at Sinkat, amounting to 500, to learn from him whether such action would interfere prejudicially with his efforts to extricate the 29,000 around Berber and Khartûm. To learn this it was necessary to wait till Gordon had reached Berber, where the telegraph was at work; and when it was known that Gordon did not think operations to relieve the Red Sea garrisons would interfere with his safety or success, but left the responsibility of them to the

government, immediate orders were given for a force to be gathered at Suakim under the command of General Graham. This had been undertaken only a few hours before the vote of censure was proposed. It had been, or was immediately afterwards, determined by the government that they must become responsible for protecting Suakim and the Red Sea ports or the route to India would be endangered; and though, as it afterwards proved, General Graham's expedition was not in time to drive the savage insurgents from Tokar and Sinkat and rescue the garrisons, the followers of Osman Digma were signally defeated at El Teb and Tamai, and were driven far from Suakim, where order was maintained, and troops and a naval force were left for the protection of the inhabitants. Suakim and Massowa were defended against the hostile tribes, but the road was not opened between Suakim and Berber. By the 16th of April Khartûm was blocked by the Mahdi's followers on the north, east, and west, on the 26th of May Berber was taken by the rebels, and telegraphic communication with Khartûm was cut off, but the Mudir of Dongola remained loyal, and with his army defeated a force of 13,000 rebels. In July Gordon was reported to be holding his own, but, unfortunately, messengers that were sent him did not reach him, and the messengers whom he sent out were also intercepted, so that, while he was indignantly supposing that he had been altogether abandoned, the government had no complete information of the position in which he was placed, shut up, or, as he had put it, "trapped" in Khartûm. He held his own then and for months afterwards, but it was only by the utmost vigilance, adroitness, and determination that he could beat back the investing force which occupied the opposite bank of the Nile and made repeated attacks upon the town. A small flotilla of "penny steamboats," as he called them, converted into vessels of attack and defence by being planked and armoured with old boiler plates, a wooden tower being erected on the deck to hold a gun which would sweep the banks of the river, disused iron grain barges made to do duty as gun-

boats, or to convey troops concealed by the high bulwarks; land torpedos, mines, entanglements made of wire, and put down in places outside the town most liable to attack, for the purpose of catching the feet of the enemy, were among the principal devices by which Gordon waged an unequal war against the swarming horde which was gradually closing round him. The population was divided between loyalty and disloyalty. Of the small military force, only the black contingent could be relied upon to fight stubbornly. The decreasing stock of provisions became so dear that but for the loans of money voluntarily offered by some of the wealthiest of the inhabitants, Gordon would not have been able to provision the garrison, as supplies came in diminishing quantities from the more friendly of the natives outside.

The excitement in England was tremendous, and though the latest message received from Gordon did not seem to show that his position was immediately desperate, it became evident that, if the government regarded the public demand, steps would have to be taken to relieve Khartûm, rescue its defenders, and then retire from the Soudan, for the reconquest of which no British force could be employed.

The ministry applied for and obtained from parliament a credit of £300,000 for the purpose of making preparations, as distinct from operations, for the possible despatch of an expedition, and Lord Wolseley accompanied Lord Northbrook to Egypt to examine and report on the military situation. It soon became evident that preparations must be quickly followed by operations if we were to relieve Khartûm, and by the end of September an expedition had been organized and was on its way, but though the movements were as rapid as possible in such a country and against such disadvantages of transport, they were too slow to make it highly probable that the forces which were despatched would reach the beleaguered town in time to effect their object.

The route chosen for the expedition was that of the Nile. Portable river steamers and a large number of whale-boats were sent

from England, and 400 boatmen from Canada, accustomed to the management of their vessels in the rapids, were engaged in the service of navigating the river. The preparations of collecting stores, purchasing camels for conveying provisions and ammunition, and for forming a camel corps for the desert army, hiring natives to drive the camels and help to tow the boats, caused enormous bustle and excitement between Cairo and Wady Halfa. In the early part of October news came that Colonel Stewart (Gordon's aide-de-camp) and Mr Power had been treacherously murdered, having been induced to land while on their way in a steamer to Dongola, but General Gordon was holding out, and by the beginning of December the advanced guard of the relief expedition had established itself at Debbeh, forty miles in advance of Dongola. By the end of the month a strong force had been assembled in camp at Korti, and from this point Lord Wolseley resolved to despatch a strong column across the desert, thus to avoid a great bend of the river, and by a march of 176 miles to reach the Nile again at Metammeh, whence it was hoped communication could be opened with Gordon, while the larger body of troops, under General Earle, was slowly ascending the river. The desert army consisted of 1100 men with 1800 camels, and was under the command of Sir Herbert Stewart. On the 29th of December the force started on its march to Gakdul Wells. On the 1st of January, 1885, a message from Gordon said, "Khartûm all right," but it seems probable that this, as well as some later messages, were designed as much for the eyes of those who might intercept them as for those who were fighting their way onward. On the 14th Stewart had reached Gakdul, and three days afterwards defeated the Mahdi's forces after a severe encounter at Abu Klea Wells, and again in two days at Gubat, where the general was so severely wounded that he never recovered, and died before the end of the campaign.

On the 21st there was a reconnaissance in force at Metammeh, assisted by four steamers sent down by General Gordon, with the message, "All right at Khartûm. Could hold

out for years," dated December 29th. But the enemy was even then closing round Khartûm, and there was treachery within the walls. Sir Charles Wilson, leaving for the city with two steamers and a detachment of troops on the 24th of January, arrived as far as Tutti, when he saw beyond the trees that the island and the streets of Khartûm and the outer plains were covered with a great assembly of dervishes with flaunting banners. No Egyptian flag was flying anywhere, and no signal fire of gun nor friendly sign was given from the palace or from any place of outlook, but Gordon's boats and nuggars were seen lying beside the banks on the Omdurman side, which was occupied by the rebels. It was all over. Khartûm had fallen, not by assault but by treachery. The second native officer in command had opened the gates to the swarming enemy, the loyal notables and officers had been put to the sword, the small body of troops overwhelmed, and Gordon and his faithful adherents slain. Sir Charles Wilson could not effect any useful object by advancing further, the whole place was in the hands of the Mahdi's followers, and it was with great difficulty that the steamers retired amidst a heavy fire from the river banks. They were wrecked beyond the cataract, but those on board escaped to an island, where they were in imminent danger, but whence a well-equipped steamer was afterwards sent to fetch them. It was not till months later, in 1885, that few and dubious particulars of Gordon's death were obtained, and the British expedition, which had fulfilled such a tremendous task and fought its way up the Nile and across the desert, did not leave the country till the loss of Khartûm and the death of the man whom they had gone forth to rescue showed that the enterprise and valour of English officers and English soldiers and sailors had been spent in a task which might possibly have succeeded if it had been undertaken at an earlier date. Of such success, however, there would have been very little probability unless the expedition had been sent at a time much earlier than the knowledge in the possession of the government would have seemed to warrant.

As it was, the courage and extraordinary adaptability of the British forces had been shown by their victories over vast numbers of savages, who were, however, utterly fearless, and fought desperately if they fought desultorily. Our troops were obliged to go through enormous exertion and long and painful marches in an arid desert where the heat was terrific, the climate exhausting, and they were compelled to adopt the native expedient of forming stockaded camps or *zeribas*; but nothing stopped their progress or shook their determination. We paid dearly for our interposition, however, not only in money but in men, and in the number of brave and accomplished officers who were slain or died of their wounds before the close of the campaign.

It was still necessary to protect the Red Sea ports, and to keep that portion of the Soudan which was adjacent to Suakim and Massowa clear of the followers of Osman Digma. The campaign in the Soudan had shown that the energy and pluck for which our men have always been famous were maintained, and at Suakim there soon appeared evidences that these qualities are conspicuous in those scions of the British race who form our greatest colonies on the other side of the world.

When it was known in Australia that an army was to be actively employed in Egypt for the relief of Khartûm, the rescue of its heroic defender, and the maintenance of European interests by protecting the Suez Canal and the Red Sea ports as the highway to our great Eastern possessions, the people of New South Wales and the sister colonies were eager and anxious to aid the mother country and support the empire. The premier, the late Honourable Alexander Stuart, was away on a journey for the benefit of his health, but the Honourable William Bede Dalley, the attorney-general, at once took an active part in enthusiastically promoting the formation of an Australasian force, and on the 3rd of March, 1885, the New South Wales contingent left Sydney for Suakim. This was the first time that troops from the Australian colonies had taken any part in an armed defence of the empire, and when, on the 29th, these colonial comrades were encamped beside the

forces of the mother country on the sandy plain near Suakim the occasion was one for a genuine display of enthusiasm, the heart-beat of which was felt, not only by our soldiers and sailors, who cheered their comrades from the younger Britain at the Antipodes, but throughout the British Isles.

The arrival of these troops in the *Iberia* was an historical event. They consisted of 28 officers, 500 privates, 33 men of the ambulance corp, and 30 of the artillery, all under the command of Colonel Richardson, and their drill, military bearing, and subsequent smart co-operation and effectiveness elicited general approval, while their genuine *camaraderie* enlisted the good-will of their British comrades. General Graham himself met them on their way to the camp after their arrival, and they at once entered upon active service with our men, who received them with applause and welcome.

In April, 1885, the army of Lord Wolseley was being gradually withdrawn from the country. In July intelligence came of the death of the Mahdi from smallpox, but, as is the way with these fanatics, whose insurrection had been only half religious, or perhaps pretendedly so, but was instigated by slave-owners and taken up by Arab natives, who writhed under the extortions of the pashas, the false prophet had named a successor, and Osman Digma was still active where we were driving him from the Red Sea coast. There was little expectation, therefore, of the entire withdrawal of British troops either from Egypt proper and Cairo or from Suakim and Massowa, but as time went on the insurrection became more languid, and the necessity for maintaining a large armed force disappeared.

We must now return to the subject of British political progress, and to the striking advance proposed in a measure, the carrying of which at a time when the heavy responsibilities of the Egyptian problem, the affairs of Ireland, and the threatened hostilities of a Russian army on the frontier of Afghanistan were all pressing upon the administration, showed that the government felt few if any signs of weakness, and that Mr Gladstone and

his colleagues were determined to achieve some measure which should mark the period of their holding office as one of distinctly Liberal legislation

The extension to counties of a franchise similar to or identical with that held in boroughs was, so to speak, an overdue measure. We have seen that in 1877 Mr Trevelyan advocated uniformity in the burgh and county franchise and a redistribution of representation,¹ that Mr Goschen was opposed to it, and that there was so little enthusiasm manifested on the question that the proposal was rejected; but it was then felt that the subject must be revived at no distant date, and in 1884 the opportunity came. It was known that though the Conservatives at once offered opposition, the country was expecting at least an assimilation of the franchise, and Mr Gladstone, on the 29th of February, explained to parliament the principles on which a new Franchise Bill had been framed, and brought it before the house for the first reading.

The Agricultural Holdings Act had come into operation on the 1st of January, 1884. It was a measure which may be called a gradual and natural development of justice to the tenant, who at one time had no property whatever in any improvements that he might make in soil, farm, barns, or homestead, and if holding from year to year, was liable to receive notice at any time, and to be compelled to leave all his improvements behind for the benefit of the landlord. The same conditions existed on the termination of a lease, and the result had been, that the land became impoverished because tenants would only spend money on improvements intended to yield an immediate, and not a permanent, advantage. The Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875 had been "permissive," enabling landlords to contract themselves out of its provisions. This act was practically swept away by that of 1883, which provided that when the tenant quits, and not before, he is to be paid by the landlord "such sum as fairly represents the value of the improvement to an incoming tenant."

It was natural that when this measure

became law the County Franchise Bill should be brought forward without delay. The agricultural labourer had greatly advanced in intelligence, and his claim to the privileges which had been accorded to the workmen and labourers in boroughs could not be denied. On the 29th of February Mr Gladstone explained the principles of the proposed bill in a speech distinguished for clearness and for the moderation of its arguments. The question, as he said, had been so far advanced by public discussion as to make it unnecessary to enter into any general argument further than to say, that the bill was introduced in fulfilment of a pledge, in obedience to a widely-expressed demand, and for the purpose of adding strength to the state. It was unnecessary to argue the case of the classes to be enfranchised, as it had been admitted by the legislation in the case of boroughs fifteen years before, and had been approved by those fifteen years' experience. Amidst great cheering, which was not confined to the Liberal side of the house, he said "I am not prepared to discuss admission to the franchise now as it was discussed fifty years ago, when Lord John Russell had to state with almost bated breath that he expected to add in the three kingdoms half a million to the constituencies. It is not now a question of nicely calculated less or more. I take my stand upon the broad principle, that the enfranchisement of capable citizens, be they few or be they many—and if they be many so much the better—is an addition to the strength of the state. The strength of the modern state lies in the representative system. I rejoice to think that in this happy country and in this happy constitution we have other sources of strength in the respect paid to the various orders of the state, in the authority they enjoy, and in the unbroken course which has been allowed to most of our national traditions. But still, in the main, it is the representative system which is the strength of the modern state in general, and of the state of this country in particular." The government scheme he represented proposed to enfranchise the county population by placing them on the same footing as the householders in towns, who had, in all senses,

shown themselves worthy of the confidence with which they had been treated. The main constituents of the county population were, after all, the artisans, the miners, and the small tradesmen of the rural towns, and in addition to these the agricultural labourers. That these new voters would prove capable citizens, qualified to make good use of their votes, was already indicated by the elections made under the first and second Reform Bills in places which they classed as towns, but which were, in fact, rural communities based upon a peasant constituency. Mr Gladstone defended the agricultural labourer against the charge that he was inferior to the skilled artisan, on the ground that many more things were left for him to do—many things which required the exercise of native intelligence, and in this way he stood on a different footing to the artisan, whose physical powers were tied down to one mechanical exercise of them. “If he (the agricultural labourer) has one defect,” said Mr Gladstone, “it is that he is too ready to work with and under the influence of his superiors.” That, however, he reminded the house, was a defect that the opponents of the bill would be least apt to bring against him. The existing conditions of the franchise were anomalous, inasmuch as persons whose conditions and qualifications were analogous were able to vote in one place but not in another; while others who were voters in one place lost their privilege by crossing a real or imaginary boundary (the river Clyde, for instance) in search of, or in continuance of their work.

Describing the provisions of what he called the affirmative side of the bill, he stated that the “ancient rights” franchises in boroughs would be left untouched, and the household franchise of 1867, and the lodger franchise, would also be undisturbed. The franchise for a holding of £10 clear yearly value would be extended to the occupation of land held without houses or buildings, and a new franchise would be created, a “service franchise,”¹

for persons who inhabited a legal house, but neither as occupiers nor tenants. The borough franchise would therefore be the £10 franchise, the lodger franchise, the “service” franchise, and the household franchise of the act of 1867. In the county franchises the £50 franchise would be abolished for the sake of simplicity and uniformity, the £12 saleable value franchise of 1867 would be reduced to £10 yearly value, and the service, lodger, and household franchises of the boroughs would be imported into the counties.

These changes would be introduced *mutatis mutandis* into Scotland and Ireland, the borough and county franchises in the three kingdoms would be placed on an identical footing, and in each of the three kingdoms the occupation franchise would be four-fifths of the whole. In Scotland every one would be left to enjoy all the peculiarities of borough representation already possessed there, and as in England, the £50 landholding franchise would be absorbed as unnecessary to both countries, while the £14 occupation franchise would be reduced to £10 clear annual value, as in England. The case of Ireland was more complex, as that country already possessed a £4 voting value franchise, given, however, in respect of land alone. This would be abolished, and in its place would be a county franchise of £10 of clear annual value, the lodger, service, and household franchises would be extended to Ireland.

The property franchise in counties would remain unaltered, and no condition as to residence would be imposed, but to prevent abuses the bill would disqualify incorporeal hereditaments capable of being used for the creation of fictitious votes, excepting tithe-rent charges and hereditaments acquired by descent, marriage settlements, and wills. No one in the kingdom would be disfranchised, every one who was the head of a household would become a voter. The lodger and service franchises were to be regarded only as enlargements of household suffrage; and whenever the bill proposed to prevent the creation of franchises hereafter identified in principle with some already existing, it was not proposed to interfere with rights already

¹ This gave the franchise to any man inhabiting a dwelling-house by virtue of any office, service, or employment, that dwelling-house not being occupied by any person under whom such man serves in such office, service, or employment.

acquired. Mr Gladstone said the government looked not to the perfect or the Utopian, but to the attainable, and they would not incur the certainty of foundering by "deck-loading" their measure. Parliamentary reform consisted of extension of the franchise, registration, and the redistribution of seats. The government would be prepared with a bill on registration when this bill had made sufficient progress, but it would be futile to attempt to deal with redistribution. The effect of joining redistribution with the franchise hitherto had been that redistribution had always been of a trifling character. Such a combination would arouse local opposition, and, according to experience with former bills, would lengthen discussion and lead to complicated embarrassments. Redistribution, he admitted, ought to follow in the next session, but he refused to be drawn into a trap by the question, "Tell us then your plan." He had no objection, however, to give his own views, without binding any of his colleagues, as to the principles which should govern redistribution, and he would not take such a step if he believed that those views were vitally in contrast with any views which prevailed in the cabinet.

Mr Gladstone thought that the bill must be nearer to the measure of 1831 than to that of 1867, but he pronounced his objection to the system of electoral districts or the adoption of any pure population scale. His objection was simply of a practical character, as the adoption of electoral districts would involve a great deal of unnecessary displacement and disturbance of conditions which should be respected, but the most important objection was that he did not believe that public opinion required or would warrant it, while in a sound measure of redistribution the distinction of town and country, known as borough and shire, ought to be maintained. The franchise was nearly identical, but the question was whether there was not in the pursuits and associations of the place and its social circumstances a difference between town and country—between borough and shire—which it would be expedient, becoming, and useful to maintain. He would respect within moderate

limits the individuality of constituencies, and not attempt to place towns which had had representation for many generations precisely on the same footing as towns that had not. Another principle to which he would call attention was that very large and highly concentrated populations need not, and, perhaps, ought not, to have quite so high a proportional share in the representation of the country as rural and dispersed populations, because the action of political power in these concentrated masses is sharper, quicker, and more vehement. That consideration must apply mainly to the metropolis. Another proposition was that he would not reduce the proportional share of representation accorded by the existing law to Ireland. In the case of Ireland, as in the case of some other parts of the country, regard should be had to relative nearness and distance. In Scotland, for example, the nearest part is 350 miles off, and parts of it are between 600 and 700 miles off. It was impossible to say that numerical representation met the case, though it was pretty well made up for by the shrewdness of the men whom Scotland sent, but that was in virtue of the fortune which caused so excellent a choice. Undoubtedly the representation was exercised under great difficulties, and it was fair that those parts of the country which, like Scotland and Ireland, are separated by great distances, not omitting the element of the sea, should be liberally considered in regard to the proportion of their members. One other proposition he brought forward without emphasizing it as a final opinion. Speaking roughly, it would happen that smaller boroughs, so many of which were in the south of England, must yield seats for London and other great towns, for the counties, and for Scotland and the north of England, which had perhaps the largest and most salient claims. That operation would lead under the altered circumstances of parliament and its increasing business, to a proposition for a limited addition to the number of its members. There would be all the propositions with regard to minority representation and to modes of voting, and these important subjects would have to be fully considered.

He had seen no cause to change the opinion he had always entertained with regard to them. He admitted their claims to the full and impartial consideration of parliament.

From direct opposition the Franchise Bill was in no danger, though the object of one of the amendments was to refuse to consider it, but it had much danger to encounter from indirect opposition. Of this he was not afraid, unless it were aggravated by the danger of friendship—for there was a danger of friends destroying the measure by additions which it would not bear. Mr. Gladstone concluded a speech, which lasted nearly two hours, by saying "If I may presume to render advice it is this—ask yourselves whether the measure is worth having, what does it do, and what does it do in comparison with what has been done before. In 1832 there was passed what was considered a *magna charta* of British liberties. But that *magna charta* of British liberties added, according to the estimate of Lord John Russell, half a million, and according to the results considerably less than half a million, to the entire constituency of the three countries. In 1866 the total constituency reached 1,136,000. By the bills passed between 1867 and 1869 that number was raised to 2,448,000, and now under the existing law the constituencies have reached, in round numbers, what I may call 3,000,000. What is to be the increase that we are going to make? The best results I can attain are these. The bill, if it passes as we present it, will add to the English constituency over 1,300,000. It will add to the Scotch constituency—Scotland being better provided for in this respect than either of the other countries—over 200,000, and to the Irish constituency over 400,000, or in the main to the present aggregate constituency of the United Kingdom, now taken at 3,000,000, it will add 2,000,000 more, nearly twice as much as was added since 1867, and more than four times as much as was added in 1832. Surely, I say, that is worth doing, that is worth not endangering, that is worth some sacrifice. I hope the house will look at it as the Liberal party in 1831 looked at the Reform Bill of that date, and determine that

they will waive criticism of minute detail, waive particular prejudices and predilections, and will look at the broad scope and general effect of the measure. Do that upon this occasion. It is a bill worth having. Again I say it is a bill worth your not endangering. Let us enter into no by-way which would lead us off the path which is marked straight before us. Let there be no wandering on the hill-tops of speculation, or into the morasses and quagmires of doubt. We are firm in the faith that enfranchisement is good, and the people may be trusted, and that the voters under constitution are the strength of the constitution. . . . What we want in order to carry this bill, considering, as I fully believe, that the large majority of this country—the very large majority—are in favour of its principle, what we want in order to carry it is union, and union only. What will endanger it is disunion, and disunion only. Let us hold firmly together and success will crown your efforts. You will, as much as any former parliament that has conferred great legislative benefits on the nation, have your reward, and read your history in a nation's eyes, for you will have deserved all the benefits you will have conferred. You will have made a strong nation stronger still—stronger in union without, and stronger against its foes (if and when it has any foes) within, stronger in union between class and class, and in rallying all classes and portions of the community in one solid, compact mass round the ancient throne which it has loved so well, and round the constitution now to be more than ever free and more than ever powerful."

These then were the outlines of the large measures for political progress which the government of Mr. Gladstone had determined to carry through parliament, but those measures had to be fought for step by step and stage by stage. It was scarcely a secret that Lord Salisbury desired to force a dissolution, and while some of the Conservatives—including Lord Randolph Churchill, who afterwards played at deserting his party, only to return when his importance was recognized and acknowledged by his political chief—were opposed to the extension of the franchise, nearly

all of them were against the introduction of the Franchise Bill without its being coupled with that for the redistribution of seats

The extension of the franchise to Ireland and the accession to the number of representatives indicated by the suggestion of the lines of the redistribution proposals, at once raised the question of possible danger from the future Irish vote. Ninety Irish representatives in the House of Commons would, it was thought, be a possibly preponderating influence. The opposition to the bill for extending the franchise, however, was chiefly confined to the demand that a redistribution bill should be made operative at the same time, but Lord John Manners failed to carry an amendment to this effect, and though it was assailed by Mr Goschen, the bill, supported by Mr. Forster, Mr. Bright, Mr. Chamberlain, and Lord Hartington in the absence of Mr Gladstone, who was suffering from a serious indisposition, passed the second reading. The opposition was renewed in committee, and after a proposal moved by Mr. Brodrick to limit the operation of the measure to Great Britain had been defeated there was a bitter debate on an amendment by Colonel Stanley to postpone the operation of the bill till a measure for the redistribution of seats had become law. This too was lost by a majority of 276 to 182, and there was little further discussion, except on Mr Woodall's proposal to add to the bill a clause for including women in the franchise. Mr Gladstone emphatically refused to consider such a provision, which, he said, should not be made part of the bill without the opinion of the country being taken, as it was a new question not affected by party considerations, and affecting the political status of half a million of persons. Mr Gladstone agreed to consider the postponement of the operation of the bill till the 1st of January, 1885; and on the 26th of June he moved the third reading, taking especial and serious note of the report that the House of Lords intended to throw out the measure, and according an emphatic protest against the danger that would ensue from such a course. The bill passed the third reading without a division by reason of the

opposition having agreed among themselves to withdraw from the house, but when it was brought up to the Lords an amendment was proposed by Lord Cairns not to assent to it without either provision for a redistribution of seats or adequate security that a redistribution bill would be passed before enfranchisement came into operation. This was carried by 205 against 146, with the result that the government announced that all the ministerial measures of legislation would be abandoned, except those that were merely formal or absolutely necessary, that an arrangement might be made for proroguing parliament as soon as possible and holding an autumn session, when the measure would be reintroduced. It is to be noted that both the archbishops and ten bishops voted against Lord Cairns's amendment, only one bishop (Bristol and Gloucester) supporting it. On the 10th of July, at a great meeting of the Liberal party at the foreign office, Mr Gladstone pointed out the novelty of the assertion that the Lords, who had no constituents, had a right to compel an appeal to the country whenever they chose to imagine that the country had changed its mind and wished to return a different House of Commons. That was the right of the ministry of the day whenever it was of that opinion, but then it sent its own adherents to the country as well as the adherents of its antagonists.

The government had offered the leader of the Tories in the House of Lords a compromise during the recent struggle. They had proposed to pass in both houses an identical resolution declaring that each house had passed the Franchise Bill in reliance on the promise of the government to introduce a redistribution bill next session, and to embody this resolution in an address to the crown so that all three elements of the legislature would be in possession of this pledge. "This proposal," Mr Gladstone said, "was rejected by Lord Salisbury on the ground that he was not going to discuss the Redistribution Bill with a rope round his neck"—that is, a franchise act which would already have been passed, and under which, if at all, the party must appeal to the people.

There was a good deal made of the statement that Lord Salisbury had said "with a rope round his neck," and Sir Stafford Northcote explained to the house that what had really been said was, "My lords, what we want is not only a Redistribution Bill, but a Redistribution Bill that we can handle, something which, if manifestly unjust, we should be able to modify. How should we be able to modify it if we had *this pistol put to our heads*: 'Unless you pass this bill you shall have no bill at all, and you go to the country with a new enfranchisement on the old constituencies?' We shall have no power over such a bill, and, therefore, not even if they were absolutely to promise, they could not, if they once allowed this measure to pass out of their and our hands, engage to us that we should have a free hand in modifying the details of redistribution."

Much bitter contention followed, but though parliament was prorogued for a late session, and some legislative measures were abandoned in consequence, attempts at a compromise had at any rate been begun, and some members of the House of Lords had been seriously regarding their position. Lord Salisbury, Lord Cadogan, and other peers would not yield to the demand of the Commons. Before the prorogation that demand had, however, gone beyond parliament, and was being preferred by the people. Lord Salisbury had striven to force an appeal to the constituencies before the passing of the Franchise Bill, and the constituencies, under their leaders, were taking the matter up in their own way—the Liberals on one side, the Conservatives on the other. A mass meeting in Hyde Park, numbering from 40,000 to 100,000, included a large number of unenfranchised labourers, and a great procession, on its way to the place of meeting, marched by Parliament Street, Pall Mall, Charing Cross, and Piccadilly. The next day Lord Salisbury was at a large meeting at Sheffield, where he indulged in somewhat indiscreet language, calling the House of Commons the most servile house that ever sat at Westminster, and saying "the government set up all sorts of shams and counterfeits, they descend into the streets, they call

for processions; they imagine that 30,000 Radicals, going to amuse themselves on a certain given day, express the public opinion of the country . . . they attempt legislation by picnic . . . they will resist to the best of their power the legitimate appeal. A party can speak by processions and demonstrations, but the nation can only speak at the polling-booths, and any attempt to substitute the counterfeit voice, which is manufactured by the caucus, will assuredly not lead to a true ascertainment of the feelings of the people, and will be bitterly and indignantly repudiated when the people have their voice." A great Liberal gathering at Pomona Gardens, Manchester, where Mr Bright and Lord Hartington addressed the audience, was followed by other assemblies, notably one at St James's Hall, where Mr John Morley, who presided, said, "Be sure that no power on earth can separate henceforth the question of mending the House of Commons from the question of mending or ending the House of Lords."

At Birmingham Mr Bright and Mr Chamberlain spoke, the latter saying, "During the last one hundred years the House of Lords has never contributed one iota to popular liberties or popular freedom, or done anything to advance the common weal, and during that time it has protected every abuse and sheltered every privilege. It has denied justice and delayed reform. It is irresponsible without independence, obstinate without courage, arbitrary without judgment, and arrogant without knowledge."

These were the declarations and this the temper which had been aroused by the attitude of the opposition in the Lords, and it may be very well understood that the amenities were not much promoted when, a few days later, Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill, having apparently made up differences which had divided them in relation to the Conservative union, spoke from the same platform.

The excitement which prevailed throughout the country during the recess had the effect of emphasizing the necessity for some compromise by which the two houses of the legislature might not be brought into

such collision that public feeling would be aroused against the Lords. There had been much exasperation, much exhibition of party feeling, and when parliament again met in October, though there was a desire for compromise, these obstacles to a mutual understanding were maintained by the lords who claimed to represent the Conservative sentiment. But the Franchise Bill was read a first time without discussion on the 24th of October. On the day fixed for the second reading (November 6th) the government and the country had to mourn the loss of Professor Fawcett, who had done so much to forward the measure. No alteration had been made in the bill since it had left the house in July, and Mr Gladstone therefore devoted his speech rather to the removal of obstacles to its passing than to any explanation of its clauses, and he sounded a deep and true note of a desire for conciliation by assuring the Conservatives that the government honestly wish to take them into its counsels on the provision of the forthcoming Redistribution Bill. This, with certain evidences at some by-elections of the condition of public feeling, somewhat altered the relative attitude of parties. The bill was read a second time on a division of 372 against 232. It was agreed that the Franchise Bill should be passed by the Lords without delay, and that the government would then at once bring forward their scheme for redistribution of seats. The first part of this arrangement was carried out in the House of Lords before the close of the winter session of 1884, and received the royal assent on the 5th of December, and the Redistribution Bill was also read a second time in the House of Commons.

By the time that parliament met in 1885 Sir Stafford Northcote had been "effaced" by being elevated to the upper house as Lord Iddesleigh, and this change was attributed to the influence of Lord Randolph Churchill. There were so many serious debates and contentions over the proposed act for the redistribution of representation that it did not pass till June, 1885.

Its effect was to disfranchise a number of the smaller boroughs and distribute the seats

thus obtained amongst the counties and the larger boroughs. This had the effect, not, of course, of depriving the inhabitants of the small boroughs of votes and of representation, but of including their franchise in the larger representation of county or division of county in which they are situate. The act provided that all boroughs with a population of less than 15,000 should not have separate representation, and that a borough having a population of between 15,000 and 20,000, and represented by two members, should only have one member. By these changes 81 English, 2 Scotch, and 22 Irish boroughs lost separate representation, and 36 English and 3 Irish boroughs lost each one member. Two English counties (Rutland and Hereford) lost a member, and the representation of the City of London was reduced from four to two members. There were, in addition, six seats for disposal, formerly belonging to boroughs disfranchised since 1867, and twelve seats were added by the act to the total number, the complete result being to give the government 178 seats for distribution among the counties and large towns of the United Kingdom, the large boroughs having an increase of members in proportion to their population, the great metropolitan boroughs being broken up into distinct divisions, each being represented according to its importance. Broadly stated, the effect of the act was to raise the total number of members from 652 (properly 658, but 6 seats disfranchised) to 670. Of these 18 additional seats 6 to be given to England, 12 to Scotland. Boroughs with fewer than 15,000 inhabitants to cease to be separately represented. Boroughs with fewer than 50,000 to return only one member. Boroughs with 50,000 to 165,000 to return two members. Boroughs with more than 165,000 to have an additional member for every 50,000. All boroughs and counties returning more than one member to be divided into as many divisions as members, each division to return one member. Of the 178 seats available for redistribution 96 to be given to the counties and 82 to the boroughs. The metropolis to have 40 additional members.

The measure for the extension of the franchise had come into operation on the 1st of January, 1885, as "The Representation of the People Act, 1884," and provided in plain and explicit terms for the extension to counties of the household and lodger franchises previously existing in boroughs, and for the establishment of these franchises on a uniform footing throughout the kingdom, and at the same time by express words conferred household suffrage on Ireland, which, before the passing of this act, did not possess household suffrage as England and Scotland, though the Irish Reform Act of 1868 had extended lodger franchise to Irish boroughs. Until the act of 1884 no Irish householder was entitled to vote unless he was the occupier of lands or premises rated for the poor-rate at a net annual value of £4 or upwards.

The Redistribution Act of 1885 transferred no seats from one country to another, and by its operation Ireland had 103 and Wales 30 seats. The principle of one-member (or district-member) representation was adopted and was much objected to by some politicians, among whom was Mr Courtney, who resigned his position in the government rather than countenance the adoption of this method.

That Mr Gladstone's government should have been able to pass these important measures of parliamentary reform at a time when their difficulties in Egypt, their determined relinquishment of previous domination over the Transvaal, and the enormous strain of Irish obstruction and disaffection were taxing their energies, showed that the Liberal party and the Liberal leader were still powerful, but the opposition was ever harassing the government, and there were symptoms that Mr Gladstone would not be unwilling to let them achieve the results of their agitation by coming into office at a time when, if they had a policy to declare, it had need be a decisive one, and when the Conservatives determined to challenge the budget scheme brought forward by Mr Childers, it was evident that the government had taken no remarkable precautions against defeat. Mr Gladstone was, in fact, afterwards accused of having "ridden for a fall" by not securing

the attendance of Liberals in numbers sufficient to secure a majority. The opposition given in June, 1885, by Sir Michael Hicks Beach to the financial scheme of Mr Childers was chiefly directed to the proposals to increase the spirit duty and the beer duty, and the landed interest was also against the budget which contained provisions for equalizing the "death duties," so as to levy upon land an amount proportioned to that levied upon personal property. The proposed amendment was carried by 264 votes to 252, and was followed by the resignation of the ministry.

The prospects of the Conservatives when Lord Salisbury succeeded in forming a ministry were of course largely dependent on what might be the operation of the new county franchise and by the attitude which they assumed towards the Irish party. That attitude was undoubtedly one of concession, for the Irish vote had become of importance to the maintenance of a ministry in power, and Lord Carnarvon, who had taken the office of viceroy, declared his intention to apply to Ireland only the ordinary law, while it was intimated in the House of Commons that the Labourers' Bill would be proceeded with, and a Land Purchase Bill would be introduced. The ministry found that they had made overtures to compound with a party which would demand more than they could then possibly consent to concede.

On the dissolution of parliament the result of the general elections was not such as the Conservative party had expected. The balance of the voting in the counties was in favour of the Liberals, and, had it not been for the Irish vote, controlled, and even commanded by Mr Parnell, not only in Ireland, but in Liverpool, Manchester, and some other places, the Conservatives would have been unable to expect even a temporary return to power. As it was, though Lord Salisbury's ministry was again in power, it was found to depend upon the Home Rulers or National Leaguers for its continuance, and at the same time the condition of affairs in Ireland was again so threatening that immediate legislation on Irish affairs appeared to be impera-

tive. The government felt itself unable to support the implied pledges which had been given to the Irish party, and one of its first arrangements was for an inquiry with a view to determine what steps would have to be taken for the repression of the continued disturbances that existed there. Indirectly this acknowledgment of inability to deal with Ireland on the lines which the Home Rule party had been led to expect was a confession of inability to retain office, and the first week in February, 1886, saw Mr Gladstone again prime-minister, with a cabinet consisting of more members of "Radical" opinions than had ever before taken a leading part in the government, and a declared policy for Ireland which was to include concession to certain demands for Home Rule, and at the same time a plan for the purchase of land with a view to the establishment of a peasant proprietary.

A Tory ministry had again the luck to inherit a popular Liberal measure for parliamentary reform, and the Redistribution Bill was quickly passed through its final stages, but the government could not command a working majority. The result of the polling in the General Election had been the return of 333 Liberals, 251 Tories, and 86 Home Rulers, and it soon became evident that the latter would only support the government on condition that the overtures which it was declared had been made to them, should be verified by some practical recognition of their demands.

Mr Gladstone, in the address which he had issued to the electors of Midlothian in September, 1885, had reviewed the more serious topics which had then occupied the attention of the legislature, and were the most essential considerations that could be entertained by any government which might be returned to power. On the subject of Ireland he had referred to the vast expansion of the representative system effected by so extending the franchise that the mass of the people in boroughs, as well as in counties, would, for the first time, by the free and almost unsolicited gift of the legislature, have improved means of making known, through the Irish members, their views and wishes in public

affairs. He reminded his constituents that the grievances of Ireland, with which we had been historically too familiar, before and since the Union, had at length been happily removed, that the poison of religious ascendancy in its various forms had been expelled from the country, that the condition of the cultivators of the soil, constituting the majority of the people, which had been a scandal and a danger to the empire, had been fundamentally improved, but he contended that the wants of Ireland had to be considered as well as her grievances. Ireland had continued greatly in arrears of England and of Scotland with respect to the powers of local self-government, which associate the people in act and feeling with the law, and which lie at the root (as he believed) of political stability, of the harmony of classes, and of national strength. This, he urged, was a serious evil, the more to be regretted because both the circumstances and the geographical position of Ireland may appear to invest her, as a portion of the empire, with special claims to a liberal interpretation and application of the principles which the people of Great Britain have traditionally held so dear.

He contended that whatever might be the obligations of the party then in power to those known in the existing parliament as Irish Nationalists, the Liberals of England and Scotland would have to draw the inspirations of their future policy from a higher source, and to cast aside the recollections of party action during the past few years, which ought not to prejudice in any way any just claims of the Irish people. Neither should those claims be hindered on account of any premature and prejudicial words which might have been spoken in the acutest—that is the electioneering—stage of a long and bitter controversy. In his opinion, not then for the first time delivered, the limit was clear within which any desires of Ireland constitutionally ascertained might, and beyond which they could not, receive the assent of parliament. To maintain the supremacy of the crown, the unity of the empire, and all the authority of parliament necessary for the conservation of that unity, was the first duty of every repre-

sentative of the people Subject to that governing principle every grant to natives of the country of enlarged powers for the management of their own affairs was, in his view, not a source of danger, but a means of averting it, and was in the nature of a new guarantee for increased cohesion, happiness, and strength.

The main question was whether it was for the interests of all the three countries that the thorough and enduring harmony which had been long established, but only after centuries of manful strife, between England and Scotland, should include Ireland also His personal answer to the question was "I believe history and posterity will consign to disgrace the name and memory of every man, be he who he may, and on whichever side of the Channel he may dwell, that, having the power to aid in an equitable settlement between Ireland and Great Britain, shall use that power not to aid but to prevent or to retard it If the duty of working for this end cannot be doubted, then I trust that, on the one hand, Ireland will remember that she too is subject to the authority of reason and justice, and cannot always plead the wrongs of other days in bar of submission to them, and that the two sister kingdoms, aware of their overwhelming strength, will dismiss every fear except that of doing wrong, and will make yet another effort to complete a reconciling work, which has already done so much to redeem the past, and which, when completed, will yet more redound to the honour of our legislation and our race"

This address, in itself, was an expression of opinion so distinctly in favour of offering a large measure of conciliation to the supporters of Home Rule, as to deepen the general impression that Lord Salisbury's government was not now adverse to a very considerable advance in the same direction. It was known that Mr Gladstone, in face of the grave issues which he believed depended upon a prompt decision to deal with the claims of the Irish party by large concessions, was ready to make the discussion of the Irish question independent of party, and to meet Lord Salisbury with a view to come to some agreement in the adoption of a wide and inclusive measure

It was asserted that some such proposition had been made in the cabinet, and had there been supported by Lord Carnarvon, who then still held the office of Viceroy for Ireland, which he had agreed to fulfil for a limited period, at the expiry of which he resigned it, in accordance with his representation that private affairs demanded his attention It was said that Lord Randolph Churchill also agreed with the proposal, and that it was regarded with some favour by Lord Salisbury himself, but that the majority of the cabinet were opposed to it Lord Salisbury afterwards contradicted these latter representations

Before the meeting of parliament in January, 1886, there had been strong evidences of a division of opinion in the Liberal party on the attitude which it was assumed would be taken by Mr Gladstone in regard to Home Rule What may be called the extreme view in favour of a new departure in legislating for Ireland was expressed by Mr John Morley, who, though he stood on independent ground, distinctly indicated, in a speech which he made at Chelmsford to celebrate the Liberal successes in Essex, that he, and those who thought as he did, were prepared for such a considerable degree of Home Rule as would give to Ireland an assembly for legislating on all but imperial measures in relation to the government of that country, and would remove from the Imperial Parliament the preponderating influence which enabled Irish members to retard legislation, to reject bills, and to control the fate of ministries only for the purpose of obstruction, in order to keep Irish grievances in the foreground Above all, he plainly declared that it was the duty of the Liberal party, in accordance with their implied undertaking, to make a decided endeavour to settle the question of Home Rule, the first consideration on the meeting of parliament.

On the other hand Sir James Stephen, Mr. W G H Lecky, the historian, and other distinguished authorities were of opinion that to grant to Ireland anything resembling an independent assembly for the purpose of local self-government, would result in an actually independent parliament in which Home Rule

would mean the dismemberment of the empire. Those who held these views regarded the restoration of individual liberty by the application of laws against agrarian crime, boycotting, and intimidation to be the first consideration.

These opinions were entirely opposed to the contentions of Mr Morley, nor were they much more favourable to the intermediate conclusions advocated by Mr Childers, who, while he denounced any course which might appear to imply a separation of Great Britain and Ireland, or a partial repeal of the Union and an interference with the power of parliament, considered that a distinction might be made between actually imperial matters (including customs, excise, the post-office and telegraphs, the High Court of Appeal, the coinage, the currency, and the national debt) and the ordinary administration of justice, public establishments, the poor-laws, the civilian police, education, and public works and buildings. In short, he advocated the establishment in Ireland of a degree of local self-government such as may be said to have been long exercised in Scotland. The radical electors of Pontefract were so little in accord with Mr Childers' restricted views that he probably would not have secured the seat but for the refusal of more advanced politicians to divide the Liberal party by contesting it with him.

Though there appeared at that time to be little difference between various members of the Liberal party, except that of the degree of Home Rule which should be granted to Ireland, and the manner in which an Irish assembly should be constituted as an independent authority in local self-government, it soon became apparent that a more sharply-defined division of the party was impending. Mr Morley's declarations may be said to have sounded the first notes of conflict. There had already been symptoms of a division between the sections respectively represented by Lord Hartington and Mr Chamberlain, each of whom had his own plan of dealing with the land question, but Mr Gladstone had by his personal influence prevented any actual breach. Now, however, it

appeared that neither Mr Chamberlain nor Lord Hartington would support such propositions as those put forward by Mr John Morley, who had at the same time declared that Mr Gladstone was alone competent to develop a scheme for the government of Ireland. Of course the question was whether Mr Gladstone had himself formulated any such scheme, and whether it was in accordance with the views expressed by Mr Morley, or included any propositions virtually establishing an Irish parliament in Dublin, and such a separation of imperial interests as the opponents of Home Rule contended would lead to a practical repeal or dissolution of the Union. It would doubtless have been convenient to the government to obtain from Mr Gladstone some distinct declaration of his policy, but it was scarcely to be expected that he would furnish his opponents with the information which they urged him to impart to them. In answer to a request from the Mayor of Belfast that he would receive a deputation of Irish loyalists who desired to appeal to parliament to suppress the unlawful operations of the Land League before granting measures of self-government, he replied, that for him to receive such a deputation would exhibit him as a competitor with her majesty's government in a field of labour and responsibility which was at present exclusively their own, and would tend to credit a statement, alike mischievous and groundless, to the effect that he had signified an intention to make or adopt proposals with reference to Irish legislation. The deputation received from Lord Salisbury no more explicit assurance than that ministers would not be untrue to their responsibilities.

There was afterwards, in the House of Lords, a serious discussion on the subject of the abolition of the viceregal office, which it had been contended was no longer necessary now that the means of immediate communication between England and Ireland had been so greatly developed. No division was taken on the question, and the subject dropped. The resignation of Lord Carnarvon had left the office vacant, and it still remained in commission. It had been decided that the chief secretary should be a member of the

cabinet, and Mr W H Smith received the appointment. This, then, was the situation of affairs before the meeting of parliament on the 12th of January. Mr Peel was re-elected speaker, and Mr Bradlaugh was permitted to take the oath and his seat without any renewal of the opposition and remonstrance which had marked his former demand for admission.

The session was opened by Her Majesty the Queen in person. The royal speech, read by the lord chancellor, announced that the annexation of the Kingdom of Ava would be a permanent incorporation of that territory with the British empire. This had been the result of that expedition to Burmah which was forced upon us by the treachery and bad faith of the half imbecile tyrant Theebaw, whose disregard of treaties and hostility to Europeans had brought about conditions similar to those which had led to our annexation of Pegu¹. References were also made in her majesty's speech to the expected settlement of our differences with Russia on the subject of the boundaries of Afghanistan, and to an agreement by which the rights of France on the coasts of Newfoundland would be defined by an agreement to be submitted to parliament and to the Newfoundland legislature. The expression of regret at the continued depression in British trade and agriculture found an echo in the house and in the country, but the passages in the speech relating to Ireland were perhaps regarded with more intense interest than any other part of it, nor is it surprising that the Irish or "Nationalist" party, and those of the Liberal party who felt that they were pledged to the support of remedial and conciliatory measures, should have attributed to those expressions a sinister meaning and intention. The words were "I have seen with deep sorrow the renewal of the attempt to incite the people of Ireland to hostility against the legislative union between that country and Great Britain. I am resolutely opposed to any disturbance of that fundamental law, and in resisting it I am convinced that I shall be

heartily supported by my parliament and my people. The social, no less than the material, condition of that country engages my anxious attention. Although there has been during the last year no marked increase of serious crime, there is in many places a concerted resistance to the enforcement of legal obligations, and I regret that the practice of organized intimidation continues to exist. I have caused every exertion to be used for the detection and punishment of these crimes, and no effort will be spared on the part of my government to protect my Irish subjects in the exercise of their legal rights and the enjoyment of individual liberty. If, as my information leads me to apprehend, the existing provisions of the law should prove to be inadequate to cope with these growing evils, I look with confidence to your willingness to invest my government with all necessary powers."

"What," it was asked, "has become of those overtures of conciliation which, it has been asserted, were made by the leaders of the Tory party to the Irish members?" The terms of the queen's speech showed that any conciliatory intentions had been abandoned for what was not unreasonably interpreted to mean a threat of determined coercion. Though it was admitted that there had been no increase, but rather a diminution of serious crime, the new government had announced that extraordinary powers might be demanded for enforcing the most oppressive provisions of the worst measures that had ever been enacted against the claims of political liberty for Ireland.

Mr Parnell admitted that in regard to the land question affairs in Ireland were very serious, but he declared that his influence, and that of his chief friends, had, as far as it was available, been used to prevent crime. The movement which had sprung up amongst the people was spontaneous. Upon the Land League movement a quarter of a million of money had been spent in organizing the tenantry to resist the payment of rents which were admittedly rack-rents. That movement resulted in the passing of the Land Act of 1881, but upon the present movement not a penny had been spent. Some scheme of pur

¹ Vol. III p 397

case might be adopted, such as that put forward by Mr. Giffen, under which the bulk of the land in the occupation of agricultural tenants might be purchased.

The government having failed to elicit either from Mr Gladstone and his Liberal supporters, or from the leaders of the Irish party, any definite intimation of their views on Home Rule, it was proposed by Lord Randolph Churchill to defer the debate on the address, and to proceed to the discussion of the new rules of parliamentary procedure, of the introduction of which notice had been given at the opening of the session. At the same time Lord Randolph emphatically stated that no local government bill, likely to be brought in by the government, could possibly contain any provision which could be interpreted to lead to or imply the granting of a separate parliament; and he went so far as to say that existing conditions in Ireland would not justify the discussion of any extension of local self-government. But Mr Gladstone and his supporters, though they had recognized the necessity for the adoption of some very decided and stringent amendments of the rules of procedure, considered that the questions affecting Ireland were to be met only by extraordinary legislation which demanded foremost attention. On this ground they refused to close the debate. Mr Sexton, on the Irish side, contended that no case for coercion had been made out, and that any measures of that kind would be resisted. He represented boycotting to be the alternative of outrages, declared that the Nationalist members represented five-sixths of the Irish people, maintained that it was the duty of Irishmen merely to state their grievances and to leave to the responsible government to provide the remedies, and denied that it was the intention or wish of the Nationalist party to endanger the integrity of the empire, the supremacy of the crown, or the power of the English parliament.

These assertions, and the contentions of the Irish party with regard to the condition of the country and the operations of the National League, were traversed by the attorney-general for Ireland (Mr Hugh Holmes), who

justified the paragraph in the queen's speech, which he stated was intended to intimate the adoption of a remedy for the attempt of the League to substitute its laws for those of the country. The debate for a time subsided with a dropping fire of speeches. Other amendments were brought forward on the expenses of the expedition to Burmah and on the agricultural question, in relation to the relief which should be afforded to cultivators of the soil, in which discussion, and the ultimate division, though the Liberal leaders took no part, the proposer of the amendment succeeded in obtaining 183 votes to 211, so that his proposition was negatived by only 28 votes.

It seemed as though the government had taken the opportunity of this diversion of the debate from Irish affairs to prepare for the introduction of their coercion bill. On the 23d of January Mr W H Smith had been rather hurriedly sent to Dublin to inquire into the condition of Ireland. That this should have been regarded by the opposition as an attempt to save appearances is not surprising, for when the house assembled on the 26th it was announced that he would on the 28th move for leave to introduce a bill for the suppression of the National League and other dangerous associations, for the prevention of intimidation, and for the protection of life, property, and public order in Ireland. But proceedings in the house had by that time taken the form of parliamentary tactics. The government, foreseeing probable defeat, would have preferred to be able to go out on the question of an endeavour to maintain law and order, and on that question they might have secured an extremely narrow majority, if the divisions in the Liberal camp on the subject of Home Rule were as serious as they suspected. This desire was frustrated by the introduction of an amendment by Mr. Jesse Collings in relation to the clause in the royal speech promising bills for giving greater facility for the sale of glebe lands by a measure adapted to the wants of the rural population, and for removing the difficulties preventing the easy and cheap transfer of land.

An important section of the Radical party

had early in the year taken part in a meeting of an "Allotments and Small Holdings Association" at the Westminster Palace Hotel, and Mr Chamberlain had then declared it to be the duty of the Liberal party to deal at the earliest possible moment with the condition of the agricultural labourers, which involved the whole land question. He had approved of a bill drawn up by the association for local representatives, popular authorities elected by ballot by the ratepayers, to receive compulsory powers to take land for public purposes at a fair price, the landlords having the right of compensation.

In view of this Mr Jesse Collings, who was in entire accord with Mr. Chamberlain, contended that a peasant proprietary of small holdings would be enabled to carry on the smaller industries not pursued by the farmer, which supply poultry, butter, cheese, and vegetables, and that thus fifty millions now spent on these articles from foreign sources would be spent in the country.

The amendment was the expression of "regret that no measures were announced by her majesty for the present relief of these classes, and especially for affording facilities to the agricultural labourers and others in the rural districts to obtain allotments and small holdings on equitable terms as to rent and security of tenure." Mr Chamberlain felt that he was bound to support the amendment, though it was on a subject which marked the widest divergence of opinion between himself and Lord Hartington. Mr Chaplin, on behalf of the government, entirely opposed the amendment, and the house waited to hear what would be Mr Gladstone's view of a proposition which formed no part of the authorized programme. As the amendment was of an abstract character Mr Gladstone did not hesitate to support it by considering the practical question involved, without being led into a discussion of agricultural depression or peasant proprietaries. He contended that to restore to the local communities of the country something of that character of a community in which the common interests of the individual labourer might be so managed as to associate him with the soil in a manner much

more effectual than that in which he was at present associated, were views which the house ought to thank Mr Collings for having laid before them. The debate was emphasized by the maiden speech of Mr Arch, the agricultural labour representative, but much more by the determined opposition of Mr Goschen, who elicited the cheers of the ministerialists by his declaration that he could not follow those Liberals who had been suddenly converted to these views as well as to Home Rule. After a speech from Lord Hartington, also devoted to refuting Mr. Chamberlain's arguments, the division was taken, and showed a majority of 79 against the government, though 18 Liberals, including Lord Hartington, Mr Goschen, Sir Henry James, Mr Courtney, and Sir John Lubbock voted with the government, and 76 who held exceedingly differing views were absent from the division.

Then the government went out (as was afterwards facetiously said in reference to some remarks by Mr Gladstone, on the provision of a right of pasture) on the question of "three acres and a cow." Though a coalition cabinet was suggested in some quarters, no authority existed for such a proposition, and to Mr Gladstone was committed the duty of forming another administration. Earl Spencer was made president of the council, Mr. Childers home secretary, the Earl of Rosebery was foreign secretary, with Earl Granville for the colonies, the Earl of Kimberley for India, and Mr Campbell-Bannerman as secretary for war. Sir William Harcourt was made chancellor of the exchequer, the Marquis of Ripon first lord of the admiralty, Mr. Trevelyan secretary for Scotland, Mr Mundella president of the Board of Trade, while the presidency of the Local Government Board was committed to Mr Chamberlain, and Mr Charles Russell became attorney-general. Mr John Morley was chief secretary for Ireland, and his appointment was significant of the attitude which it was expected would be assumed by the new government on the Irish question. The Earl of Aberdeen accepted the appointment of Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the duties of which he afterwards admirably fulfilled.

Although there was some difficulty in making these appointments because of the attitude which Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan appeared likely to assume in relation to any wide and inclusive measure which would give to "Home Rule" for Ireland any greater significance than would attach to the powers of a vestry or a municipal corporation, Mr. Gladstone thus succeeded in forming a cabinet of pronounced liberal views.

The opinions which he had already expressed with regard to Lord Salisbury's administration of foreign affairs was that of general approval, and he had signified his concurrence in the agreement of the great powers to send a combined squadron to the Piræus to compel the disarmament of Greece, and to prevent the hostilities which the Greek government had already commenced against Turkey in demanding a restoration of the frontier originally settled by the Berlin Congress. This demand had arisen out of the disturbed state of Eastern Europe caused by war between Servia and Bulgaria, and an insurrection in Eastern Roumelia, the latter associated with the claim of the Roumelians to be united to Bulgaria, a proposal which the Greeks declared would denationalize thousands of their countrymen, and could only be compensated by a restoration of the boundary between Greece and Turkey.

The Greeks having prepared for hostilities, and placed a body of 30,000 troops, with heavy and field artillery, on the frontier, had been anxious to secure Mr. Gladstone's support for what they regarded as Greek independence. A deputation of "the patriotic" party had waited on him early in the year, but he pointed out to them that they had been ill-advised, that the attitude assumed by Greece could not receive any support from him, and that it was clearly their duty to abstain from hostilities, and to disarm in accordance with the note addressed to them by the British government in conjunction with the other great powers.

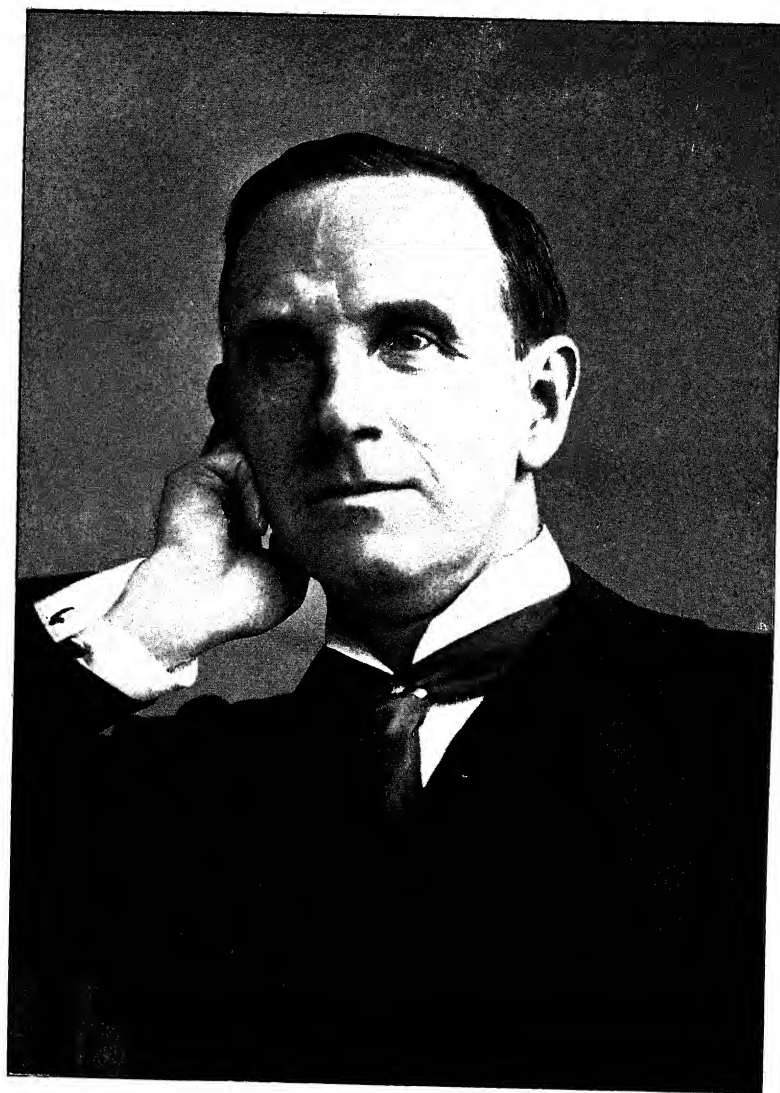
The policy which he thus endorsed, and the direction of foreign affairs in general, were subsequently adopted and carried out by Lord Rosebery in the new administration

with remarkable success. In Egypt, also, arrangements were made for the withdrawal of British troops from Wady Halfa to Assouan, and the negotiations that had been intrusted to Sir Drummond Wolff by Lord Salisbury were continued, with a view to conciliate Turkey, and to ensure self-government to Egypt.

But though there was little in our foreign relations to cause excitement or anxiety, there had been for some time past much discontent at home among the labouring classes in consequence of the continued depression of trade, and of that foreign competition which had been largely augmented by the demands of the working men themselves for increased wages, accompanied by a reduction of the hours of labour.

In London especially, a vast number of temporarily unemployed persons were added to those whose chronic condition of poverty presents a standing problem for the solution of successive governments. To these again there had come contingents of foreign workmen, especially in the tailoring and shoemaking trades, whose misery in their own country must have been abject indeed if their condition was improved by working for the "sweaters," or middle-men, who imposed upon them long and continuous labour at a rate of wages which only enabled them to gain a bare subsistence, and confined them to the wretched tenements where they dwelt and worked in the pestilential atmosphere of crowded rooms, unprovided with the commonest comforts, or even the ordinary conveniences of domestic life.

There had been many symptoms of a coming demonstration in London on the part of various bodies or societies claiming to represent the interests of the unemployed, and of working-men and labourers in general, and the members of the new government had scarcely taken office when there occurred a series of disturbances more serious than any which have taken place since the Gordon riots. They were incited by the speeches of the leaders of a society calling itself the "Revolutionary Social Democratic League"—they were continued and exaggerated by



JOHN MORLEY

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIOTT & FRY, LONDON

gangs of thieves and ruffians, who, for the purpose of riot and plunder, had joined the crowds which attended the large assemblages summoned to Trafalgar Square, where there were a considerable number of labourers and operatives who had left their work in order to swell the ranks of "the unemployed." The real meeting of the unemployed had, however, been called for the purpose of considering a method of peaceably representing to the government the necessity for providing public works, and undertaking some method of relief for those who were suffering the greatest privations. Many of these were said to belong to the building trades, and they were reinforced by a large contingent of waterside labourers and others, who were undergoing great hardships from the difficulty of obtaining regular or even casual employment. Their meeting was partly interrupted by a number of people, who, calling themselves the "Fair-trade League," endeavoured to join in their proceedings, and to commit them to a demand for a partial return to protective duties, in the alleged interest of British productions. The social democrats, on the other hand, made use of the opportunity to enunciate revolutionary sentiments, to use threatening language against constituted authorities, and to advocate the provision by the government of work which should be well paid for, and at the same time should be restricted to eight hours a day. These demands were accentuated, but temporarily interrupted, by the strains of a band playing the Marseillaise, but afterwards discovered to have belonged to some entertainment which it had been sent out to advertise.

It was computed that from 15,000 to 20,000 persons were assembled in and around Trafalgar Square, and either the revolutionary social democrats, or that lawless part of the mob which had joined them uninvited, seeing that their demonstration would probably develop into an opportunity for riot and looting, broke up the meeting of the unemployed, the members of which for the most part dispersed or marched back to the south or to the east end of London.

The revolutionary social democrats then proceeded to march up Pall Mall and to Hyde Park, and if they themselves meant no mischief, those who had joined them did. Numbers of them seem to have had stones or other missiles in their pockets, and with these and others procured on the way they smashed the windows of the club-houses, the more conspicuous shops, and some private mansions on the route. In Piccadilly, rendered bolder by impunity, they began to wreck and plunder several shops, and those who did not appear to be thieves took part in the outrage, and destroyed what they did not seek to appropriate or could not carry away. After reaching Hyde Park, where they were again addressed by some of the leaders, they returned by another route, committing further havoc, assaulting, robbing, and injuring several peaceable persons, stopping carriages, and smashing their windows to get at the occupants, some of whom were ladies, who were with difficulty rescued from being dragged out into the street.

The number of the police at Trafalgar Square had been insufficient to disperse or to control the vast crowds there, and there appeared to be no protection whatever against the rioters who traversed the west end thoroughfares to plunder tradesmen and destroy property. No provision had been made for a police force either to circumvent or to disperse these ruffians.

It was feared that, growing bolder, they might repeat their depredations on the two following days, and there arose a panic among west end shopkeepers, whose trade was paralysed. There were meetings of crowds of "roughs" and others, and one or two attempts at processions on the two following days, but beyond stone-throwing and some attempts at robbery, little more mischief was done. Though damage had been caused to the amount of £50,000 there appeared to be scarcely any effort to protect the sufferers from further violence.

Parliament was not yet sitting, for some re-elections of ministers were still going on. Mr Childers had only been installed at the Home Office a few hours before the attack.

The organization of the police force seemed to have collapsed as soon as the rioting commenced. A small committee of investigation was appointed by the Home Secretary himself, and when parliament assembled he announced that Sir E. Y. Henderson, the chief commissioner of police, had resigned after making some explanations, and that some recommendations of the committee would be adopted.

The office of chief commissioner was accepted by Sir Charles Warren, whose experience in organization in Egypt was considered to be a desirable qualification. Unhappily the considerable augmentation of the police force, and the semi-military orders which were issued for the instruction of the constables, did not take place till after the more serious riot was over, but crowds of people still repaired to meetings, which were announced to be held in Trafalgar Square, and which the police had been instructed to suppress and disperse. Processions were forbidden, meetings were altogether disallowed, any attempt to hold them or to occupy the square or the adjacent thoroughfares was sternly repressed—not even a knot of half a dozen people was permitted. At a later date there was an endeavour to resist such stringent measures, by people who claimed to be peaceable and honest citizens upholding a public right of meeting; and the constables having been badgered and kept on duty, and ordered and countermanded, were instructed to take unusual measures. They were charged with brutality and cruelty. Many persons were injured in actively or passively resisting the determined efforts made by the constables to disperse gatherings which a multitude of men, women, and even children seemed as determined to support. For many days this conflict continued, and after it had ceased and inquiries were made, it was probably found that the control demanded by Sir Charles Warren was of too strictly military a character to be maintained, except on very rare occasions. At all events, he remained in office only a few months, when he sent in his resignation.

A public subscription for the relief of the

really unemployed artisans and labourers was opened at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor, Sir Henry Knight, and though the distribution of the money in a manner which would not have the effect of pauperizing the recipients, or entirely demoralizing those who would make claims upon the fund, was attended with almost insuperable difficulty, above £78,000 was contributed. Objections were raised to that mode of relief, but a vast number of truly necessitous persons were assisted by the judicious efforts of the almoners chosen to administer the bounty. The amount subscribed showed that a charitable and discriminating public had not been wholly prejudiced by the depredations of a gang of unemployable scoundrels, who saw in the utterances of the leaders of the revolutionary Socialists an appropriate excuse for the forcible distribution of the property of hard-working taxpayers.

Those leaders were afterwards prosecuted. Only one of them was at that time in any operative sense a working man, and he was employed at some stables. They were acquitted, as it was not proved that they had directly incited the mob to riotous conduct, and there was evidence that in Hyde Park they had for the most part successfully endeavoured to restrain their own followers from joining those who were concerned in the looting and destruction of the shops.

Parliament met on the 18th of February, but during the short time which had elapsed several speeches had been delivered to considerable audiences. Lord Randolph Churchill, in a harangue which was as violent and as dangerous as many of those for which members of the National Irish League had been imprisoned, appealed indirectly to the Protestants of Ulster, inciting them to resist by force any attempt to impose upon them laws which might be passed by a legislative body composed of Home Rulers, and assuring them of the sympathy and support of his English hearers and hundreds of thousands of Englishmen. That was the message which he took upon himself to carry to Belfast when he soon afterwards went there, and that was the message which he repeated in further

inflammatory addresses when he reached that place. The result, as might have been anticipated, was that the Orange societies prepared for action, that an attack was made on a body of those whom they regarded as their opponents, that serious riots and fierce conflicts ensued, and that much difficulty was experienced in suppressing them.

Lord Randolph Churchill, in addressing his constituents, had used several vituperative epithets in abusing Mr Gladstone, epithets borrowed from an old speech of Lord Beaconsfield and adapted to the occasion. One declaration which he made was important. He assured his hearers that the policy of the late government was to suppress the National League, while Mr. Gladstone's policy was to legalize, to recognize, to utilize the National League.

Lord Salisbury also, in an able and exhaustive address opposing Home Rule, which he persistently regarded as inevitably leading to the national independence of Ireland and disunion of the empire, pretty plainly intimated that the policy of the Conservatives, if they regained power, would be that which was associated with stringent coercive measures, or, as his lordship some time afterwards seems to have concluded, twenty years of strong government. Probably without holding the same views as to the extent to which coercive measures should reach, Lord Hartington, Mr Chamberlain, Mr Goschen, Mr Trevelyan, and several other leading representatives both of the modern Whigs or Liberals and of the advanced Liberal party, contended that any such measure of Home Rule as they believed Mr Gladstone would be willing to introduce would result in a separation of the legislative government of Ireland, which would be a practical disunion of the empire. On these grounds Mr. Trevelyan and Mr Chamberlain afterwards resigned their appointments in the government, and with others, who in regard to the Irish question appeared to share the opinions of Lord Hartington, afterwards became a distinct party of considerable number and influence under the name of Liberal Unionists. It was evident that Mr Gladstone could not look for any support from some of

his former colleagues any more than from the Whigs or the Conservatives in any proposal involving the settlement of the Irish question by the establishment of a separate parliament, and at a later date Mr Bright also declared against it, though he refrained from making any such public address as would necessitate his coming into direct contention and antagonism with the leader whose former achievements had commanded his respect and regard.

Another difficulty which confronted Mr Gladstone was that of framing a Land Purchase Bill which would be so acceptable to landlords as to induce them to refrain from opposing a broad measure of local self-government for Ireland and yet would not be repudiated or rejected by the Irish Home Rule party. It was expected that the Land Bill must be so intimately associated with any proposition for Home Rule that they must stand or fall together. But this did not eventually form a necessary part of Mr Gladstone's scheme when, in face of the determined opposition which his measure for government in Ireland encountered, he proposed to make the passing of the second reading of the Home Rule Bill a declaration of the House in favour of the abstract principle which the bill itself involved, leaving most of its disputed provisions to be settled after another debate and discussion, and so dissociating it from the Land Purchase Bill as to leave those who voted for the former measure free to accept or to oppose the latter.

Two facts were significant. Mr Gladstone, though he did not divulge the particulars of the measure which he was preparing to submit to the House, made no secret of the general tendency of it. The appointment of Mr. Morley as secretary for Ireland was in itself a strong interpretation of the avowal of Mr. Gladstone himself, that he was searching out positive and substantial remedial measures. He held that there was no alternative between these and such stringent measures of coercion as the late government had not ventured to propose. Coupled with this conviction was the now obvious conclusion that Mr Trevelyan and Mr. Chamberlain would

retire from the government, an event which took place on the 26th of March, their places being filled up by the appointment of Mr Stansfield and Lord Dalhousie.

Before bringing forward the measure for which everybody was anxiously looking, the attention of the House was engaged in a debate on the army and navy estimates, the civil service, and home and colonial defences. The budget, which had been looked for with some curiosity, offered no very remarkable features. Sir W. Harcourt had no startling propositions to make. He truly said that it was a commonplace budget, but he hoped it was a common-sense one. Some of the figures were significant. There was a deficit of £2,642,543. The revenue from duties on alcohol had decreased by £971,000, and the diminution in ten years had been £4,379,000, or from £31,209,000 in 1875-6 to £26,830,000, or allowing for the increase in population from 19s 1d to 14s 9d per head. Tea, tobacco, and some articles of food had so increased in consumption that the duties made up a considerable proportion of the amount, so that the diminution was to be attributed to increased temperance and not to falling off in consuming power. Still there were deficiencies which showed the effects of a depressed condition of trade and industry. Though the parcel post had been vastly appreciated, and 26,527,000 parcels had been despatched during the year, there had been a falling off of £51,400 in railway returns, in income-tax of £240,000, and in inhabited house duty of £30,000. The net revenue, excluding income-tax, was about the same as on the previous year. The net revenue was £89,885,000, the expenditure £90,428,499. The deficit was met by suspending the two sinking funds, but without touching terminable annuities, so that the Consolidated Fund charges would be reduced by £818,000, and would, after supplying the amount of the deficit, leave a surplus of £274,000. Out of this it was proposed to abolish the licensing duties for cottage brewing, so that no licenses should be necessary for persons brewing their own beer on premises of less than £8 rental. This would leave a final surplus of £258,771.

Several resolutions had been proposed by private members, and among them was one by Mr Labouchere for the abolition of the House of Lords, or rather one declaring that it is inconsistent with the principles of representative government that any member of the legislature should derive his title to legislate by right of hereditary descent. On a division this resolution was rejected, but only by 202 against 166 votes, and four sons of peers voted in the minority. A proposal to disestablish the Church of England in Wales, brought forward by Mr Dillwyn, was followed at a later date by a motion by Dr Cameron of Glasgow, for disestablishment in Scotland. Both were rejected for both were opposed, the first by the government, on the ground that it was impossible to deal with the Church of England in Wales as apart from the Established Church in England, while the question as regarded Scotland was opposed by Mr Gladstone and others, as it had not yet come into practical politics, and the wishes of the people of Scotland should be ascertained. Mr Campbell Bannerman, Mr Chamberlain, and Mr Trevelyan voted for it, but other members of the government took no part in the division. A Railway and Canal Traffic Bill, introduced by Mr Mundella, and designed to deal with the inequalities of railway rates and the extortionate charges for carriage of merchandise, which were prejudicial to British trade, passed its second reading, but the sudden closing of the session prevented it becoming law. A bill for the relief of the Scotch crofters was introduced by Mr Trevelyan on behalf of the government, and its provisions, founded on the recommendations of a royal commission of inquiry, secured to the crofters fair rents and fixity of tenure. It avowed that the distress was caused by deer forests having been suffered to take the place of pasturage for sheep. No right of purchase of their holdings was granted to the crofters, but with certain restrictions compulsory leases were provided for. The bill was not of very wide scope, and some interpolations introduced by the Duke of Argyll when it went up to the Lords narrowed it still more, but it was at

all events legislation in the right direction, and eventually passed both Houses

The date at which it had been expected that the Irish bills would be introduced was looked forward to with keen anticipation; but the condition of Mr Gladstone's health caused some delay, and it was surmised that another reason for postponement was the endeavour to arrive at some compromise by which the dissentient Liberals might remain in the cabinet and refrain from dividing the party. This, however, was found to be impossible, unless Mr Gladstone would consent to give the Irish a mere reduced copy of municipal, or, rather, of parochial government, in the name of Home Rule; whereas he preferred to give to Ireland so full a measure of local self-government as to make it, as he conceived, unnecessary for Irish representatives to sit in the imperial parliament, and, therefore, to have any direct control or influence over imperial legislation. The breach in the cabinet and in the party became inevitable, and further delay would not diminish the difficulties that confronted the government.

On the 8th of April Mr Gladstone, at an age when few men are capable of much active exertion, or of the control of public affairs, rose to propound, in an eloquent and exhaustive speech, which for more than three hours held the interest and attention of the listening assembly, a plan on the main lines or principles of which he challenged the votes of the House. Though his scheme was rejected by a comparatively small majority, and the ministry consequently retired to await the result of a general election, and though that election did not return him and his adherents to power, he continued to maintain an attitude of calm confidence that, in the final result—when the nation set itself to consider what were the real causes of, and the true remedies for, Irish disaffection—he would be able to appeal for support to the decision and the suffrages of the people of Great Britain.

Mr Gladstone commenced his speech by saying that he regretted the impossibility of entering upon the whole of the Irish policy of the government, because the Irish government and the land question were inseparably

connected, and were the two channels to that social order which was the vital question. The government had come to the conclusion that it was the duty of parliament no longer to fence with the Irish question, but to come to close quarters with it, and their intention was to make proposals which they believed would restore to parliament its liberty of action, and would test whether it was not possible to establish good relations between Great Britain and Ireland. Agrarian crime he described rather as a symptom, and was as habitual as the coercive legislation by which it had been met. Had the same causes existed in England and Scotland, similar results might have followed, and if coercion was to be resorted to again, it must be of a very different character from the timid coercion of former years, and enforced in a different spirit. If there was to be resolute coercion, it could only be successful with autocracy of government and secrecy of public transactions, and such coercion would never be resorted to by the people of England and Scotland until they had tried every other alternative. But had they tried every other alternative? We had never tried the alternative of stripping law in Ireland of its foreign garb, and investing it with a domestic character. The crime of Ireland, the agrarian crime of Ireland, was not what it was in other days. In 1883 the government of Lord Grey proposed to parliament a strong Coercion Act. At that time the information at their command did not distinguish between agrarian and ordinary crime as the distinction is now made. As to the present time, it was easy to tell the House that the serious agrarian crimes of Ireland, which in 1881 were 1011, in 1885 were 245. But to go back to the period of 1832. The contrast was perhaps still more striking. In 1832 the homicides in Ireland were 248, in 1885 they were 65. The cases of intention to kill, happily unfulfilled, in the first of those years were 209, in 1885 they were 37. The serious offences of all kinds in Ireland in 1832 were 6014, in 1885 they were 1057. The whole criminal offences in Ireland in the former year were 14,000, and in the latter year 2683. So far we were not

to suppose that the case was one of those cases of extreme disorder which threaten the general peace of society. Exceptional legislation—legislation which introduces exceptional provisions into the law—ought itself to be in its own nature essentially exceptional, it had become for us not exceptional, but habitual. We were like a man who, knowing that medicine may be the means of his restoration to health, endeavoured to live upon medicine. Nations, no more than individuals, could find a subsistence in what was meant to be a cure. But had it been a cure? Had we attained the object which we desired, and honestly desired to attain? No. Agrarian crime had become, sometimes upon a larger and sometimes upon a smaller scale, as habitual in Ireland as the legislation which had been intended to repress it. Ireland had never enjoyed a right to make her own laws. The considerations which compelled an attempt to deal with this state of things were, first, the fact that it did not conduce to the unity of the empire, and next, the necessity of doing something to restore social order and liberty in Ireland. The problem to be solved was how to reconcile imperial unity with diversity of legislation, and it was a problem which had been solved by ourselves before the Union, and by other countries in circumstances more difficult than ours. What he had to propose was not a repeal of the Union, because the essence of the Union was, that before it took place there were two co-ordinate and independent legislatures. Neither would it involve dismemberment or disintegration, or any misnomer of that kind. Government intended to propose the establishment of a legislative body to sit in Dublin to legislate for Ireland and to control Irish administration. There would be securities for the unity of the empire, and adequate protection for the minority, among whom he included all those interested in land, the civil servants, and other persons concerned in the government of the country, and what is called the Protestant minority. The mention of the minority led him to discuss various suggestions which had been made for the special treatment of Ulster—none of which, he said, had commended themselves to

the government—though they were ready to consider favourably any proposals which might be made and which might seem practicable. Passing to details, he first dealt with the question, Are the Irish peers and the Irish members to remain in the British parliament? concluding, chiefly from the impossibility of distinguishing between imperial and local functions, that they could not be allowed to come to Westminster after the establishment of an Irish parliament. As regarded taxation, the general power of imposing taxes would pass to the new legislative body, with the exception of customs duties and excise duties connected with customs; but the balance of these duties, after providing for the payment of Irish obligations, would be paid into the exchequer, and would be at the command of the legislative body. Next, having described securities which would be taken against any tampering with this “Magna Charta of Ireland” in the absence of her representatives, he dwelt on the powers of the new legislative body. The bill would have complete control over the executive government as well as the legislature, but the legislative body would be subject to all the prerogatives of the crown, it would not be able to pass any legislation affecting the crown or its devolution, all that relates to defence—the army and navy, &c.—would be out of its province, it would have no concern with foreign or colonial relations, and it would be prohibited from establishing or endowing any religious body. As to the composition of this legislature, Mr Gladstone said it would consist of two orders with a power of separate voting when desired, and a veto of one order on the other, to last for three years, or until the next dissolution. The first order would consist of the 28 representative peers, and 75 other members possessed of a property qualification of £200 a year, elected for a period of ten years by persons of £25 a year qualification, and the second order would consist of the present 103 university, county, and borough members, with 101 others added, elected in the same manner for five years. As to the executive, it would remain as it was for the present, subject to any changes

which might be worked out by the new legislative body; the viceroy would remain in the same position, assisted by a privy-council, he would not go out of office with the government, and the present religious disability would be removed. Those of the present judges who desired it would be able to demand a retiring pension, and the constabulary would remain for the present under the same terms of service, and under the same authority. There would be no breach of continuity with regard to it, but the British Consolidated Fund would contribute to its support anything it might cost over a million. Eventually the Irish legislature would have charge of its own police. The civil servants, after two years, would be able to claim a discharge on the terms usual when an office was abolished. Next, Mr. Gladstone explained the financial aspects of the new arrangement, which, he contended, would secure an equitable distribution of burdens. First, he stated that the present contribution of Ireland to the public expenditure is one-twelfth, and in an elaborate analysis of the various branches of the revenue and expenditure he showed that hereafter it would be one-fifteenth, which in reality, by the payment of the spirit and porter duties by English and Scotch consumers, would be reduced to one-twenty-sixth. The revenue from customs, excise, stamps, income-tax, and post-office raised from Ireland would be £8,350,000, while the charges payable by Ireland for debt, army and navy, civil service, constabulary, and sinking fund for the Irish portion of the National Debt would amount to £7,946,000, leaving a surplus of £404,000.

This is the outline of a measure commended to the House with the earnestness and power which distinguished Mr Gladstone's speeches, but there were signs that it would not be accepted in its most important provisions, nor did there seem any great probability of its principles being endorsed and the details left for further discussion. More secessions from office took place among the Liberals who were inclined to join those who now began to call themselves Liberal Unionists, and the vacancies were filled from the Radical

ranks. On the 14th of April a large meeting was held at Her Majesty's Theatre, where the chair was taken by Earl Cowper, formerly the Liberal Viceroy of Ireland when Mr Forster was chief secretary, and there were present Lord Hartington, the Earl of Fife, Mr Goschen, and others of that party, as well as Lord Salisbury, Mr. W. H. Smith, and a Conservative following. Lord Hartington proposed the first resolution opposing the bill, and he was followed by other distinguished speakers, who joined in declaring against it. In the public press it was only viewed with doubt, and spoken of with reserve even by most of the pronounced Liberal organs, and there were not wanting symptoms that public opinion, even in some of the Liberal constituencies, had not yet been so developed as to regard its proposals with satisfaction.

The interposition of the budget between this measure and the Land Bill was thought to be a source of weakness, but though the government bill was allowed to pass the first reading, it was declared in many quarters that it should have been thrown out without even so much as this concession to its importance. Neither its opponents nor those who yielded to it a timid and uncertain consideration were prepared to follow Lord Granville and Mr Morley in their outspoken declaration that there was no compromise between oppressive coercion and a large measure of government for Ireland such as that now introduced to parliament.

On the 16th of April Mr. Gladstone brought the Land Purchase Bill before the House as a necessary part of the measure for the government of Ireland. The oppression of Irish peasants by absentee landlords had been one of the saddest and most permanent notes in the history of the country. The deeds of the Irish landlords are to a great extent our deeds. The landlords were our garrison in Ireland. We planted them there, and we replanted them in 1641, in 1688, and again in 1798 we reconquered the country for them. We used the whole civil government of Ireland as an engine of wholesale corruption, and we extended that corruption to what ought to have been a sacred thing, namely, the Church, which

we maintained and supported in the land. Under the British parliament the tenants' protections were swept away in 1816. The attempt even failed to carry out the recommendations of the Devon Commission in 1843, which spoke of the hardships of the Irish labourer. The Encumbered Estates Bill was produced with a general hazy and misinformed good intention of taking capital to Ireland, but in reality the improvements of the tenants were sold. The tenant lost his old landlord, who was in many cases an easy-going personage, and had oftentimes established a *modus vivendi* with the tenant, who was handed over to a horde of new proprietors, who were told that they might extract greater rent from the tenant, and who took in the form of rent that which was the produce of the tenants' labour. Such were the observations by which Mr. Gladstone introduced the Land Purchase Bill which was to accompany and complete the Irish Government Bill. Among its leading features the statutory parliament (or by whatever name the legislative body to be established in Dublin might be known) would be empowered to appoint a "state authority" to be the purchaser under the Act by means of a new three-per-cent stock issued at par on the application of the Land Commissioners. The Bill would enable the landlords, if willing, to sell, and the tenant to purchase, the basis of price being the net rental for the year ending November, 1885, and twenty years' purchase, with certain exceptions. To effect that object three-per-cent consols would be created to the extent of 50 millions, and the charge on the British exchequer would be £6,242,000, secured on a revenue of £10,850,000. Mr. Chamberlain, remarking that the original amount was £150,000,000, thought the scheme was most doubtful. Mr. Parnell reserved his opinion on the bill, but warned the landlords' friends that if rejected now, the offer would not be repeated. After considerable discussion the bill was read a first time, and the second reading was fixed for May 13. Among those who united to oppose both measures, Mr. Forster was no longer included. He had stated his strong objections to granting Home Rule until the condition of Ireland was much

changed, but he could then no longer take part in public affairs, and on the 6th of April this earnest and upright man passed to his rest, leaving members of all parties to speak in words of genuine regret of the loss of one who so simply but so eminently displayed "the courage of his convictions."

On the 10th of May Mr. Gladstone moved the second reading of the Irish Government Bill, and the debates and discussions, sustained by speeches in and out of parliament, rose to a pitch of excitement which appeared to exclude almost every other topic from political consideration. Not only Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton, and Mr. William O'Brien declared that they would faithfully observe the declarations of Mr. Gladstone with regard to the bill, but Mr. Dillon, denying the assertion so often made that this was not the bill that the Irish party wanted, but that they would temporarily accept it as the means of further demands, declared that, with some modifications suggested by Mr. Parnell, the Irish members would accept the measure as a settlement, and would work it honestly.

Lord Hartington in an able speech opposed the measure, and intimated unmistakably that from those who thought with him the ministry could not hope for any aid. It had been thought that those who followed Mr. Chamberlain might with him rejoin the main Liberal party on condition of the complete withdrawal of the bills and the introduction of measures of a much less pronounced character, but it soon became apparent that Mr. Chamberlain and those who were with him, no less than Mr. Goschen, were really antagonistic to any such decided measures as Mr. Gladstone was alone prepared to advocate. Mr. Chamberlain, indeed, after obtaining through Mr. Gladstone the permission of the Queen to explain the reasons for his resignation from the cabinet, insisted on reading a letter which he had at that period addressed to his chief, containing, as he contended, a statement of his views, which showed that he could no longer consistently remain a supporter of the proposed policy for Ireland.

On the 7th of June Mr. Gladstone, in words of solemn entreaty and much dignity, closed

the debate, and the division which followed showed that the government was defeated by a majority of thirty. The junction of the "Liberal Unionists" with the Tories had prevailed, and if in the general election which was to follow the dissolution of parliament Mr Gladstone's ministry was to return to power, it would be necessary for 180 seats to be won in order to gain for it the required majority.

Parliament was now occupied in closing the necessary work of the session, and though several useful measures were withdrawn, others were passed. Among these were bills for conferring on the mother the guardianship of her children after her husband's death, jointly with the guardians appointed by their father, a measure brought in by the attorney-general, Sir C. Russell, and the Shop Hours Regulation Bill, introduced by Sir John Lubbock, to limit the hours of work of children and young women employed in shops.

The session ended on the 25th of June, and parliament was dissolved "in order (to quote the Queen's speech, delivered by commission) to ascertain the sense of my people upon the important proposal to establish a legislative body in Ireland for the management of Irish as distinguished from Imperial affairs."

Addresses were quickly issued to constituents, and the divergence of opinion of the Liberal Unionists was sharply emphasized. Mr. Gladstone's message to the electors of Midlothian appeared on the 14th of June. A month before this date Lord Salisbury, whose early characteristic bitterness of speech had scarcely been corrected, had spoken at St James's Hall with a reckless indiscretion which seemed to belong as much to some of the Tory leaders as to the Irish Nationalists who were so constantly denounced for their violent declarations. It was to "the National Union of Conservative Associations" that he gave the assurance of his maintaining the traditional policy of the Tory party, and said that though he was not unfriendly to local self-government, the Home Rule now asked for meant separation, that Ireland was not a nation, but two nations, that there were races, like the Hot-

tentots and even the Hindoos, who were incapable of self-government, and he refused to place confidence in a people who had acquired the habit of using knives and slugs. His alternative policy was that parliament should enable the government of England to govern Ireland. "Apply that recipe honestly, consistently, and resolutely for twenty years, and at the end of that time you will find that Ireland will be fit to accept any gifts in the way of local government or repeal of coercion laws that you may wish to give her. What she wants is government—government that does not flinch, that does not vary, government that she cannot hope to beat down by agitations at Westminster, government that does not alter in its resolutions or its temperature to the party changes which take place at Westminster." He added that he would rather employ British wealth in aiding the emigration of a million Irishmen than in buying out landlords.

It is not easy to conceive a speech made by a statesman who had recently been prime-minister more exasperating to a people who at any rate were asking only for concessions which would give them no greater control over their own affairs than was enjoyed by the inhabitants of other portions of the empire.

The indignant remonstrances which were afterwards made against the terms that he had employed induced his lordship a few days later, at a meeting of the Primrose League, to deny that he intended what his words had been interpreted to mean.

Mr Gladstone in his address to his constituents, before putting forward the details of the policy which he had declared in parliament, said "Some method of governing Ireland other than coercion ought, as I thought, to be sought for and might be found. I therefore viewed without regret the fall of the late cabinet, and when summoned by her majesty to form a new one, I undertook it on the basis of an anti-coercion policy, with the fullest explanation to those whose aid I sought as colleagues that I proposed to examine whether it might be possible to grant to Ireland a domestic legislature, under conditions such as to maintain the honour and consolidate the unity of the empire. Two clear, positive, in-

telligible plans are before the world. There is the plan of the government and there is the plan of Lord Salisbury. Our plan is that Ireland should, under well-considered conditions, transact her own affairs. His plan is to ask parliament for new repressive laws, and to enforce them resolutely for twenty years, at the end of which time he assures us that Ireland will be ready to accept any gifts in the way of local government or the repeal of coercion laws that you may wish to give her."

Mr Gladstone in his journey to Scotland by the Midland Railway was everywhere received with an enthusiasm which showed that he had not lost the confidence of the public, and that he was still held in respect by multitudes of his countrymen. His subsequent visits to Manchester and Liverpool were attended by the same remarkable manifestations, and his addresses were listened to by almost overwhelming audiences.

His supporters no less than his opponents were also actively engaged in appealing to large meetings in various parts of the country. The excitement was phenomenal, but it was soon surmised that the balance of opinion, now preponderated by the secessionists from the Liberal ranks, would be against the measures presented to parliament. The popular apprehension had not yet reached to the meaning of that alternative government which was to be exemplified by strenuous and continued suppression, nor had it been able to accept the issues which were asserted to be inevitable if the bills propounded by Mr Gladstone's government were passed, even in the modified form which might be the result of the further consideration which he asked for them.

The result of the election was the return of 85 Parnellites, 78 Liberal Unionists, 191 Gladstonians, and 316 Tories. Of the 231 Gladstonians who voted for the measure only 193 were re-elected. Of the 93 Liberal Unionists who had voted against it and eight who had been absent, 73 were returned; but it was believed that, except on the question of Home Rule, a very large majority of them were more favourable to Mr Gladstone than to Mr. Chamberlain or Lord Hartington.

At any rate the Tories had increased their

adherents on the immediate question by 67, and though it would have been difficult to say that any party could command an absolute majority, the Unionist vote now controlled the situation. Mr Gladstone at once offered his resignation to the queen, who, by his advice, sent for Lord Salisbury.

It was at one time thought that a coalition government might be formed, or that Lord Hartington might consent to form a government with the support of the Tories, and Lord Salisbury actually offered to promote the latter arrangement, and even to take office in such a government. Lord Hartington declined. A ministry was therefore formed with Lord Iddesleigh as foreign secretary, Mr W. H. Smith, secretary for war, Lord George Hamilton, first lord of the admiralty, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, secretary for Ireland, the Marquis of Londonderry, viceroy, Lord Ashbourne, Irish chancellor. Mr Henry Matthews, Q.C., an Irishman and a Roman Catholic, who had defeated Alderman Cook in Birmingham, was appointed home secretary. As Mr Matthews had once been a supporter of Mr Isaac Butt and Home Rule, his appointment caused little less surprise than that of Lord Randolph Churchill for chancellor of the exchequer.

When the new parliament met in August there were some bitter discussions on the relative attitude of parties to the Irish question, but the government disclosed no important particulars as to the policy they intended to adopt, except that existing laws would be enforced, that local government would be a question for the whole United Kingdom, that Sir Redvers Buller would be sent with a military command to suppress the "reign of terror" in the west and south, but would be directly responsible to the chief secretary, and that perhaps three-quarters of a million would be spent on arterial drainage if the government were advised by experts to undertake it.

After a calm and dignified review of the question and the position taken by the government, Mr. Gladstone took no further part in the debate. He left England with some of his family for a short tour in Bavaria. Before leaving he had prepared a pamphlet on the

Irish question—"The History of an Idea" and "Lessons of the Elections"—in which he pointed out the successive events and developments by which the conclusion to which he had arrived respecting the government of Ireland had been completed. He estimated that his Irish policy was approved by three to two in Scotland, in Ireland by four and a half to one, in Wales by five to one, while in England 336 opponents had been returned against 129 supporters. But Mr Gladstone was still confident that the growth of public opinion would be in his favour, and that the more the people of England understood the real issues of the question and were able to reflect upon them, the more certainly would they recognize the justice of the demand on behalf of Ireland, and the impossibility of a continued policy of coercive and exasperating legislation.

Mr Parnell and his adherents professed and exhibited a like confidence, and moreover declared that while they could rely on the approaching recognition of the justice of the claims made by Mr Gladstone on their behalf, and the growth of unprejudiced and friendly consideration by the people of England, the Irish would accept their counsel of patience and moderation, and there would be a diminution of the number of offences which would not have been effected by coercive measures. That there was an increased determination on the part of the Liberals, both in Scotland and England, to uphold Mr Gladstone's policy was evident, and Lord Rosebery contended at the Newcastle Liberal Club that the falling off of Liberal votes had been due to the abstention of constituents from going to the poll rather than to hostility to Mr Gladstone. The Scottish Liberal Association passed, with only nine dissentients, a resolution of sympathy with Mr Gladstone on behalf of Home Rule for Ireland. At the conference of the National Liberal Federation, held at Leeds, a vote of unabated confidence in Mr Gladstone and a programme, the clauses of which were on out-and-out Liberal lines, were enthusiastically adopted.

The short session had been barren of results. A Tenants' Relief Bill for Ireland, proposed by Mr Parnell, had been refused, and there

were evidences that the demands made on the peasantry on some Irish estates were causing much suffering, and that unless some mitigation of the claims for the utmost possible rents and a suspension of the evictions for non-payment were promptly effected, the people on those estates would be driven to desperation. Relying on the accession to power of a government pledged to coercion and to the support of the landed interests, there were many (though there were eminent exceptions), especially among absentee landlords, on whose property the claims for higher rents than could possibly be paid by the impoverished tenants were followed by evictions, often enforced with cruelty and with hostile demonstrations which were sufficient incentives to hatred and defiance.

Mr Parnell had pleaded for the introduction of a Tenants' Relief Bill, as a temporary measure by which statutory tenants whose rents had been fixed before the expiration of the year 1884 might apply to the Land Commission for abatement, provided that half the rent due and half the arrears had been paid, and evidence could be given that payment of the rent in full would deprive the appellant of the means of buying stock and keeping the holding in cultivation. Leaseholders were to be enabled to apply for the relief of a fixed statutory rent before the expiration of their term of tenure, and proceedings for the recovery of rent were to be suspended on condition of the payment of half the rent and arrears. It was contended that such a temporary measure would be a readier means of inquiry than would be afforded by a proposed government commission, and that the great depression in prices of farm produce had not been taken into account when the judicial rents were fixed. The bill was rejected by 297 votes to 202, only one Liberal Unionist voting in its favour and 30 against it.

So great were the number of evictions in Kerry and the south of Ireland, and the severity with which they were accompanied was so marked, that the landlords or their agents appeared to be taking hasty advantage of the policy avowed by the government and supported by the Liberal Unionists who secured

its majorities The tenants in many cases offered stubborn resistance, but the poverty and distress were such that Sir Redvers Buller was impelled rather to endeavour to stay the evictions than to suppress the attempts to resist them Neither his efforts nor the deprecatory advice of some members of the government were sufficient to save the impoverished tenants from being besieged by bailiffs and "emergency men," who turned them out of their houses, or in case of resistance were supported by armed police constables while they pulled off the roofs, broke through the walls, and in some cases set fire to the buildings

In many instances when the notices of ejectment were served the tenants prepared for a desperate resistance The bailiffs coming to dispossess them were attacked from the windows with showers of missiles or with boiling water poured from the roof In some cases they were driven back, and for a time had to abandon the attempt, in others they succeeded in dragging the inmates out after a struggle in which they and their assailants sustained serious injuries, and the fray could only be ended by the interposition of the armed police, while the conflict was watched by crowds who sympathized with the evicted families, and could not be easily dispersed The parish priests, though they sometimes endeavoured to prevent further violence, often expressed their opinions in language which certainly did not discourage continued opposition to the law

The estate of Lord Clanricarde at Woodford, in Galway, one of the oldest hereditary properties in the country, had attained a certain pre-eminence by exhibiting many of the worst results of the system of evictions None of the tenants had ever seen "Lord Clanrack-rent," as he was significantly called They were in a condition of poverty for which there was no alleviation Representations which were made on their behalf or by themselves were unanswered Members of the National League declared that the people there were so driven to desperation, that they refused to listen to appeals urging them to refrain from violent resistance while the Home Rule Bill

was still before parliament They determined to withstand to the utmost the attempts to eject them from their holdings, and prepared for a conflict which resembled a succession of small sieges, in which the assailants met with such resistance that when they at last effected an entrance they had little to reward their persistency but heaps of ruined dwellings and demolished cottages

It was on this scene of misery that Mr John Dillon first made known the scheme which had been prepared by the National League, for enabling the tenants to offer an organized resistance to the demand for excessive rents, without resorting to what must in the end be a hopeless contest of violence This scheme, known as "the Plan of Campaign," was soon afterwards printed and disseminated all over Ireland, where it was to be seen posted up in public places in towns and villages, and was read by the peasantry in almost every cabin in the districts where evictions were threatened

It was issued at a time when there was a temporary lull in the process of ejecting tenants refusing to pay excessive rents, but it pointed out that in the coming winter evictions would recommence, and that decisive and effectual action must be taken before the "gale day" or the time for another demand from the rent officer

On each estate the tenants were to combine and to meet together, but though the branch of the National League in any district might assist in convening the meeting, the tenants were to be free to decide on the course they would adopt, and the action of one estate would not be in any way binding on another

Each assembly would appoint an intelligent chairman—the parish priest if he were present—and would decide by resolution on the amount of abatement that they would demand A managing committee of, say six persons, and the chairman should then be elected to take charge of the half-year's rent of each tenant should the landlord refuse it, every person present pledging himself to abide by the decision of the majority, to hold no communication with the landlord or any of his agents except in presence of the body of the

tenantry, and to accept no settlement for himself that was not given to every tenant on the estate.

No names of the committee were to be published. On the gale day the tenantry were to go in a body to the rent office, and if the agent would not see them, they were to depute their chairman to act as spokesman, to acquaint the agent with the reduction they required. No offer to accept the rent "on account" was to be agreed to. Should the agent refuse, every tenant was to hand to the managing committee the half-year's rent which he tendered to the agent. This money was to be deposited by the managing committee with some reliable person, whose name would be known only by members of the committee. This money was to form an estate fund, absolutely at the disposal of the managing committee, for fighting the landlord with. None of it was to be expended in law costs. In general it was to be devoted to the support of tenants dispossessed by sale or ejection, and was to be distributed to each evicted tenant in the proportion of his contribution to the fund.

The National League was to guarantee that, in the event of the trustee with whom the estate fund was placed being dishonest, the money should be made good to the tenants, and the proportionate grants given to them, and that when the estate fund was exhausted, or so diminished that it would not meet the required grants, the grants should be continued on the same scale by the National League, and that the grant should be continued as long as the struggle lasted and the majority of the tenants held out. Every lawful device was to be put in action to delay eviction, and if the evicted tenant were afterwards readmitted as caretaker, he should go in only on the understanding that he cared for no other farm than his own, while, should a tenant not be readmitted, shelter was to be procured for him immediately by the managing committee, and then, if necessary, a day should be appointed for all to assemble to build him a hut on some spot convenient to the farm where the landlord could not disturb him. Should the landlord burn or demolish

the home of an evicted family the committee were to consider, if only a little rent were due, whether action should be taken to compel the landlord to repair the injury. Advice was given how to act in case of sale of a farm by the sheriff, or the sale of cattle where the tenant had not already turned his cattle into money to be ready for the fight. In both cases farm or cattle were to be run up at the sale to the full amount of the debt for which they were seized, or a farm in which a tenant had a valuable interest might be put beyond the sheriff's power by mortgaging it to someone to whom the tenant owed money. A watchful eye was to be kept on cases of distress, where the landlord or agent was very likely to act contrary to the law, and would therefore be liable to action.

The fullest publicity was to be given to evictions, and every effort made to enlist public sympathy. It was unnecessary to say that the farms unjustly evicted would be left severely alone, and that everyone who aided the evictors would be shunned, but it was emphatically declared that the man who tried boycotting for a personal purpose was a worse enemy than the evicting landlord, and should be expelled from any branch of the League or combination of tenants.

This is the outline of the chief points of that Plan of Campaign, not upon all, but only upon about forty of the estates in Ireland. It was immediately successful, and before the end of the year several Irish members of parliament were collecting and taking charge of the money of the tenants. The government, who had refused Mr Parnell's proposal for a tenants' relief bill and had made no move in that direction, had now to proceed to suppress a formidable organization against the evicting landlords. Mr Dillon, Mr W O'Brien, and Mr Matthew Harris were arrested. The money that they had collected was seized, and they were taken before a magistrate and were with others summoned before a court of law in Dublin, but that did not stop them from pursuing the Plan of Campaign, which in the following year flourished exceedingly.

Meantime a fresh difficulty was occasioned by the sudden resignation of Lord Randolph

Churchill, who had been appointed chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. It was surmised that he objected to the action taken by the government in regard to the Plan of Campaign—it was known that he differed from Lord Salisbury on some points of foreign policy, but the immediate reason alleged for his resignation was his opposition to the demands made to increase the army and navy estimates. It was afterwards known that he differed widely from the government on the application of the closure in the House of Commons, and that he was already out of harmony with the declarations on the subject of coercion and the Irish question.

Nothing was heard of any endeavour to induce him to reconsider his determination. His resignation was apparently accepted as promptly as it was offered, and as Lord Hartington still declined Lord Salisbury's proposal to form a coalition government of which he was to be premier, Mr. Goschen—who was already more of a Tory than many of the Tories themselves—accepted the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and prepared for unmitigated contention with his former colleagues.

It was rumoured that Mr. Chamberlain, on his return from a foreign tour, sought to form a coalition with Lord Randolph Churchill, by which he might join the "Liberal Unionists" in proposing a measure of approximate self-government for Ireland that would include certain points of agreement with Mr. Gladstone, and enable them to return to the Liberal ranks. A Chamberlain-Churchill coalition had been already talked of outside parliament. As these gentlemen were said to be on exceedingly friendly terms, and were much alike in some significant characteristics, their political alliance was not altogether improbable, but the tentative proposition was not favourably received by the more advanced members of the Liberal Gladstonian party.

At a rather later date Mr. Gladstone himself was not only willing but desirous to encourage a confidential discussion of the political situation by the leaders of the Home Rule and the Unionist sections, for the pur-

pose, if possible, of securing common action by reducing to a minimum the divergence of opinion on the Irish question. This led to what were called the "Round Table" meetings, of which a good deal was heard at the time, but the proceedings of which led to some contradictory representations, showing plainly that Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Morley, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Trevelyan were not likely to come to an agreement. Mr. Morley afterwards declared that the conferences had broken down because of the unreconcilable language of Mr. Chamberlain's public declarations.

The Unionists were therefore practically committed to the support of the government, that the Irish policy avowed by the ministry might be maintained, and their numbers sufficed to give the Tories a solid majority.

In the later months of 1886 public attention had been considerably engaged in preparations for celebrating the jubilee of the reign of Her Majesty the Queen. The fiftieth anniversary, which would fall on the 20th of June, 1887, was to be made the occasion of a great state ceremonial at Westminster Abbey, at which all the royal family and a number of foreign potentates and their representatives were to be present. During that month of June throughout the kingdom, in the colonies and dependencies of the empire, wherever British subjects were to be found, the occasion was marked by many splendid festivities and solemn and appropriate observances, in which the foundation of charitable institutions was a conspicuous feature, and in almost every civilized country of the world the jubilee of the reign of Queen Victoria was marked by kindly and enthusiastic recognition, accompanied with expressions of respect and esteem.

It does not come within the scope of these pages to recount the demonstrations of affection and loyalty in which the people of this country took part. The "Jubilee" had, so to speak, a literature of its own, and the writer of these lines has already narrated the events which led to the succession of the queen to the throne, has chronicled the public and domestic life of the royal family, and



LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY RUSSELL & SONS

has described some of the principal celebrations which distinguished the jubilee year.¹

Partly in consequence of the diversion of public interest, political proceedings in the earlier part of a long and rather dreary session aroused comparatively little attention. From the 27th of January to the 16th of September, 1887, with only a fortnight's interval, the debates were chiefly devoted to the Irish question, and it will be sufficient to indicate the few useful and important measures which were proposed and promptly adopted before the ministry and their supporters, by successive errors, became involved in the slough of that irregular, if not unconstitutional, proceeding which will be historically known as "the Parnell Commission."

Large meetings of both parties were held, and while the Tory organization was represented by the Loyal and Patriotic Union, a London Liberal and Radical Union was added to the existing associations in the opposition interest. Just before the meeting of parliament, people of all shades of political opinion were much distressed by the sudden death of the Earl of Iddesleigh (Stafford Northcote), who had come to London to confer with Lord Salisbury, and to take leave of his subordinates at the foreign office, where he died suddenly of heart disease, a few minutes after his arrival, in one of the apartments in Downing Street. When parliament met Mr Gladstone expressed, in most eloquent and graceful language, the general sentiment of sorrow entertained by the house and the country at the loss they had sustained.

The first business brought forward by the government was the new rules of procedure, which gave the initiative of the closure to the majority instead of to the chairman, the motion for closure to be made by any member with the consent of the chair, and to be carried by a majority, provided that no fewer than 200 were in favour of it. The proposition led to a series of debates, and was not carried till the 18th of March.

In addition to many important amendments in existing acts, the reduction of the duty on

tobacco, the remission of a penny of income-tax, changes in the system of terminable annuities, and the establishment of a fund for local loans, there were improvements in the tenure of allotments and cottage gardens, which provided compensation to occupiers for crops left in the ground at the end of their tenancy, for labour and manure since the last crop taken, and for unexhausted improvements made with the landlords' consent.

In Scotch crofters' holdings the commissioners were to have power to protect tenants' effects from sale for arrears during the time that application for fair rent was under decision.

An important measure was passed to permit the conditional release on probation of first offenders in certain cases, where the person convicted had not incurred a sentence of more than two years' imprisonment. The enactment known as the "Merchandise Marks Act" provided against the fraudulent imitation of British trade-marks by foreign manufacturers or consigners and British consignees or manufacturers, and that act has since been strictly enforced, with the result that forgeries of British trade-marks on goods imported from abroad has been to a very great extent prevented.

The act for facilitating the provision of allotments for the labouring classes, authorized any district sanitary authority, upon requisition, to purchase or hire by agreement suitable land for allotments, at a cost which the rent of such allotments would recoup, or should such agreement not be concluded, gave the county authority power to make a provisional order, subject to confirmation by parliament, to confer compulsory power upon the district authority. No person to hold an allotment of more than one acre, and no sub-letting to be allowed, but common pasture to be in some cases provided.

The Railway and Canal Traffic Bill was not passed till the following session. It was the resumption of the principle of the measure which had been introduced by Mr Mundella in the previous government, and provided for a commission of the Board of Trade to consider the incidence of railway rates and charges.

¹ *Our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria Her Life and Jubilee* By Thomas Archer Blackie & Son, Limited

In the discussion of the principal measures brought before parliament Mr Gladstone took a prominent part, and seriously criticised some of the financial proposals of Mr Goschen, especially those to diminish the annual payment for reducing the national debt, but throughout the session the Irish question still loomed beyond all other subjects of legislation.

The action of the government was prompt and decided. Mr Dillon had been ordered by the Court of Queen's Bench to find securities for £3000 within twelve days or to be imprisoned for six months. He and five other defendants were committed for trial by a magistrate in Dublin, but the jury failed to agree in the prosecution for conspiracy. A proclamation had been issued against the Plan of Campaign, but the severe measures taken to suppress the National League and to prevent political meetings were met with defiance by the Irish leaders, who, while they continued to oppose evictions and to hold meetings for promoting the Plan of Campaign, averred that it was by their efforts to prevent agrarian crime, and by the hope that the justice of their cause was at last understood and acknowledged by the English people, that the number of offences had diminished.

The resignation of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach because of a serious affection of the eyes, led to the appointment of Mr Arthur Balfour, the nephew of Lord Salisbury, as secretary for Ireland. Mr Balfour, who had been private secretary to Lord Salisbury, and whose name has been mentioned in a previous page as one of the "Fourth party," held the appointment of secretary for Scotland, which he relinquished that he might undertake his new and more onerous duties. His comparative youth and reputed delicacy of constitution gave rise to some doubts whether he would be able to fulfil the arduous task allotted to him, but it was soon found that he was ready to support the newly proposed measures for the government in Ireland, with a resolute vigour which the Irish party characterized as a proof of implacable tyranny and an abandonment of all sympathy with the just aspirations of the Irish people and

the sufferings of the peasantry. That he became the object of repeated invective and of violent accusations was not surprising, and it cannot be denied that the resolute determination and apparent alacrity with which he carried out the subsequent provisions of the Crimes Act in imprisoning those leaders of the National League who made themselves liable to its stringent repressions, and the earnestness with which he set about the suppression of boycotting and the prevention of political meetings in the proclaimed districts, gave some colour to the repeated charges of vindictive action which were brought against him both in and out of parliament. The "Crimes Bill," under which these proceedings were intensified, was introduced by Mr. Balfour, who on March 21st gave notice of the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill, and Mr W H Smith urged that it should have precedence of other measures, and be passed quickly through its various stages.

The measure provided that by order of the attorney-general inquiries might be held by resident magistrates and witnesses examined upon oath, although no person might be charged, whenever it appeared upon sworn information that certain offences had been committed in a proclaimed district. Power was given for a trial by the magistrates, of persons accused of certain crimes under the act, and punishment not exceeding six months' hard labour might be inflicted. Power was given (with a right of protest by the defendant) to change the place of trial for a crime committed in a proclaimed district. Either the defendant or the attorney-general might demand a special jury.

The lord-lieutenant in council might declare by proclamation that the provisions of the act relating to proclaimed districts should be in force in any district. By special proclamation, with some limitations, he might declare that any association formed for the commission of crimes, or encouraging or aiding persons to commit crimes, or promoting or inciting to violence or intimidation, or interfering with the administration of the law or disturbing the maintenance of law and order, was a dangerous association, and as such it might be

suppressed, and any person attending a meeting or in any way taking part in the proceedings of such a suppressed association, was declared guilty of an offence under the act. Such special proclamation was to be laid before parliament within seven days, and might be set aside within fourteen days after being so brought before parliament upon address to the crown by either house. If issued during a recess it was to expire at the end of a week from date of issue unless parliament were summoned to meet at twenty days' notice.

It will easily be seen, that though on the face of it this measure might be defended as an extraordinary remedy, it might be so interpreted as to become an instrument for suppressing political and individual freedom, and the Home Rulers did not hesitate to contend that this was its scope and intention. The debates on its provisions were long and acrimonious, the determination with which it was upheld on one side and denounced on the other led to scenes of disorder and to personal recriminations between the Irish members and their opponents. In April a demonstration against the bill was held in Hyde Park, when 100,000 people were present. On its first reading, when under new rules of procedure Mr W. H. Smith moved that "the question be now put," Mr Gladstone had risen and walked towards the "No" lobby amidst the cheers of his supporters and the Home Rulers, and after the division in favour of the closure they left the house, refusing to vote for the first reading, which was therefore adopted without a division. This was repeated at some subsequent stages, and when the bill was in committee, though "urgency" was demanded for it, and the closure was applied, it was not passed till July, and immediately afterwards eighteen Irish counties were proclaimed under the act, and prosecutions and imprisonments of Irish leaders began to be carried out in earnest. Meetings were forbidden or suppressed, and, as was said at the time, anyone in Ireland might be punished for "making a face" at a policeman.

The passing of the Crimes Bill through committee was expedited by the application of the closure in the new rules of procedure,

the Irish members leaving the house. On the motion for the third reading Mr Gladstone moved the rejection of the bill, which he said had been introduced as an alternative to the policy of Home Rule, and was altogether unwarranted by the state of crime in Ireland. It was coercion of a new kind, for which there was no precedent, and while pretending to aim at the suppression of crime, it was aimed at the freedom of political associations. The bill would not have been so strenuously opposed had it been simply directed against crime, but the provision which placed political associations at the mercy of the chief secretary was altogether novel, and an outrage on public liberty. As to the attempt to prevent exclusive dealing, he challenged the government to propose a similar law for England.

The Irish Land Bill proposed by the government was introduced by Lord Cadogan in the House of Lords on the 31st of March (1887). It was framed after reports had been received from a royal commission which had been appointed to inquire into the subject, and had occupied from October to the middle of December in the previous year, in holding sixty sittings in various central districts in Ireland, and examining 305 witnesses of various classes. The commission was known as Lord Cowper's Commission, and consisted of five members—Earl Cowper, the Earl of Milltown, Sir James Caird, Mr John Chute Neligan, and Mr. Thomas Knipe. The main provisions of the bill were the admission of all leaseholders (150,000 in number) to court to ask for a judicial revision of their rents, permission to all middlemen and leaseholders who had sublet their lands to throw up their leases if the court reduced the rents of their tenants, permission to a landlord who had obtained judgment of eviction to make his tenant a "caretaker" without first evicting him. The county court was endowed with an equitable jurisdiction, to hear complaints from tenants, to give them time when necessary, and, if they were honestly insolvent, to relieve them in the same manner as under the bankruptcy law from all or part of their debts, including rent, and in certain cases to reinstate them in their holdings at a fair rent. On the other hand,

a landlord who could not get his rent was, under the bill, to be exempted from the payment of rates. The bill was to be followed by a measure for abolishing the dual ownership created by the act of 1881.

Mr Parnell was not slow to declare that this Land Bill, taken in conjunction with the Crimes Bill, revealed the general and complete policy of the government "in all its naked dishonesty." In moving that the House immediately resolve itself into a committee to consider the state of Ireland, he said it was intended by the Tory party and the Liberal Unionists on the one side to coerce, if possible, the tenants of Ireland into the payment of impossible rents, and on the other side to compel the purchase of the landlords' interests at exorbitant prices, which would lead to repudiation on a wholesale scale, and great loss on the part of the English tax-payers. He had always thought that the solution of the Irish land question depended upon the purchase of their holdings by the tenants. In 1879 he had been called a robber for advocating this plan. In 1880 the Irish party were held up to public odium for proposing steps directed to the same end. He had never doubted that in a scheme of land purchase lay the only hope of settling the land question. If this were done on a fair basis in the absence of coercion the Irish tenant would fulfil his obligations to the last penny, for he would feel as one who drags a lessening instead of a lengthening chain behind him, and the transaction would therefore be unattended by any risk to the British tax-payer, but the proposals of the government wanted every element of security and satisfaction, for they were going to subject the unfortunate tenants and their advocates to the most terrible penalties in the event of their daring to say a word against the ministerial view or the view of the Irish landlords.

Some important modifications and amendments to the bill were suggested by Mr Chamberlain, and some, which were still more acceptable to the Irish representatives, by Lord Randolph Churchill. Amendments were adopted in relation to leaseholders and judicial rents. The bankruptcy clauses were struck out and some new clauses were added. The

bill was not further opposed by the Irish party, both Mr Parnell and Mr Dillon tacitly accepting it with such reservations as they had already expressed in regard to the probable effects of some of its remaining clauses. On the 18th it became law. On the following day, amidst the cheers of the ministerialists and the equally emphatic disapproval of the opposition, Mr Balfour announced the proclamation of the National League as a dangerous association.

On the 25th of August Mr Gladstone moved an address to the crown praying for the withdrawal of the proclamation. He contended that the information on which the lord-lieutenant acted should be laid before parliament, that the want of such information destroyed all safeguards for the just exercise of such power, that the proclamation was directed not against crime but against combination, the arbitrary will of the lord-lieutenant being substituted for the decisions of the courts of law, that the clauses of the Crimes Act for the suppression of dangerous associations were intended to be carried out by summary jurisdiction, which superseded trial by jury and virtually suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, that while the proclamation effected nothing by being brought before parliament, the House would have no control over the orders which were to follow, as they would be left to the arbitrary and unmitigated operation of the executive.

Mr Balfour, in reply, spoke of the returns of boycotting, the reports of the Cowper Commission, and confidential reports to the government. He represented that the government had not thought it expedient to proclaim the League till after the passing of the Land Act, and denied that the League was a political association in the sense understood in England and Scotland, or that it had any analogy with an English trade-union, because of the difference in the methods used to attain the object in view. Forgetting the earlier history of trades-unions he ridiculed the notion of a trade combination in England having recourse to outrages such as those which he alleged were practised by the National League. Mr Gladstone's motion was negatived.

The numerous speeches made outside parliament at various meetings, including dinner parties and garden parties, held for political more than for social reasons, were marked by considerable emphasis and no little recrimination and invective, which even the general celebration of the Queen's jubilee scarcely seemed to mitigate. Amidst the unusual excitement that accompanied public observances and numerous assemblies for philanthropic objects, the Irish question and the strained relations of political parties could be only temporarily suspended. Endeavours to suppress political gatherings in Ireland, and the determination with which the Irish leaders persisted in holding meetings at unexpected times and places, aroused a certain degree of sympathy in some quarters, especially in cases where there was no obvious attempt to incite the people to riot or disorder. The first evictions at Woodford in January had been succeeded by others at Glenbeigh, which were prosecuted with great severity, and were witnessed by some English visitors, whose accounts of them made a distinct impression on the public sense of humanity. At a place called Bodyke, evictions had been effected by aid of the police, to whom some of the tenants offered a determined resistance, and a few days after the passing of the Crimes Act Mr Davitt visited the place, and with words of commendation presented medals to those who had taken this course, and, as he appeared to declare, had thus fulfilled the duty of resisting a criminal or illegal act of eviction. The government retorted by proclaiming Ireland generally to be under the clauses of the Crimes Act which related to rioting, unlawful assembly, obstructing the police, and holding unlawful possession. These terms do not in themselves indicate the power of suppression which the interpretation of them included when the clauses were applied to the extinction, in Ireland, of expressions of political freedom which were common in England. As though with a design to test their operation, Mr W O'Brien, M.P., the editor of *United Ireland*, went in the early days of August to Mitchelstown, in county Cork, to encourage some of the people there to persistent opposition. The govern-

ment ordered a prosecution against him, but before the trial he presided at a meeting of the National League in Dublin, where he denounced the action of the government, and said that the people would be driven to adopt a sweeping plan of campaign.

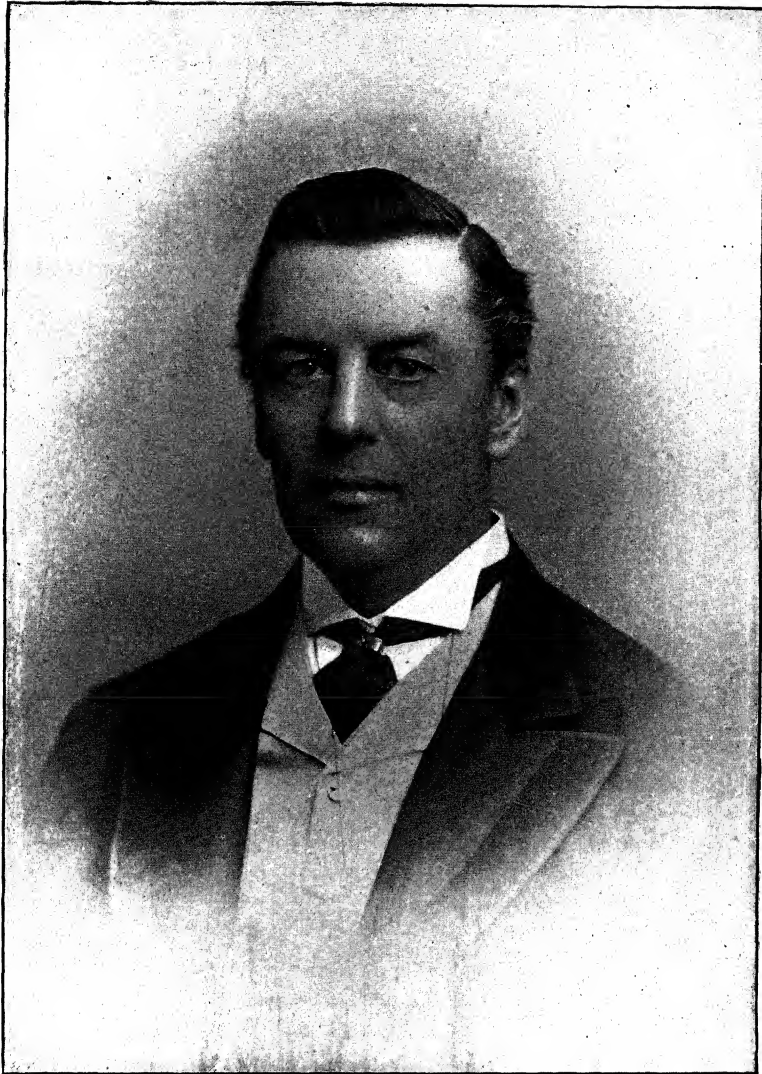
A local meeting was summoned at Ballycure, near Ennis, but this was proclaimed, and some smaller meetings were held, watched by troops and police constables, but no disturbances ensued. Mr O'Brien and Mr Mandeville, summoned to the petty sessions at Mitchelstown for their complicity in the proceedings of the Plan of Campaign, disregarded the summons and did not appear. A meeting was called to be held on the day of the hearing, but no such demonstration was made until after the proceedings at the court-house had concluded, and the witnesses for the prosecution having been examined, warrants were issued for the arrest of the two absent defendants. Then the demonstration began, but it was of a quiet and orderly kind. Several contingents from the adjacent country districts marched into Mitchelstown, and a procession of cars from Cahur brought Mr Dillon, Mr Labouchere, Mr Condon, and Mr Brunner, members of parliament, several priests, leaders of the National League, and a number of English visitors, including some ladies, who sympathized with the movement. A general procession was formed, and with bands playing national airs marched to the public square in the centre of the town, where about 8000 persons assembled. The speakers were to address the meeting from the cars, and Mr John Dillon had just commenced when there was a sudden disturbance on the outskirts of the crowd. At all these meetings a police or government reporter had been present, and the Nationalists had never in any way tried to prevent it or made the least difficulty in the matter, so that had the reporter been there at the right time a place would at once have been assigned to him on the car close to the speakers. As it was he went late, and found himself outside a tightly-packed crowd, each member of which was intently listening to the speaker. It was scarcely likely that anybody would have got through very readily, but to attempt to

force a way through was an outrage, and this the police escort endeavoured to do for the reporter, using what may be called contemptuous violence. It was an act of criminal folly, and the crowd resented it and defended themselves, the police retired for reinforcements, returned in a much stronger body, and again attempted to break through the main crowd. There was a struggle, the men in the crowd, many of whom carried sticks, turned to defend themselves, and the police, finding themselves likely to be overpowered by numbers, hastened back to their barracks, from the windows of which they fired a volley. Mr Balfour and the supporters of the government afterwards represented this to have been in self-defence, but Mr. Labouchere and others who witnessed it declared that it was unnecessary and aggressive. One old man was shot dead, a young man mortally wounded, and several persons were seriously injured. The people's blood was up, and but for the efforts of Mr Dillon, who exposed himself to imminent danger in his endeavours, the barracks would have been attacked, and the results would have been most serious. With difficulty the officials were persuaded to order the police to cease firing and to withdraw, that the crowd might quietly disperse, which they ultimately did, through the influence of the priests and the Nationalist leaders. The inquiry which was afterwards held proved that the police, whether under superior orders or not, had acted in a manner which was calculated to disturb the public peace and to cause a serious outbreak, but though this was the case, and a coroner's jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against the county inspector and three constables, no serious rebuke was administered to anyone, and the government, instead of blaming, went as far as possible in the way of commending its executive.

Mr Gladstone afterwards, in referring to the results of the government measures in Ireland, had said, "remember Mitchelstown," and for this he was assailed by his opponents, and especially by Mr Goschen, who spoke of it as a "profligate expression," but such invectives were not likely to alarm Mr Gladstone, who said, "Though I regret it very much,

it has become a matter of absolute necessity, not only to remember Mitchelstown, but even to mention Mitchelstown. It was our duty from the first to keep it in our minds for consideration at the proper time, but the sanction given to such proceedings by the executive government, of which the power in Ireland is enormous, requires from us plain and unequivocal and straightforward declarations, with a view to the formation of a sound opinion in England, in order that the pestilent declarations of Mr Balfour may not be adopted, as they might be with great excuse, by his subordinate agents, and may not be a means of further invasion of Irish liberty and possibly of further destruction of Irish life. To speak plainly, I say that the law was broken by the agents of the law, and that it is idle to speak to the Irish people about obeying the law if the very government that so speaks, and that brings these bills, has agents who break the law by advisedly and violently breaking the order of public meetings, and who are sustained in that illegal action."

Mr O'Brien and Mr Mandeville having been tried for their action with regard to the Plan of Campaign on the Kingston estates were sentenced to imprisonment, but appealed, and before the hearing a meeting was called at Woodford (Kerry) to protest against the severity of the evictions of Lord Clanricarde's tenants. The meeting was proclaimed, a great force of troops and constables were sent to the district to suppress it. The day arrived, a serious collision was feared, though the Nationalists made no demonstration. Nothing happened, there was no meeting, the soldiers and policemen retired comfortably for the night, when silently and promptly the Nationalists arrived from all directions at the place appointed, and held an orderly, earnest, and picturesque torchlight meeting, during which Mr O'Brien spoke from a window and burnt the official proclamation. Among those who were present was Mr Wilfrid Blunt, whose name was so prominent in the affairs of Egypt and the Soudan. He was afterwards prosecuted for holding another meeting which had been proclaimed and violently suppressed by the police. He, like Mr. O'Brien and



JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIOTT & FRY, LONDON

others, was imprisoned, a penalty shared by several members of parliament who were Nationalist leaders, and by Mr T D Sullivan, lord-mayor of Dublin and proprietor of the *Nation* newspaper, who was sentenced for reporting the proceedings of suppressed branches of the National League against the orders of the government. He went to trial in state, preceded by the mace and attended by the high-sheriff and the corporation in official robes, and as the magistrate first dismissed the case on the ground of insufficient proof, returned amidst acclamations of the people. But the objection to committal was overruled, and Mr Sullivan was afterwards sentenced, though the magistrate would only send him to prison as a first-class misdemeanant.

About this time Mr Chamberlain—not, of course, to be outdone by Lord Randolph Churchill—went on a kind of triumphal progress through Ulster to encourage the opponents of Home Rule. Then followed a semi-official visit of Lord Hartington and Mr Goschen to Dublin, where the former argued against Mr Gladstone's demand for Home Rule, by claiming as the willing concession of the British parliament the measure of disestablishment which Mr Gladstone himself had inaugurated and carried. The year ended, so far as Ireland was concerned, with the decided separation of the Fenians from the Nationalists, and the reduction by the Irish land commissions of all the judicial rents fixed since 1881 from 6 to 20 per cent, an alteration which applied to 114,647 judicial rents, and represented £360,000 a year, the loss of which was regarded as a grievance by the landlords, although they had long given up all hopes of getting payment of arrears in full. The Nationalists represented the measure as combining the very minimum concession to the tenants with the very maximum disregard of the so-called rights of the landlords. Thus the jubilee year closed, but we must go back to its earlier months that we may trace in briefest outline the events which led the government,—blinded by their determination to yield neither favour nor justice to their opponents,—to pursue the devious path ending in the Parnell Commission. With the more recent phases of

this series of blunders the present concluding chapter of social and political progress must end.

The *Times* newspaper was ready not only to support the government and its converts in their coercive policy for Ireland, but to provide arguments and to publish what was represented to be collected evidence in its justification, accompanied with violent accusations against the members of the National League and the Irish representatives in parliament. The language used against the Irish party by adherents of the government was distinguished by the same kinds of invective and unbridled declaration as that which appeared in the *Times*, and there was soon an obvious connection between them. The speakers on the government side in and out of parliament, emboldened by what they regarded as the authority of "the leading journal," which was not only collating and expounding reports of recent manifestations in Ireland, but was using money and influence to obtain what was represented to be crushing evidence, denounced the Irish leaders in terms of increasing acrimony. On the other hand the *Times*, encouraged by the tacit support of the government representatives and the evident approval given to its representations, intensified its aspersions, and published charges not only against the National League as a body, but against individual members of it, which were unjustifiable except under the most extreme conditions, and in the light of open and indisputable proofs.

It is obvious that a powerful journal with widely extending connections and great pecuniary resources, would have little difficulty in obtaining almost any kind of evidence it might be supposed to desire, by employing agents who were in communication with various unscrupulous persons. It is equally manifest that there would be considerable probability of such evidence being invented or concocted. That this was the case in some of the most important instances on which the *Times* relied for the support of its charges was soon amply proved. The course pursued not only in obtaining but in accepting the evidence on which "the leading journal" depended for establishing the accusations which it recklessly pro-

mulgated, remains an amazing example of the extremities to which political rancour may lead. Unhappily the government was also led by political rancour to the same extremity. The result was that they appeared to every unprejudiced observer to be not only endorsing the declarations of the *Times*, but to be committing themselves to the protection of the *Times* by a refusal of the regular parliamentary means by which the Irish members might personally demand an inquiry on the grounds of breach of privilege.

In one of the series of articles in the *Times* which were published under the suggestive title of "Parnellism and Crime," Mr Dillon's allegation that he and Mr Parnell and others of his colleagues had no connection with the murderous conspiracies of P J Sheridan and others, who had ceased to have any association with Mr. Parnell and the "constitutional organization" of the League, was declared to be "demonstrably and flagrantly false," and Sir Charles Lewis brought the matter before the House, moving that it was a breach of privilege. The debate was adjourned to the following day, when Mr W. H. Smith stated that the government had come to the conclusion that the article did not constitute a breach of privilege, but, admitting the right of the Irish members to demand an inquiry, would consent to a prosecution being instituted by the attorney-general against the *Times*, and that Mr Dillon should conduct the proceedings. Such a strange semblance of a concession was not likely to commend itself either to Mr Dillon personally or to his colleagues as a representative body, and it was refused. The solicitor-general then moved as an amendment to Sir C. Lewis' motion, that the House declined to treat the *Times* article as a breach of privilege. This was carried, and Mr Gladstone's proposed amendment for the appointment of a select committee was rejected. Mr Parnell and the Irish representatives had already a far stronger case than this against the *Times*. The series of articles "Parnellism and Crime" were republished in pamphlet form, and had, like other publications, been distributed throughout the country by the usual agency of those railway book-stalls which were a part

of the organization of the business of which Mr W. H. Smith, first lord of the treasury and leader of the House, was the head. Those articles concluded with an intimation that unpublished evidence existed which would "bind still closer the links between the 'constitutional' chiefs and the contrivers of murder and outrage."

On the 18th of April, 1887, there appeared another article headed, "Parnellism and Crime: Mr Parnell and the Phoenix Park Murders," couched in such virulent terms that nothing could have excused them, except the possession of absolutely unassailable evidence. This (documentary) evidence, in the form of letters alleged to have been written or signed by Mr Parnell, the article declared *was* in the possession, and had long been in the custody of the *Times*, and had "a most serious bearing on the Parnellite conspiracy." We produce one document in facsimile to-day by a process, the accuracy of which cannot be impugned, and we invite Mr Parnell to explain how his signature has become attached to such a letter."

The facsimile followed. It purported to be that of a letter, the body of which was not in Mr Parnell's handwriting, but signed by him, addressed to Patrick Egan, the former treasurer of the Land League after the Phoenix Park assassinations, and was as follows — "15/5/82 Dear Sir,—I am not surprised at your friend's anger, but he and you should know that to denounce the murders was the only course open to us. To do that promptly was plainly our best policy. But you can tell him and all others concerned that though I regret the accident of Lord F. Cavendish's death I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts. You are at liberty to show him this, and others whom you can trust also, but let not my address be known. He can write to House of Commons'." This occupied the first page of a sheet of note-paper, and was *rather crowded* at the bottom of the page, as though the writer had seen that he would barely have space to get all the words in. Nearly at the top of the *fourth* page followed the words, "Yours very truly Chas S Parnell," which, "after a most careful

and minute scrutiny," were declared to be in Mr Parnell's own handwriting. The wording or composition of the letter, the improbability that such a communication would have been intrusted to an amanuensis, and perhaps still more the singular situation of the signature on the fourth page, might possibly have given rise to some doubt to any but an opponent eager to publish a damning accusation. The latter peculiarity was, however, ingeniously accounted for as being "an obvious precaution, so that the half-sheet might, if necessary, be torn off and the letter disclaimed"—a result which a person of only ordinary intelligence would fancy might have been secured by destroying the letter altogether. These and some other points were at once indicated by various newspapers, whose words were quoted in the *Times* itself, which also published the telegram immediately sent by Patrick Egan, who was in Nebraska, to Mr Labouchere, declaring that no such letter had been written to him by Parnell, and that the whole thing was a base fabrication. These and other denials did not arrest the invectives and declarations of the *Times* and its supporters. They were continued and repeated with increased emphasis. Mr Parnell, who at first had suspected that some one had obtained his autograph at the head of a blank sheet of note-paper a long time previously, and that the letter had been written on the opposite page, soon discovered that the signature was a not very clever imitation of the manner in which he used to write his name some years before, but had abandoned long before the date of the letter. He declared in the House of Commons that it was a barefaced forgery, and asserted that he would willingly have placed his own body between Lord Frederick Cavendish and the assassin's knife. The animus of the supporters of the government was shown by their cries of "Burke! Burke!" which were met by the declaration that he would have done the same for Mr Burke.

Nothing would avail to mitigate the infatuation of political animosity shown both by the "leading journal" and the ministerialists. All the measures of the government were supported by the Unionists, of whom Mr Morley

afterwards said—"They say that there is a great gulf between us, and it is true, there is a gulf, and their political morality is at the bottom of it." Mr Gladstone spoke frequently with his customary force and eloquence in support of the claims of Ireland and of her representatives in parliament, and in deprecation and sometimes denunciation of the policy of suppression which was carried out by the chief secretary, in accordance with that interpretation of the Crimes Act which created and punished as criminal offences actions which in other places than Ireland were regarded only as of political significance. Some of the Irish representatives were repeatedly in prison, and against Mr William O'Brien especially the law was constantly being enforced. No right of public meeting for any political purpose was permitted in Ireland, and any printed notice of such meeting was forbidden. Of course many meetings were held in spite of these repressive measures, and with the inevitable results of occasional conflicts, numerous arrests, and a more stringent application of laws the meaning of which was so intensified as to produce those "vicious social conditions" condemned by Mr Gladstone. On the 25th of June (1888) Mr Morley moved a censure on the government administration in Ireland. Speeches were delivered by leaders on both sides of the House, and the motion was rejected by 366 votes to 273.

Mr F. H. O'Donnell, former M. P. for Dungarvan and a follower of Mr Parnell, had in the previous November commenced action for libel against the chief proprietor and director of the *Times* (Mr Walter) on account of statements in "Parnellism and Crime," which he contended applied to him as one of the Parnellite party. The defence was that the alleged libels did not relate to him, and that the charges complained of were true.

The brief for the *Times* was held by Sir Richard Webster, the attorney-general, who, in proof of the latter part of the defence, repeated, and, in attempting to justify, of course amplified, some of the worst of the accusations. Mr. Parnell had attended in court in the reasonable expectation that he would be called as a witness, and would have an opportunity

of answering upon oath the charges made against him, and of denying the authenticity of the letter published by the *Times* and of other letters read by the attorney-general in court. On the second of July Mr. Parnell asked leave to make a personal explanation (of which this was part) in parliament, and, after reading the letters attributed to him, pronounced them to be palpable and absurd forgeries. On the twelfth he recurred to the subject, and asked the government to assent to the appointment of a select committee to inquire and report on the authenticity of the letters affecting members of the House, read by the attorney-general at the trial.

Mr. W. H. Smith, on behalf of the government, stated that their opinion had not altered with regard to the incompetency of the proposed committee to deal with the question, but they were willing to propose an act appointing a commission to inquire into the allegations against members by the defendants in the recent action. The acceptance of the bill appointing this commission was stated to be at the option of Mr. Parnell and his colleagues, but when it was introduced four days afterwards as the "Charges and Allegations Bill" no choice of acceptance or rejection was offered, and the government announced that they intended to proceed with it in any case.

It was not surprising that the fact of an interview of the first lord of the treasury and his "old friend," Mr. Walter, should have been brought forward in the ensuing debate, though it was explained as an occurrence that had in no way influenced the determination of the government. Still less surprising were the expressions of dissatisfaction that the attorney-general, the official legal adviser of the government, was engaged to conduct the case for the *Times*, especially as Mr. Smith claimed for the government the fullest liberty of action, and would not promise that the attorney-general should not attend the cabinet meeting for discussing the bill and appointing the commission. No objections of the opposition or of the Irish representatives who sought inquiry were to be listened to. The appointment of Mr. Justice Day was questioned on political grounds, but the nomination was upheld.

The government was acting without due regard to constitutional right, and, instead of listening to remonstrances for their conduct, adopted the old plan of "bouncing it out."

The bill was passed on the 8th of August. The commission was appointed, and consisted of Justices Hannen, Day, and Archibald L. Smith. In the House of Lords it was contended by Lord Herschell that Mr. Parnell and the Irish party had been treated with great unfairness. A commission of judges was not a proper tribunal for deciding political questions, but as the government had resolved that a commission of judges should decide these questions, regard should have been had to their political opinions, because it was ridiculous to suppose that the judges had always been up in a balloon and were insensible to the political feelings which influenced their fellow-men.

It is to be noted that the act appointing the commission being without a precedent there was no example for the commission to follow as to the course of procedure. They did not pursue the plan which would have been adopted by a royal commission of inquiry, because they thought that by calling witnesses they would be taking the position of prosecutors instead of judges. As they did not, of course, wish to prosecute the *Times*, which was the offender whose statements were to be the subject of inquiry, they fell into the opposite error of trying the *complainants* by deciding "that the inquiry should be conducted as though an issue had been directed to be tried to determine whether or not the persons charged had been guilty of the acts alleged against them."

It is to be observed that the "persons charged" meant not the *Times*, against which relief was sought, but the complainants for whom it was pretended that the commission had been appointed. Having no other precedent the commission adopted the procedure of an ordinary court of justice, but with the difference that the persons appearing before them seemed somehow to change places. It is not contended here that this had the ultimate effect of causing injustice to be done so far as the judgment of the commission was concerned,

but it was a remarkable fact that members of the government and its supporters continued to speak of the trial and the commission as though, instead of an inquiry designed to meet the demand of men against whom charges of horrible crime had been brought, these men themselves, and especially he who had been most aspersed, were virtually undergoing prosecution in a criminal court.

Mr Gladstone pointed out that there would be a danger of the issue of the inquiry being diverted from the restriction of the charges to definite accusations against individuals, and that it might be so generalized as to seek to include in a confused and indefinite way the whole or nearly the whole of the Nationalist representatives in parliament. When the *Times* was called upon to name the persons accused against whom it was to give evidence in proof of the charges the list included sixty-five persons. All the members of parliament appeared, and with three exceptions were represented by solicitors and counsel. Sir Charles Russell was retained for the "accused," or "respondents" as the complainants were called. With him was Mr Asquith. With the attorney-general for the *Times* was Sir Henry James, and other counsel took some part in the proceedings. The "accusers" were advised to formulate, according to the articles in "Parnellism and Crime," the charges and allegations which they intended to make, and to substantiate by evidence.

The sittings of the commission commenced on Oct 17th. It would be impossible within the present limits of these pages to follow its protracted proceedings, or even to give the faintest outline of the evidence of the enormous number of witnesses called on both sides. In the neighbourhood of the new courts of justice were to be seen Irish farmers, peasants, parish priests, tradesmen, and persons of no ostensible occupation, and a few women. Many had been summoned from remote parts of Ireland, and some from America and from France. As the inquiry dragged its slow length along the public wearied of it, but it soon appeared that, at all events, the worst charges of the *Times* could not be so substantiated as to justify or even to excuse the

manner and the extent of the accusations. It is not surprising that the means by which much of the evidence on which the *Times* depended for the strengthening of its case was procured should have called to the front a number of false witnesses. Where considerable sums of money might be obtained, it could only be expected that perjurers, spies, and forgers would represent that they had important evidence to sell. Public interest had been waning when it was revived by the report that the inquiry had reached the point of examining the letters attributed to Mr Parnell. In the evidence already taken on the subject Captain O'Shea had stated his belief that the signature to the letter which had been published in the *Times* was that of Mr Parnell, but the year had closed without serious incrimination of any of the Irish representatives in parliament. Mr Parnell had brought a separate action against the *Times* in the Scotch court, but in March, 1889, it was dismissed, Lord Kinnear declaring that the court had no jurisdiction. Imprisonments had been going on in Ireland, and Mr Balfour had aided the evictions on the Clanricarde estate by sending soldiers to help the police and the bailiffs. Mr William O'Brien had been sentenced to five months' imprisonment in January, and to six months' imprisonment in February, 1889.

These events were eclipsed by the announcement in February that the man, Richard Pigott, from whom the *Times* had obtained the incriminating letters was in London, and prepared to give evidence. His appearance and manner in the court was regarded with some suspicion. His antecedents would not bear investigation. He was "shadowed" by the police, and stayed at an hotel close to the courts, but when he was expected to continue his evidence he failed to appear. He had dreaded the ordeal of cross-examination, and had been to the house of Mr Labouchere, to whom, in the presence of Mr Sala, he had given a written confession that the letters which had been obtained from him, and sold to the manager of the *Times* for sums amounting to £2530, had been forged by himself. The story he had told of the manner in which

the letters came into his possession had already been regarded by the commission as unworthy of credit. A warrant was issued for his apprehension, and on the 10th of March he was traced to Madrid, where he committed suicide by shooting himself. The excitement caused by this collapse of the charge so powerfully insisted on was tremendous, and the after proceedings of the inquiry were regarded as of comparatively little interest—partly because of the difficulty of following the long accounts of them. The commission concluded on the 22d of November, 1889, the speech by Sir Henry James on behalf of the *Times* lasting for above 11 days. About 500 witnesses had been examined, and 98,177 questions answered.

Mr Parnell had brought an action against Mr Walter and another, representing the *Times*, claiming £100,000 damages for libel, by the publication of the letters alleged to have been written by Mr Parnell, and in the articles commenting upon them. The case was brought before the Lord Chief-justice Coleridge and a special jury in the Queen's Bench division of the High Court of Justice. On the 3rd of February, 1890, on the case being called for hearing, the counsel for the *Times* intimated to the judges that there was no necessity for arguing the question of damages. Mr Parnell had consented to accept £5000, the *Times* to pay all the costs, and the jury returned a verdict accordingly.

The report with the findings of the special commission was issued on the 13th of February, 1890, and displayed consummate ability in presenting a series of decisions which, while they acquitted the accused persons of the most serious charges, did not necessarily arraign those supporters of the government who had accepted and endorsed them.

It was found that the respondent members of parliament collectively were not members of a conspiracy to establish the absolute independence of Ireland, but that some of them, with Mr Davitt, established and joined in the Land League organization with that intention. The names given were Davitt, Dillon, M Harris, W O'Brien, W Redmond, J. O'Connor, J. Condon, J J O'Kelly.

It was found that the respondents did enter into a conspiracy by a system of coercion and intimidation to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents, for the purpose of impoverishing and expelling from the country the Irish landlords, who were styled the "English Garrison." This referred to boycotting.

That the respondents did defend persons charged with agrarian crime, and supported their families, but that it had not been proved that they subscribed to testimonials for, or were intimately associated with, notorious criminals, or that they made payments to procure the escape of criminals from justice.

That as to the allegation that the respondents made payments to compensate persons who had been injured in the commission of crime, that they did make such payments.

That as to the allegation that the respondents invited the assistance and co-operation of, and accepted subscriptions of money from, known advocates of crime and the use of dynamite, the respondents did invite the assistance and co-operation of, and accepted subscriptions of money from, Patrick Ford, a known advocate of crime and the use of dynamite, but that it had not been proved that the respondents or any of them knew that the Clan-na-Gael controlled the League or was collecting money for the Parliamentary Fund.

That the respondents invited and obtained the assistance and co-operation of the Physical Force party in America, including the Clan-na-Gael, and in order to obtain that assistance abstained from repudiating or condemning the action of that party.

With regard to the specific charges against Mr Parnell the monstrous episode of the forged letters was of course disposed of, and of the three that remained, the charge that at the time of the Kilmainham negotiations Mr Parnell knew that Sheridan and Boyton had been organizing outrage, and therefore wished to use them to put down outrage, was not proved.

The declaration that Mr. Parnell was intimate with the leading Invincibles, that he probably learned from them what they were about when he was released on parole in April,

1882, and that he recognized the Phoenix Park murders as their handiwork, was found to have had no foundation, and it was also found that the Invincibles were not a branch of the Land League

It was found that Mr Parnell did not make any remittance to enable F. Byrne to escape from justice

It was found that Mr Davitt was a member of the Fenian organization, and received money from a fund which had been contributed for the purpose of outrage and crime, and called the Skirmishing Fund, but that this was not for the formation of the Land League, but for promoting the agitation which led up to it, and that Mr Davitt returned the money out of his own resources It was also found that he was in close and intimate association with the party of violence in America for the purpose of bringing about an alliance between that and the Parnellite and Home Rule party in America, he being mainly instrumental in bringing about that alliance.

It will be seen that much of the gravity of these findings depends on their relating to comparatively long past events, and, more recently, on the definition of what constituted crime and outrage under the Crimes Act

The report (the full details of the commission extend to six volumes) was presented to parliament, and on the motion that it be entered in the minutes of the House, amendments were proposed by Mr Gladstone in emphatic terms, and by other members in less marked language, that the entry should be accompanied by expressions of regret that the Irish members had been subjected to serious and groundless charges But the government refused to introduce any comment, and the resolution was passed in both houses, after a debate in which Lord Randolph Churchill, to the general surprise, denounced the action of the government in promoting a commission of inquiry, the results of which he characterized in perhaps stronger language than had been heard in parliament for a good many years The effect on the public sentiment of the proceedings which marked this historical episode was afterwards much influenced by certain painful occurrences which divided the Irish party.

A brief notice may now be given of some of the principal measures which were passed by parliament amidst the conflict that has to some extent retarded the political, or rather the legislative, progress of the country. It may be questioned whether the financial proposals made by Mr Goschen as chancellor of the exchequer in his successive budgets were very striking or original, but the most important which has been made for many years in relation to the redemption of the national debt was the National Debt Conversion Act of 1888, by which the rate of interest to stockholders was reduced from 3 per cent to $2\frac{1}{2}$, and ultimately to $2\frac{1}{2}$ The holders of new three per cents, who could be paid off at any time without notice, were offered a three per cent dividend for the year ending April, 1889, if they brought their stock in for conversion, and proprietors of consols and reduced-stock were offered in addition a bonus of five shillings per cent if they would forego their claim to a year's notice before redemption Recognized agents or brokers bringing in such stocks for conversion were allowed 1s 6d per cent The greater number of holders of new three per cents conformed to the scheme, and those who refused to do so were paid off £512,000,000 out of £558,000,000 was converted Of consols £40,000,000 and of reduced £6,000,000, remaining to be dealt with, could, by the operation of the National Debt (Supplemental) Act, be paid off at par on or after July 6th, 1889, by payments of not less than £500,000 at a time From April, 1889, holders of converted-stock were to receive only $2\frac{1}{2}$ instead of 3 per cent interest until 1903, and afterwards $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the new stock not being redeemable till 1923 The saving thus effected was calculated at £1,400,000 a year till 1903, and £2,800,000 a year afterwards

The Law of Distress Amendment Act of 1888 made some considerable improvements in amending the law of distress for rent, thereby relieving the tenant of the liability to be subject to vexatious distraint by improperly authorized persons The act forbids any person to act as bailiff to levy distress, unless authorized by certificate of a county court judge

There were several "amending" acts passed during the year 1888, each of which effected salutary improvements of existing laws, and the same may be said of the legislation of 1889, when among the amendments were those relating to weights and measures, which ordains that weights and scales must be stamped and verified, and that except under certain conditions coals shall be sold by weight, which shall be specified on a ticket to be delivered at the time of the delivery by a vehicle, of any quantity of coal exceeding two hundred-weight.

Another amendment, that of the Regulation of Railways Act, provides that from a date to be fixed by the Board of Trade every passenger ticket issued by any railway in the kingdom shall bear legibly printed or marked on its face the fare chargeable for the journey for which it is issued

The abolition of the duties on coals leviable by the Corporation of London was a measure which many people thought would have the effect of retarding those great improvements in the metropolis which had been effected by means of the large annual amount arising from these dues, but in effect the schemes of municipal government had changed by the passing of the Local Government Act of 1888. This measure, introduced by Mr Ritchie, the president of the Local Government Board, established a council for each county, three-fourths of the members for which would be elected by the ratepayers, and the remainder selected by the elected council. Of above sixty boroughs of at least 50,000 inhabitants, each was, for the purposes of the act, to be an administrative county of itself under the name of a County Borough. The metropolis was to be an administrative county under the title of the County of London, and was to include an area forming portions of the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, the number of councillors to be 19 aldermen and 118 councillors, or double the number (59) returned by the parliamentary boroughs in the metropolis, each borough or division thereof being an electoral division for the purposes of the act. The requisite adjustments between the authority of municipal bodies and

county or borough councils were necessarily intricate, and the powers, responsibilities, and financial privileges of the new local governing councils are numerous and important. This is especially the case in London, where the County Council superseded the Metropolitan Board of Works, and was also intrusted with administrative duties which formerly belonged to the civic authorities and other bodies. The Metropolitan Board had been appointed originally to carry out the vast main drainage scheme and to form the Thames embankment. They had performed this gigantic work, and with large borrowing powers, and an organization which was capable of grasping the duties which had been committed to them, they had vastly improved the metropolis. The money borrowed for freeing or building bridges, constructing many miles of streets, opening up fine thoroughfares and erecting imposing buildings, and of controlling the sanitary condition, the lighting, and the water supply of London, represented a considerable debt, but they had a great deal to show for it. The irregularities which were discovered in the case of a few members and officers of the Metropolitan Board consisted in accepting presents—in the nature of bribes—or in being improperly concerned in the construction of buildings, for which they were to receive considerable emolument in return for their supposed influence with the board in getting estimates and designs readily passed. It would scarcely be accurate to say that the discovery of these abuses implicated the whole board, or any considerable portion of its members, and therefore the reason for superseding it by the operation of the new act and the appointment of a London County Council was rather to be attributed to the time having arrived for a wide extension of the theory of local government. It may, however, be doubted whether the elaborate and multiplied powers vested in one body like the County Council for London is a movement in the direction of that local self-government which is believed to represent true liberty. Those who watch the developments of the present scheme have already discerned that there is serious danger of

giving into the hands of one body, mostly elected by people who are too busy or too little acquainted with the needs of local institutions to bestow serious and careful attention on the subject, an authority which threatens to become too centralized to be popularly representative, and too far-reaching and general in its innumerable operations to be truly localized in any direction

Though by the act of 1888 the Corporation of London retained much of its administrative control of its own funds, and kept all but judicial authority in the city, the County Council, in addition to the powers of the former Metropolitan Board, including the main drainage scheme, fire brigade, regulation of gas and water supply, of public conveyances, construction of theatres, music halls, and places of amusement, the maintenance of bridges, parks, and some public buildings, and other great works, was entrusted with a multitude of responsibilities, to which it was proposed to add the operations of the Licensing Acts and the application of funds for the compensation of persons whose interests may be depreciated or extinguished by the measures of the council

But it must be remembered that in accordance with the Metropolis Management Act of 1855 there were some parts of London beyond the city where the local sanitary and highway affairs were managed by elected vestries or district boards, that parishes containing more than 2000 rated householders might, as formerly, be divided into wards, and that the London County Council might exercise this power

Certain abuses in the London School Board—the rates demanded by which, increased far beyond the limit declared to be final when they were first imposed—called for the notice of parliament almost as emphatically as those malpractices for which the Metropolitan Board of Works was condemned

In 1889 an act for the more effectual prevention and punishment of bribery and corruption of and by members, officers, or servants of corporations, councils, boards, or other public bodies was passed. The penalties under this act included fines or imprisonment, with

or without hard labour, for not more than two years

Some little space in this page may properly be devoted to the record of an act passed in 1889 for the prevention of cruelty to and the better protection of children. It was aimed at those who insure children's lives and then murderously ill-treat them, and enacted that any person over the age of sixteen having the custody of a boy under fourteen, or of a girl under sixteen, who shall wilfully ill-treat such child, shall be liable to a fine varying from £25 to £100, or if interested in the death of the child the fine may be increased to £200, with the alternative of imprisonment with or without hard labour. But the act also prohibited, under a penalty of a fine of £25, or not more than three months' imprisonment, procuring any boy or girl under the ages already specified for the purpose of begging or receiving alms, or singing or performing for profit, or offering anything for sale in any street or public-house between ten at night and five in the morning, and the act forbids causing any child under ten years old to be in any street, public-house, or public place of amusement or entertainment for any such purpose. There is, however, a proviso that where it can be shown to the satisfaction of a court of petty session in England, or to the local school board in Scotland, that proper provision has been made to secure the health and kind treatment of children whom it is proposed to employ as performers in a place of public amusement, a license may be granted under such conditions as those authorities may think fit, for any child not under seven years old to take part in any entertainment

To those who know what the life in cities and large towns is for children not under proper guardianship—the terrible cruelties to which they are liable, and the dangers to which they are exposed, not only in the present but in the future, because of the indifference or brutality of step-parents or of owners—this measure will fitly represent a long step on the path of progress. It may inspire some hope that the children of the streets (for there is still a great contingent of them notwithstanding the often misplaced

activities of school-board inspectors) may come some day to be cared for, and instead of being neglected till they have qualified themselves for public notice by committing crime, may be regarded with an earnest intention of recognizing that they too are to become the men and women of the next generation

The long and strenuous party contest which marked the greater part of the year 1889, was emphasized by numerous speeches delivered on various occasions by Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord Hartington, Mr. John Morley, and Mr. Gladstone, and was still further accentuated by the attitude of Mr. Labouchere, who went far towards endangering the party to which he professed to belong—the “New Radical Party”—by starting a section with a distinct organization and with its own whips. Mr. Labouchere declared his tactics to be those of guerilla warfare, threatening that if the chancellor of the exchequer assumed an attitude of defiance and refused to consult the country, the opposition would throw every obstacle they could in the way of public business. As it turned out, the opposition to the proposals of the government on supply produced some beneficially economical results, and, so far from the opposition being injured, it became evident from the returns of bye-elections that they were gaining votes all along the line.

It was at this juncture that (on the 27th of March) John Bright, whose name has been so prominent in this record, and who was justly regarded as the greatest living English orator, if not one of the greatest living statesmen, passed over to the silent majority, whither his staunch friend and comrade, Cobden, had so long preceded him. For nearly a year he had been in a condition of health which had caused great uneasiness and anxiety to his friends, while for close upon two years he had taken but little part in practical politics. He claimed to have voted throughout his career consistently with his declared principles, and that he had remained constant to those traditions of Liberalism which obtained till the end of 1885. In one of his later letters he wrote “I am and always have

been against having two parliaments in the United Kingdom, and so long as the Liberal and Gladstone policy is in favour of two parliaments, I must follow my own judgment and conscience, and not the voice of any party leader.” The result of this determination was that the Tories, who once were so bitter against him, began to regard him, if not as an ally, at least as a valuable supporter of one of their tenets, while his former colleagues, who had loved him so well and admired him so heartily, took to speaking and acting with asperity in relation to his conclusions. His death from an internal malady, aggravated by the results of a chill caught on a journey from London to Rochdale, in May, 1888, called forth universal expressions of sorrow and respect, of which Mr. Gladstone felicitously sounded the key-note by saying, that at the end of a long life he had even reconciled his foes to him without alienating his friends. After speaking of the moral elevation of Cobden and Bright in being able to dispense at a moment's notice with that breath of popular favour which they had enjoyed so long, and to stand firm against the voice of the nation when the Crimean war broke out and Lord Palmerston's policy commanded almost universal enthusiasm, Mr. Gladstone concluded a splendid panegyric by saying, “His name remains indelibly written in the annals of this empire, indelibly written, too, upon the hearts of the great and ever-spreading race to which he belonged, that race in whose wide possessions he rejoiced, and whose power and pre-eminence he believed to be full of promise and full of glory to the best interests of mankind.”

Before the close of the year it had become evident that there was a reaction, and that the English Liberals, together with the Irish party, would be strong enough, in case of a general election, again to return Mr. Gladstone to power. What was required, of course, was such a working majority as would enable the Gladstone party to frustrate the efforts of the combined Tories and Liberal Unionists. On the part of the latter, in order to check the turning tide which would carry a new measure of Home Rule, it was necessary to discover what approaches they could make towards

proposing a scheme which would at once be accepted by the Irish Nationalists and avoid the difficulties which had marred the Home Rule Bill on which Mr Gladstone had gone out of office in 1886

Socially the year 1889 was marked by a strike of dock labourers of the port of London. In some respects, indeed, this event may be said to have been among the more important, if not actually the most important, of the year, many circumstances combining to make it of the greatest historical moment. Several causes tended to bring about this development. The gradual improvement in business which had taken place during the past three or four years was doubtless one, causing, as it did, a large section of the working men to look for higher wages. In addition to this, the parliamentary inquiry into the sweating system had stimulated public sympathy with the sufferings of unskilled labour. The demands of the "dockers" for an increase of their wages from 5*d* to 6*d* an hour, and the abolition of the contract system, were supported by other classes of labourers—porters, firemen, stevedores, carmen, lightermen, and watermen, of whom some had grievances of their own, while others went out to help the dockers. From the very first the dock men had the sympathy of the public, and their appeals for subscriptions, whether by their demonstrations in Hyde Park or elsewhere, or through the press, were generously responded to, and influential interests among the shippers, wharfingers, and brokers, alarmed at the stoppage of trade, navigation, and industry, endeavoured to effect a compromise that would bring back the strikers, over 100,000 in number, to work. The dock committee, after wisely deciding not to embitter the conflict by introducing foreign labour, made what the leaders of the strike considered an inadequate offer, and to which they replied by issuing a manifesto calling for a general strike. This was an indiscreet move, and would have had the effect of totally alienating public sympathy, had it not been at once withdrawn. At this juncture the Lord Mayor, Cardinal Manning, and the Bishop of London interposed their good offices and organized a committee of conciliation at

the Mansion House, and after several unsuccessful attempts to negotiate, an arrangement was agreed to by the dock companies, to come into force on the first Monday in November, practically conceding the demands originally put forward, but insisting that the non-strikers should not be interfered with.

Thus came to an end one of the most momentous labour struggles that had up to that time taken place in this country, and it must be confessed that, on the whole, the conduct of the men, during a time of intense excitement and privation, was marked by great patience and forbearance. That it was so was largely due to the wise guidance and control exercised by Mr John Burns and Mr Benjamin Tillett, aided by Mr Tom Mann, the secretary of the Dockers' Union, who acted throughout as the leaders of the men.

Mr Gladstone on a subsequent occasion, when speaking to an artisan audience about the education of working men, referred in terms of high praise to the character of the men who had been elected to represent them in parliament and elsewhere, and as it is more than probable that he had in mind, along with others, the three men above mentioned, a few words about these contemporaries of his later years will not be out of place here.

Of the three, John Burns has up to the present time taken the most prominent position and scored the greatest successes in the labour contest. Although Scotch by extraction, he was born in very humble circumstances at Vauxhall in 1858. Attending school till he was ten years of age, he then went to work at a local candle factory, subsequently leaving that employ to become a rivet-boy in an engineer's shop at Vauxhall. Later he apprenticed himself to an engineer at Millbank, and served till he was twenty-one. All through his youth he was an omnivorous reader, and during his apprenticeship got into trouble with his employers because of an open-air address that he delivered. Coming in contact in a workshop with a French refugee, who had been concerned in the Paris Commune, he imbibed from him his very decided socialist proclivities. For twelve months he worked as foreman engineer on the

Niger, and on his return spent his earnings on a six months' tour in Europe. He soon won a prominent place in his own trade society (the Amalgamated Engineers) by the advocacy of "new unionist" ideas. At the general election of 1885 he stood as a Socialist candidate for the Western Division of Nottingham, but obtained only 598 votes. He played an important part in the unemployed agitation of 1886, and was one of the leaders of the "out-of-works" who, on February 8th, 1887, broke away from control and caused a riot in the West End. For contesting the right of the authorities to prohibit the holding of public meetings in Trafalgar Square he suffered six weeks' imprisonment (1887). Nothing, however, daunted his ardour in the cause of labour reform, and no sooner did the dockers begin to move than he was to the fore, directing and encouraging them by his fiery eloquence. But for his talents as a leader and organizer, combined with those of his two colleagues, their success would have been very doubtful. Thrice Mr. Burns has been elected a member of the London County Council for the Battersea division, and at the parliamentary elections in 1892 and 1895 he was chosen to represent the constituency in the House of Commons.

Benjamin Tillett, whose name first became generally known in connection with the great dock strike, was born in Bristol in 1859. Apprenticed to a shoemaker, he ran away and joined the Royal Navy, from which he was discharged invalided after a short period of service. After several voyages in merchant vessels he settled at the docks, and gradually formed the Dockers' Union. He gave valuable evidence before the parliamentary commission on pauper immigration, and before the Lords' Committee on the Sweating System. He is a ready speaker, and early in its history was elected an alderman of the London County Council. At the general election in 1892 he stood for West Bradford, though without success. In 1893 he was tried on a charge of inciting to riot, at Bristol, but a verdict of "not guilty" was returned.

A man of equally striking, and we may add sterling character, is Mr. Tom Mann, who was for some time president of the Dock, Wharf,

Riverside, and General Labourers' Union of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Netherlands, a position which he finally resigned in 1892. Born at Foleshill, Warwickshire, in 1856, some years of his youth were spent in working in a mine. He afterwards became an engineer, and worked for some time at Messrs. Thornycroft's, but since the dockers' strike he has been prominently before the public as one of the principal organizers of the dock labourers. He is honorary secretary of the London Reform Union, and being a speaker of great power, he is always in request at meetings and demonstrations connected with labour movements. Being a man of sterling religious convictions, society was greatly excited in 1893 over the announcement that he was about to take orders in the Church of England. Although the report was not unfounded, it was premature. He had an idea that great good might be done by democratizing the immense forces of the church, and that led him to entertain the view attributed to him, but which he appears afterwards to have relinquished.

The success of the dockers was followed by various sporadic strikes, or threats to strike, among the tailors, the bakers, and the tramway and omnibus men, all asking for more pay and shorter hours, in which they were not generally successful. A similar movement among the gutta-percha workmen at Silvertown failed after a long and ruinous struggle. A danger of a still more serious character seemed to threaten London when the gas stokers of the South Metropolitan Company struck work because the directors had introduced a system of profit-sharing, which the men imagined would prove a death-blow to their union. They were supported by the coal-porters and seamen, but the company determined not to yield, introduced new men in large numbers, and were thus able to continue their supply of gas without serious difficulty or inconvenience. A similar strike in Manchester was followed by the like result.

This agitation in the labour world was not a mere casual occurrence, but symptomatic of a general awakening of the masses to a sense of their degraded and hopeless condition, that

nothing could improve, unless they took the matter into their own hands. The movement was not confined to the United Kingdom, but was general throughout the world, and, as we shall see, it tends to broaden and deepen rather than to die out, and will therefore have to be reckoned with in future politics. That Mr Gladstone was aware of this may be seen from a speech which he delivered on the 2d of December (1887), in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, wherein, referring to the subjects of future legislation, he included, as matters of the first importance, registration, land reform, extended local government, allotments, improved dwellings for the poor, the enfranchisement of leaseholds, free education, and shorter parliaments. He referred to other subjects, of course, including the reform of the currency, but perhaps his most interesting remarks were those which related to his advancing age, the short time and the little work that could remain to him here, and the hope he still entertained of putting the cap-sheaf to his labours for the good of his country by an act of justice to Ireland.

"It is not a desirable case," he said, speaking of the limited time still allotted to him, "for any statesman—and for a man at my time of life it would be unpardonable folly and almost a crime—to speak of these masses of subjects as if he believed it possible that he can take a practical part in their settlement. I think you will feel with me that, standing as I do within but a few days, or at least of three or four weeks, of fourscore years—it would be on my part an act of the grossest presumption, and an act towards you scarcely compatible with political honesty, were I to survey those great matters of interesting public importance, and to speak of them before you as matters in which it was possible for me to have a direct personal concern."

We must not close the record of 1889 without making mention of an event, special to our subject, by which it was marked, namely, the fiftieth anniversary of the marriage of Mr and Mrs Gladstone, which occurred on the 25th of July, and may be said to have been celebrated throughout the country, so multitudinous were the letters, presents, con-

gratulations, and expressions of goodwill that reached the distinguished couple from all parts of the realm, and from well-wishers in every social rank and station, as well as from a crowd of old and faithful friends who had during many years watched the career of their early colleague and companion, and had participated in many of those achievements in which he was the leader, from contemporaries at school and college, in the social circles which he had adorned by his attainments, and illumined by his learning, and in the political and legislative assemblies where, if they were not among his followers, they recognized his sincerity and intensity of purpose, and the marvellous powers by which he secured the admiration, and won the personal regard of many of those who were his pronounced antagonists.

One reason for this high and almost universal esteem in which Mr Gladstone was held was the delightful manner, the exquisite courtesy which he ever displayed, and that not only in his domestic and private life, but in his public and official relations. It had something of what is known as "the old school" about it, albeit nothing of the old variability as regards the equality or inferiority of those to whom he addressed himself. In fact it was sometimes objected that he was too deferential to the opinions of people whom he must have known were his intellectual as well as his social inferiors, but he was ever ready to learn of others, and therefore was ready to listen to, and to weigh their representations.

There is no need to dwell on the happy characteristics which, added to the striking countenance, the imposing figure, and the melodious and rhythmical voice and verbal expression, and, above all, to the manly, dignified, and fervent piety of the aged statesman, caused his company to be so attractive to all who knew him, and in private life surrounded him with the respect and affection of his friends, and the tender and confiding love of children, but impelled even those who in the parliamentary arena were his most formidable opponents to acknowledge in eulogistic terms his great qualities and unmatched

attainments It was this instinctive recognition of the great individuality and comprehensive faculty and power of the veteran legislator which elicited from Mr Balfour (in the debate on the Home Rule Bill of 1893), the remark that while he believed "there was not an individual member of the House, be his opinions what they might, who was not perfectly sure of fair and honourable treatment at the hands of those differing most widely from him," this was even more likely to be the case in regard to the prime minister, "who," Mr. Balfour continued, "however much we may dislike his policy, has behind him fifty years of a great parliamentary career, and whom we all recognize as one of the greatest figures that have adorned and illustrated this House since our parliamentary history began"

In referring thus to Mr. Gladstone's private life, it may be remarked that the aged statesman and his family had to pay the penalty (though he did not regard it as such) of his vast popularity by the frequent incursions of hosts of comparatively humble visitors from Lancashire and elsewhere, who made excursions to Hawarden in the hope, if not the expectation, that a deputation from their number would induce the "Grand Old Man" to address them, not necessarily on a political topic, but on some phase of that social progress whereon he could discourse with such ready and instructive eloquence, and in a manner at once delightfully familiar and suggestive of that self-respect which his brief and happy appeals and reminders inspired in his auditors

So large and so frequent were these assemblages that on some occasions Hawarden Park had to be closed to them, but Mr Gladstone often revoked this restriction, and though he suffered from the interference with his repose and the pressing work which he always had on hand, even in his supposed holiday times, yet he could not bring himself to disappoint any body of excursionists who had gone to Hawarden in ignorance of the date at which it had been understood that he sought comparative seclusion

Mr. Gladstone's daily occupations at Hawarden were well known and often described

during his lifetime Few that took an interest in public affairs had not read of his early walk to church before breakfast, his morning devoted to his literary contributions to the leading magazines in which articles from his pen on various subjects appeared from time to time, or to the arduous demands of public business or the severe studies in which he delighted to engage His afternoon would be devoted to a walk, to a visit in the neighbourhood, or—except during the later years of his life—to a bout of hard exercise in the woodman's craft of tree-felling, then would follow early tea, and correspondence or lighter reading till dinner

Another important occupation at Hawarden in late years was the disposition of the vast number of books which continually increased the already overflowing library there An article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* showed what close and thoughtful attention Mr Gladstone had paid to the subject of the best method of arranging books in a library, with the view of securing the utmost convenience, and making the most of space He had reduced his observations to a system whereby he was enabled to pack 20,000 volumes into two rooms without making them less available for reference Constant accessions, however, made much further space necessary, and an iron building, fitted as a library under Mr Gladstone's direction, was provided as a kind of half-way house to a large and completely-appointed structure, which it was his intention to have erected at some future date That his system of arrangement was all that could be desired may be inferred from the fact that he was able to find any book which might be required with the greatest readiness, but when this is said we must not forget his prodigious memory, his practical faculty for detail, and his comprehensive ability in settling in his mind the precise relations of subjects, which to most people would appear to have little, if any, affinity

Several circumstances conspired to render the opening of 1890 more than commonly gloomy and depressing Foremost amongst these must be placed the wide-spread influ-

enza epidemic, which paid no respect to rank or country, and gave a melancholy tinge to the New Year celebrations at most of the foreign courts. Although it appeared in England in a milder form than it had done on the Continent and in America, it nevertheless had its victims here, and carried off many prominent men. Abroad, the Empress Augusta succumbed to its attack on the 7th of January, while amongst those who suffered temporarily from the disease were the Czar, Princess Bismarck, the King and Queen of Wurtemberg, Dr Dollinger, and Lord Salisbury. With the approach of fine weather the epidemic ceased its ravages, to reappear, however, in a severer form in the ensuing autumn and winter.

From a business point of view the year was disappointing. The revival of trade in 1889 was not checked for some months, and when Mr Goschen produced his budget he was criticised for having taken an unnecessarily cautious estimate of the future, notwithstanding the fact that he had an actual realized surplus of £3,221,000. On the whole, however, it was generally admitted that his budget proposals were characterized by sound finance. But during the summer various adverse influences began to make themselves felt. "Agitation and conflict in the labour market, the decline in the price of stock exchange securities from a too high level, the fluctuation due to the silver legislation and tariff controversy in the United States, and the bad weather of the harvest period, caused anxiety and discouraged enterprise. Though the crops generally turned out better than had been expected towards the end of August, other elements of trouble were not removed, and after several weeks of restlessness and tension, a crisis of the most formidable character was barely averted in November, when the house of Baring Brothers, embarrassed by unwise commitments, chiefly in South American loans and undertakings, had to apply for aid to the Bank of England, and was rescued and reconstructed by the action of the Bank, which was supported by the guarantee of the leading banks and discount houses in the City, as well as of some in the provinces." The

situation was greatly complicated by a separate financial crisis in the United States, but the prompt energetic measures adopted by the Bank, which obtained an advance for three months of three millions of gold from the Bank of France, together with the joint guarantee of nine millions for three years by leading London firms, stayed the movement towards panic. It was long, however, before the reaction that followed brought back prices to their former level.

Labour questions continued to agitate the public mind and to compel the attention of legislators. The friction left behind it by the dock strike lasted throughout the year, leading to local conflicts and much general restlessness. The dock labourers at Liverpool, Glasgow, and Cardiff endeavoured, with some success, to obtain an improvement of the conditions and emolument of labour. A somewhat alarming struggle broke out at Southampton, where the attempt to put a stop to the employment of non-unionist labour led to disturbance and riot. The crisis was at first met by the local authorities in a weak and temporizing spirit, eventually the military had to be called out, whereupon the strike at once collapsed. Similar efforts against non-union men were made with equal determination at other centres. In the gas strike at Leeds the men won a complete, and in the South Wales railway strike a partial, victory. In connection with the latter, 50,000 men were thrown out of employment, and in many cases joined with the railway strikers. After holding out for a week the men resumed work on a concession from the companies as to the mode of computing and paying for the week's work of sixty hours. In the shipping trade the action of the men was strenuously resisted, but the employers recognized the need of combination among themselves for common defence, with the result that in the autumn a shipping federation was formed, which soon embraced the principal firms in the United Kingdom.

Reference must not be omitted to the railway strike in Scotland, which, in December and the following month, caused much inconvenience for several weeks. The movement,

which was for shorter hours, involved the engine-drivers, porters, brakesmen, and others of the three southern lines, and spread until some 7000 had left work. It ended, however, in the total defeat of the men. A threatened strike of the post-office employés and of the police in London, with the paralysis of business and the danger which they would have involved, was happily averted. In the case of the post-office the struggle arose between unionist and non-unionist postmen. A similar movement in the telegraphic service collapsed without an open struggle. The outbreak of insubordination at the Wellington barracks, which led to the temporary expatriation of the second battalion of the Grenadier Guards as a punishment, and to the imprisonment of several of the ringleaders, may possibly have had no connection with the above events, except, perhaps, as showing how far a spirit of social unrest and upheaval was in the air. A threatened stoppage of the coal supply early in the year in connection with the gas strike and the growing demand for the eight hours' day, which, starting on the Continent, had gained many adherents in this country, was fortunately averted, though, as we shall presently see, only for a time.

Meanwhile the question of labour and its demands drifted more and more towards legislative action. Opinion among the working classes generally, and even among the coal-miners, was at first much divided in respect to the eight-hours' movement, although owing to the agitation of the question on the Continent, and the institution of the May Day demonstrations, it steadily increased in favour with working men. A section of the coal-miners, who were the first to bring it forward as a political question, obtained from Lord Randolph Churchill a pledge in favour of an eight hours' bill, but were discouraged by Mr Gladstone's expressed preference for non-legislative action. Later, however (at Calder in Midlothian and elsewhere), he indicated a willingness to limit by law the hours of labour in mines. Some of the oldest parliamentary leaders of the working men, including Mr Burt, Mr George Howell, Mr Broadhurst, Mr. Fenwick, and Mr Bradlaugh, declared

against legislative enactment, while Mr John Morley told the Newcastle miners that it would have no vote of his.

At the Trade Union Congress held at Liverpool in September, the party in favour of a compulsory eight hours' day, strengthened by the recent organizations of unskilled labour, outvoted the old unionists (by 193 against 155), declaring that the working day in all trades should be reduced to a minimum of eight hours, and the week to forty-eight hours. The majority was composed of "new unionists," led by Mr John Burns, who, with his phalanx of representatives of unskilled labour, won the honours of the congress, and whose appointment on the Parliamentary Committee in the place of Mr Birtwhistle, was hailed with delight by the advanced section.

Mr Burns had in August (at a meeting in Hyde Park) taken the opportunity of the anniversary of the dock strike to rehearse the benefits which he and his colleagues had obtained for working men. He declared that the various strikes of the year had increased the wages paid to skilled and unskilled labour by nearly £700,000. He appeared, however, to recognize the dangers to which unskilled labour would at all times be exposed from almost unlimited competition, and expressed his distrust of any benefits which would ensue in such cases from any formal limitation of the day's work, pointing out that the only effective remedy was the formation of co-operative labour associations, as providing the best check on employers who offered small wages and demanded long hours. This proposal, if adopted, would imply not only the rigid exclusion from all fields of unskilled labour of those who would not enter the union, but, from the moment when the union was declared to be full, would permit the Labour Union to dictate their own terms to the dock directors and shipowners. In brief, the "new unionists" realized that the price of labour was regulated by the supply, and that a restricted supply, the demand remaining, would necessarily raise the rate of wages.

This idea of so organizing labour as to make it possible to dictate terms to employers, came

prominently before the Liverpool Congress, and was especially emphasized in the president's opening address. Mr Watkin showed himself more socialistic in his leanings than any of his predecessors in the chair. He expressed himself as being in favour of the nationalization of the land as a counter-attraction to migration to cities, and of the purchase of mines and railways by the state. But his most remarkable suggestion was a federation of trades unions, so that when one trade struck, the other trades could employ their funds in finding work for those who were idle. The applause with which Mr Watkin's more advanced theories were received indicated the changed temper of the delegates from the previous year, when their proceedings had been characterized by the most guarded respect for the independence of each trade union.

While speaking of the labour question, we must not omit all reference to the action of the German emperor in relation thereto. Early in the year he issued two rescripts—one addressed to Prince Bismarck, requesting him to arrange for an international conference on the question of workmen's wages, and the other as King of Prussia, addressed to the Minister of Public Works, expressing his desire to improve in every way the condition of German working men. The conference met at Berlin in March, and, after discussing labour questions for several days, passed a number of resolutions, which in most cases only endorsed the action already taken by Great Britain for the protection of female and youthful labour, although they were undoubtedly in the direction of the amelioration of the conditions of labour on the Continent, and especially in Germany. The conference was chiefly remarkable, however, as a sign of the almost universal trend of politics.

Among the questions which arose on the address in reply to the queen's speech on the opening of parliament in February, was the very important one of free education, which foreshadowed the measure of the session of 1891. It was raised by Mr A. H. D. Acland, member for the Rotherham division, to whom Sir William Hart Dyke, vice-president of

the council, replied on behalf of the government, declaring that while they adhered to the policy that had been indicated by the prime minister (in a speech at Nottingham), they must choose their own time for dealing with the question. The difficulties surrounding free education in England, he said, were far greater than in Scotland, for whilst in the latter country, out of 3100 elementary schools, only 500, or 16 per cent, were voluntary, in England, out of 19,200 elementary schools, 14,600, or not less than 76 per cent, were so designated. He would never be a party to any scheme by which such schools might be injured by any change of system. Among the objections to the destruction of the voluntary system, Sir William Hart Dyke pointed out that the fees of the voluntary schools amounted to £1,862,000, and the voluntary subscriptions to £745,000, so that if the voluntary system were destroyed, there would be about £2,600,000 to make up from the rates, and, in addition, school buildings would have to be found, at a cost of £25,000,000. The debate was not further remarkable, except for the declaration of Mr Joseph Chamberlain in favour of the view advanced on behalf of the government. By the abolition of denominational schools, he said, places would have to be found for 3,659,250 children. The cost of this would entail a capital outlay of £30,000,000, and an additional annual expenditure of £1,680,000, and, having regard to the difficulty of the question from this point of view, he preferred the system of a "equivalent grant," which, he affirmed, would leave the religious difficulty where it was.

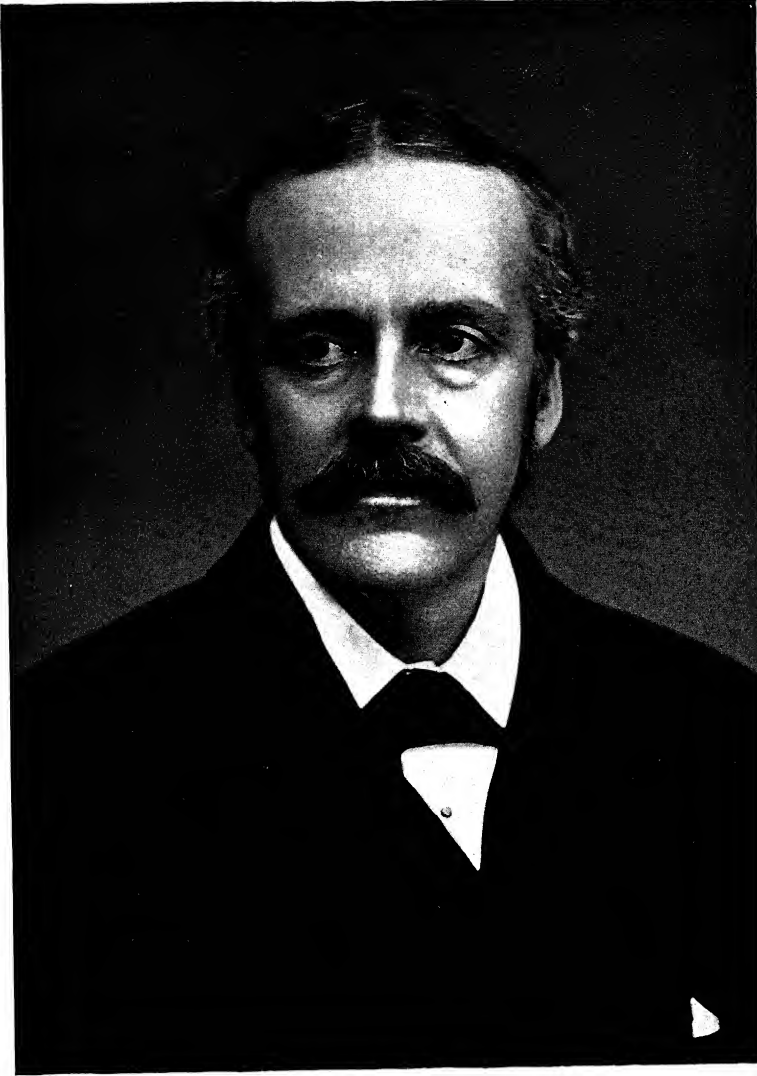
Meanwhile Mr Dillon and Mr O'Brien in Ireland had committed themselves deeply to the Plan of Campaign, and to the attempt to back it up on the Ponsonby estate by inducing or compelling Mr Smith Barry's tenants in Tipperary to refuse to pay rent on the ground that their landlord had supported Mr Ponsonby. A large number of the Tipperary tenants gave up their holdings, their shops and holdings in the town, and betook themselves to a village of booths and shanties erected on ground outside "New Tipperary," as it was called, was opened in

the spring by Mr. O'Brien, who was accompanied by some English Liberals. The evicted tenants complained that the promises of pecuniary and other support held out to them had not been kept. Nevertheless New Tipperary and the Ponsonby estate had depleted the exchequer of the League. A mission to America was therefore resolved upon, though envoys were not easily found. At last it was decided that Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien should go, along with others not at first named, and the partial failure of the potato crop along the west coast, where the summer had been disastrously wet, furnished an excuse for another appeal to American liberality. In the meantime Mr. O'Brien and his friends had been so vigorously alive in Tipperary, that soon after the prorogation of parliament, the Irish executive decided on prosecuting Mr. O'Brien and his chief associates for speeches "inciting to crime and intimidation." When the trial came on, Mr. Morley accompanied his Irish friends to Tipperary. A riot ensued, caused by the alleged brutality of the police, who charged the people when they were trying to make their way into the court-house. These led to proceedings in which charges were brought against the police, but nothing came of them in the end except contradictory swearing on both sides. During the inquiry touching the charge against Messrs. O'Brien and Dillon and their friends, these gentlemen, released on bail during an adjournment, fled to France and then to America, where they began to collect money to refill the "war chest." In the end several of the defendants were convicted, and Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien were sentenced to six months imprisonment each; which, subsequently on their return from America, they underwent.

We must now advert briefly to a personal matter which had a painful bearing upon the Irish question, and ultimately, without doubt, did the cause much injury. In November Captain O'Shea, a member of the Irish parliamentary party, petitioned for a divorce from his wife on the ground of adultery with Mr. Parnell. The respondent did not produce any evidence or practically resist the

decree, while the co-respondent, notwithstanding his declaration of innocence, was not even represented by counsel. The case, it must be confessed, disclosed a long course of low intrigue and shameless mendacity, and we can hardly be surprised at the effect it produced in English constituencies, especially amongst nonconformists, as well as in Ireland. Indeed, so great was the popular indignation that Mr. Gladstone was compelled to intervene.

Mr. Parnell was advised to retire into private life "for a time," but he would not hear of such a course, and before Mr. Gladstone's objections were made public, the Irish party on the first day of the winter session re-elected their leader without a dissentient voice. Mr. Gladstone then published a letter to Mr. Morley declaring that the retention by Mr. Parnell of the Irish leadership would reduce his own position as leader of the Liberal party almost to a nullity. The "uncrowned king" replied in an address to the Irish people, in which he gave details of confidential negotiations that had taken place between him and Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden, according to which it was intended to withdraw the control of the police and the land question from the projected Irish legislature. This intention Mr. Parnell denounced, whilst he asserted the independence of the Irish party against "corrupting offers of peace and dictatorial interference." Mr. Parnell's statements were contested on several points by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley, but the fact remained that the Irish leader repudiated any measure of Home Rule that was not full and complete, and appealed to the Irish Nationalists on that issue. An almost unprecedented struggle ensued at the meeting of the parliamentary party. Mr. Parnell occupied the chair. Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Healy, and Mr. Sexton led the attack on their leader. We need not go into the details of what followed—the days of vehement discussion, over which Mr. Parnell presided with doubtful impartiality, the so-called compromise that was arrived at, whereby Mr. Parnell offered to resign should Mr. Gladstone's reply to a demand for a



ARTHUR J. BALFOUR

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statement of his views on the police and land questions be held to be satisfactory by the majority. As Mr. Gladstone declined to be drawn, the majority had nothing to discuss and had either to surrender or withdraw. They chose the latter alternative, and forty-five of them, led by Mr. M'Carthy, formed themselves into a separate party with the latter as chairman. From St Stephen's the contest was transferred to Ireland, where a seat was vacant in North Kilkenny, for which Sir John Pope Hennessy was a candidate. Mr. Parnell brought forward a candidate of his own to oppose him, and fought strenuously on his behalf; but after a fierce combat Sir John was elected. Subsequently negotiations took place in France—whether Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien had gone on their return from America—to bring about a compromise; but they ended in failure.

When parliament assembled in November, Lord Salisbury being prime minister and the Conservative government in power, the foremost place was given to the Tithe Bill—a much less complicated measure than that of the previous session—and the Land Purchase Bill. The latter had been introduced by Mr. Arthur Balfour on the 21st of March, as a ministerial measure for providing further facilities for the purchase of lands in Ireland, for the improvement of the poorer and more congested districts, and for the constitution of a Land Department to consist of an amalgamation of the public bodies then dealing with land in Ireland. The purchase was to be voluntary, and the amount of the purchase-money advanced was to be limited to twenty years' purchase of the net rent, which means the gross rent after deducting the share of local rates paid by the landlord. After fixing the purchase price, or being assured of the *bona fides* of the agreement between landlord and tenant, the Land Department could at once constitute the tenant owner of the holding subject only to the payment of an annuity of 4 per cent on the amount advanced for a period of forty-nine years, but during the first five years he was to pay 80 per cent of his net rent, the balance to be retained by the government as an insurance against

periods of special distress and to be returned in the later years of repayment. The security of the advances made the government was to constitute a guarantee fund, consisting of a cash portion and a contingent portion, the former to consist of the contribution of £40,000 a year to which Ireland was entitled as a set-off against the proceeds of licenses in England and Scotland, the probate duty grant of £200,000 a year and $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the annuity payable by the tenant which would be left after the payment of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent interest and 1 per cent sinking fund, and which, after passing through the guarantee fund, would be paid to the local authorities for the improvement of labourers' dwellings. The contingent portion of the guarantee fund was to consist of the rates on government property and imperial contributions to poor-law, education, and other similar purposes.

The total amount of the advance as authorized by the bill was not to exceed the capitalized value of those two portions of the guarantee fund, or about £33,000,000. The treasury could also hold three collateral securities. It could retain the landlord's fifth of the purchase-money, and £200,000 reserve, which would be found by accumulating for the first five years the £40,000 license duties grant. There was also the tenants' insurance fund. The contingent guarantee could not be touched till the cash portion and each of these reserves had been exhausted, and after the grand jury had levied a compulsory rate upon the locality equal to the amount which was required. The landlords were to be paid in $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent stock, which they might if they pleased exchange for consols to an equal amount. It was proposed that the repayment of the £33,000,000 advanced under the act, and the £10,000,000 advanced under the Ashbourne Act should be used as a perpetual fund for future purchases. The condition of the poorer and congested districts was to be dealt with by a special board, with powers that were defined in the bill.

The bill was opposed by Mr. Parnell, who moved its rejection, and the substitution for it of a plan by which, in the case of holdings under £50 valuation, the landlord should

reduce the rent of his judicial tenants by 30 per cent, and receive an advance which was to be spent in paying off his most pressing encumbrances. This was supported by Mr. Gladstone on the ground that the bill was opposed by five-sixths of the Irish members, and that it proposed a large use of British credit for the purchase of land in opposition to the judgment of the country as recorded at the previous general election. The bill, he said, involved the question of state landlordism, with all its economic and political risks, and a voluntary management of settlement between landlord and tenant would be largely beneficial to the former. It was generally felt, and was admitted by the chancellor of the exchequer, that Mr. Parnell's proposals were not unreasonable, nevertheless his amendment was rejected. The bill was withdrawn, to be resumed in the following session (beginning in November), when it was passed.

When parliament reassembled in the new year (Jan 22, 1891), the prospects of public business were extremely bright, although the influenza epidemic was again prevalent, and grew increasingly so until the month of May, when, so virulent had it become in the popular chamber, that it was found necessary for the House to rise for a few days, in order that it might be thoroughly fumigated. There were at the time 150 members suffering from the epidemic, among them being Mr Gladstone.

The first matters that came before the House were the Private Bill Procedure (Scotland) Bill, which, after much wrangling in committee, was withdrawn, and the Tithe Rent Charge Recovery Bill the latter a small though a very important measure. It aimed simply at altering the machinery for the recovery of tithes, and settling the price to be paid. The first and most important section, providing for the immediate and compulsory transfer of the liability for the tithe rent charges from occupiers to owners of land, had been accepted in principle by both sides of the House. The only points of the bill over which there was any serious contention in committee were the changes proposed in the machinery for the recovery of tithes, which were strenuously opposed from the Liberal

benches. The bill ultimately passed the Lords on March 17.

The Scotch railway strike had the effect of bringing on a debate relative to the excessive hours of work imposed upon railway servants on the motion of Mr. Channing, who asked the government to establish an impartial board of conciliation to settle disputes between railway companies and their servants. The motion was rejected by 141 to 124, but it had served its purpose by calling attention to a grievance which was also a public danger.

A few days later (Jan 27), the house performed an act of simple justice, on the motion of Mr W A Hunter, who moved to expunge from the journal of the house the resolution of June 22, 1880, refusing to Mr Bradlaugh the right to offer himself to take the oath, adding that such a resolution was "subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom." The solicitor-general opposed the motion, but Mr Gladstone, while urging that Mr Bradlaugh had been unjustly treated, and that the erasure of the record ought to be made, suggested that it would be well to omit from the motion the declaration that the resolution of 1880 was subversive of the rights of electors. Eventually this suggestion was unanimously agreed to.

The act, however, proved but a tardy one, for while the resolution was being discussed, the subject of it was upon his death-bed, and it is doubtful if he was ever conscious of this vindication of his conduct. Mr Bradlaugh had, however, in other ways reaped the reward of his consistency and courage. "Few men," says a contemporary record, "in so short a parliamentary career had built up so deserved a reputation for candour, self-command, sound judgment, and absolute honesty as the member for Northampton, and on both sides of the house his death was regarded as a distinct loss in view of the increased prominence given to labour questions and socialist theories."

We must not pass over a very interesting debate which occurred in the early days of the session, and in which Mr Gladstone took the leading part, although it was upon a bill that proved abortive. It has so rarely

happened that an ex-premier, and the actual leader of the opposition, has been the promoter of a private bill, that Mr Gladstone's attitude in regard to the Religious Disqualifications Removal Bill was viewed in certain quarters with much ungenerous suspicion. It was affirmed that the object of the bill was purely personal, and that it had been drawn up in view of his own probable return to office, in order that he might be able to intrust to the Marquess of Ripon, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the task of inaugurating the Irish parliament at College Green. In the interesting speech in which Mr Gladstone explained and advocated (Feb. 4) the second reading of the bill, he gave the house a brilliant specimen of his still undimmed rhetorical powers, adorned with all the arts of humour, persuasion, subtilty of argument, and thrilling passages of eloquence. Though Mr Gladstone was seriously hampered by the fact of his having published his famous pamphlet on the Vatican decrees, and by his emphatic refusal when in office to move in the direction which he now wished to take, he proved himself fully equal to the occasion. Laughing at the "murmurings and mutterings" that he had heard against his measure, and the hostile petitions that had been presented, he grappled boldly with his own Vatican pamphlet, pointing out that though in the first edition he had questioned the loyalty of Roman Catholics, he subsequently had evidence submitted to him which induced him to modify that opinion, and to state in a subsequent edition of the work that, "so far as the mass of the Roman Catholics were concerned, this loyalty was untainted and secure." In an eloquent passage he reminded the House of the number of her Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, and deprecated the injustice of retaining disabilities against them alone, in a country and under a constitution which professed to recognize no civil disabilities on account of religious opinion. He contrasted the disability in the case of the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland with the complete absence of it in the case of the viceroy of India, who carried on his work over many more millions of people many thousands of miles away, and therefore not

nearly so closely in touch with parliament and the imperial government, and he denied all force and virility in these days to the now obsolete doctrine that the lord-chancellor was "keeper of the queen's conscience." He reminded hon. members that the home-secretary was a Roman Catholic, and yet exercised ecclesiastical patronage on behalf of the state in the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands. Mr Gladstone went on to urge the injustice of the existing law in preventing the "successors of Pascal, of Thomas à Kempis, and of Pope Gregory the Great" from holding offices which might be held by Jews, Mahomedans, Buddhists, Hindoos, Secularists, Materialists, Agnostics, or Atheists, any of whom might become lord-chancellor, and exercise the right of presentation to benefices in the English Church, even though some of them professed no religion at all, and "threw away everything that constituted our consolation and hope, and that guided our conduct in life and death." But Mr Gladstone exerted his eloquence in vain, Mr W. H. Smith, the leader of the house, opposed the bill on behalf of the government, and it was rejected by 251 to 223 votes.

Among the more useful measures that were placed upon the statute-book during the course of this remarkable session, which began, as we have seen, in November, 1890, and, including recesses, extended over a period of nine months, we must reckon, besides the Tithe Rent Charge and the Land Purchase Bills, already referred to, acts for simplifying and adjusting railway rates, for improving the law relating to public health, savings-banks, factories and workshops, and for making elementary education free. The last named measure, which may be justly said to mark an epoch in the history of education, was referred to in the queen's speech on the opening of parliament, and the provision of two millions sterling by Mr Goschen in his budget showed that the government were thoroughly in earnest. Their proposals in relation to free education were set forth by Sir Wm Hart Dyke in committee on June 8. After tracing the history of the existing system of elementary education, he explained that they

proposed to give a grant of 10s a head to each scholar in average attendance between five and fourteen years of age, and as regards such children, schools would either become wholly free, or would continue to charge a fee reduced by the amount of the grant, according as the fee at present charged did or did not exceed 10s. When a fee was charged the fee would remain unaltered, when a change was required for the educational benefit of the locality, and under these arrangements he believed that two-thirds of the elementary schools in England and Wales would become free. There would be no standard limitations, but the grant would be restricted to schools where the compulsory power came in, and, as to the younger children, it was proposed that in no case should the fee charged exceed 2d. He claimed for the scheme that it would result in all schools being retained in the same position in which they then were, while as to the expenditure involved, it would be rather under than over the sum estimated. In conclusion he moved the necessary resolution, declaring it to be expedient to authorize the payments of the money required to give effect to the scheme. The debate on the second reading of the bill, which was subsequently introduced, was opened on June 22, and after four days in committee, it was read a third time on July 8, amid cheers from both sides of the House, not, however, until some regrets had been expressed on the Liberal side that it did not establish popular control, and that no security had been given for an advancement in education.

Our record of the doings of parliament would not be complete without notice of the passing away of three notable figures, all of whom had made no small mark upon the history of their times. During the Easter recess (March 31), died Earl Granville, leaving behind him a parliamentary career of upwards of fifty years. Referring to the deceased statesman in a leading article, the *Times* justly said of him: "He was not a great orator, he never broke out into brilliant perorations which sway the feelings and confuse the judgment. But he showed the power of lucid arrangement with a command of hard-headed

argument. His imperturbable good-humour never failed him, even when his temper must have been sorely tried, and though his weapons were neither sarcasm nor invective, yet he taught his opponents that on occasion he could be a dangerous enemy. Often he showed that strong practical sense which was a conspicuous feature of his intellect."

A few months later (Oct 6), and a no less striking parliamentary figure was taken from us by the death of Mr W H Smith, in whom the Conservatives lost a steady-going and consistent, if not very brilliant, leader of the House. Born in 1824, and educated at the Tavistock Grammar School, Mr Smith began life as a newspaper folder in the business of his father, the founder of the great newspaper agency which was afterwards identified with his name. The business habits which he had acquired in the management of a large concern he took into parliament, and were the cause of his success in public affairs as they had been in business. On the death of Mr Smith, Mr Arthur Balfour was hailed by Conservative acclamations as his successor in the leadership of the Conservative party in the Commons. Meanwhile, Lord Randolph Churchill, who once held that position, and might have continued long and honourably to fill it, was at the time touring in Mashonaland.

On the evening of the day that witnessed the death of Mr Smith at Walmer Castle, Mr Parnell, the late Irish leader, breathed his last at Brighton, only a few short months after his union with the lady for whose sake he sacrificed his political future. The ex-leader's death, however, did nothing towards reuniting the sections into which the Irish party had been split through his conduct. There was now a comparative lull in Irish affairs, the "New Tipperary" had been abandoned at the end of May, the Land Bill became law a little later, and for a time across the Irish Sea there seemed to be a reign of peace and quiet.

The Gladstonian cause continued to make headway during the year, and though its distinguished chief showed no abatement of his zeal for Home Rule, yet he indicated by

his public addresses, notably those at Newcastle and to the rural delegates in London, that such other matters as the readjustment of taxation, reform of the lodger franchise, Scotch and Welsh disestablishment, payment of members, the establishment of district and parish councils, and a reform of the land laws, in favour especially of the rural population, were engaging his earnest and sympathetic attention

The conference of delegates, the first of the kind probably that had ever taken place, was an event of no mean importance, signifying, as it did, that the agricultural labourer was at length to be taken into consideration as a political factor. The conference took place in the Memorial Hall on the 10th of December. Great care had been taken to make the meeting honestly representative of the rural districts, if not exclusively of the agricultural labouring class. Some four hundred delegates attended, and from the first it was evident that the nonconformist element largely prevailed. In nearly every case the speeches were to the point, and showed dissatisfaction with the existing allotment system, and the desire for powers, through the instrumentality of village or parish councils, to acquire land compulsorily and to relet it to the labourers cheaply. They were even more unanimous against the existing system of letting cottages, which, at the will of the farmer, they lost when they lost their work or left his service, they wished for an extension of the system of out-door relief, and at the same time a reduction of the rates, and they were generally agreed as to the "tyranny" exercised by the farmer, the squire, and the parson, the latter especially coming in for their severe dislike.

The opinion was unanimous in favour of parish councils. On the land question there was practical unanimity on three points: they wanted (1) the land at a fair rent, (2) land and cottages with a fixed tenure, and (3) compensation for improvements. "We don't want the land for nothing, but at a fair market rent," was the way they generally put the matter. Speaker after speaker told the story of prohibitive rents, from £2 10s to £3 an acre, of attempts to confiscate improve-

ments, of cruelly enhanced rents, &c. The conference showed in the plainest manner that the villagers were perfectly at one as to (1) the need for a new Local Government Bill, and (2) for a new Agricultural Holdings Act.

On the following day (Dec 11), at a breakfast to which the delegates were invited, Mr Gladstone was given a warm reception by the villagers, and in a happy and appropriate speech he expressed his willingness to reduce election expenses, to divide the rates between landlord and tenant, to establish parish councils, and to compel landlords to give land for allotments, but in regard to the labourers' complaints against parson and squire, he argued that the interests of the squire, of the farmer, and of the labourer were all interdependent. Mr Gladstone's clearest utterance was distinctly in favour of parish rather than district councils, as being more competent to deal with labourers' allotments, to defend rights of way, to protect ancient charities, and to deal with expropriation for the benefit of villagers.

Whilst the Gladstonians were bringing to the front the grievances of the agricultural labourers, the Unionists, especially those in the following of Mr Chamberlain, were urging forward the question of state pensions for the old and infirm of all classes of the labouring population. The question was not, however, exclusively a party one, several Radicals or Liberals having been associated with Mr Chamberlain, among them being Mr W A Hunter, in advocating the claims of the aged poor for some better provision in old age than the workhouse, to some kinder treatment than out-door relief. According to Mr Charles Booth, an acknowledged authority on the poor-law question, 40 per cent of the population of Great Britain which reach 65 years of age receive poor-relief, so that the number thus relieved in the preceding year was upwards of half a million, eight-ninths of whom had never received relief in any form until they reached 65 years of age. The proposal was to abolish both out-door and indoor relief altogether, and at the age of 65 to pay to every individual in England and Wales a pension of five shillings a week. The objection

to this, as to other schemes of the kind, was, that it would teach the poor and hard-working to rely less on their own thrift and industry and more upon state aid

The lesson of the municipal and parliamentary elections of the year seemed to show that Mr Gladstone and his party had a reasonable prospect of success at the forthcoming general election, which it was now generally expected would take place in the fall of 1892

One of the principal events of an eventful political year was the formal declaration by Mr Chamberlain that he neither looked for nor desired reunion with the Gladstonian party. They (the Gladstonians), he said, had accepted the policy of the Parnellites, whilst between the sections of the Unionist party confidence had been created and prejudice removed. For the last five years they had fought under the same flag together, they had suffered reverses together, and now they were determined—whatever might be the vicissitudes of the protracted struggle in which they were engaged, they were determined to march shoulder to shoulder until their object had been attained, and until they had finally defeated the vile conspiracy with which the integrity of the empire was being threatened.

Happily the year 1891 saw no repetition of the financial crisis of the preceding year, which, but for the prompt action of Mr Lidderdale, the governor of the Bank of England (who, in recognition of his public services on that occasion, was subsequently presented with the freedom of the city and sworn of the privy council), would have brought about widespread disaster and ruin. No legislation can prevent panic or over-speculation, but many practical intellects were applied to the inquiry whether something could not be done to minimize the consequences which might arise from either, and Mr Goschen suggested a scheme for strengthening the metallic reserve, which involved the issue of one-pound notes—a suggestion, however, which had no practical issue.

As regards labour questions, the most interesting event of the year was the appointment of a royal commission, with Lord Hartington (ere the year was out to become Duke of

Devonshire through the death of his father) as chairman, among his colleagues being a number of labour representatives. The terms of reference were sufficiently wide to include inquiry into all conditions and circumstances affecting labour, and a report as to whether, and in what manner, existing evils might be remedied.

Of labour disputes, the most important in the metropolis were those of the omnibus men, carpenters, and tailors. The former was settled after the streets of London had, in the absence of the popular public conveyance, presented for some days an uncommonly strange appearance, by the concession of better pay and a twelve-hours' day, the old time having been in some cases of the monstrous length of fifteen and sixteen hours. The carpenters' demand was mainly for an eight-hours' day, but after a strike extending over six months, the arbitrators to whom, in common with the masters, they had agreed to refer the issue, gave an award that practically settled nothing. The strike of the tailors likewise was for shorter hours and against an excess of overtime. There was no relaxation of the agitation in favour of a legal eight-hours' day, and signs became more and more manifest that the movement was growing both in strength and extent. Mr Thomas Burt, M P, rightly claimed in his address to the Trades Union Congress that the demand for shorter hours was a genuine one, and not a mere pretext for obtaining higher wages, and the congress itself adopted, by a considerable majority, a resolution which certainly nearly everyone believed affirmed the principle that legislation regulating hours of labour to eight a day should be in force in all trades and occupations, save where a majority of the organized members of any trade or occupation protest by a ballot voting against the same. It afterwards appeared, however, that the actual number of the hours had been omitted from the resolution.

In the early part of the year an attempt on the part of the "new unionists" among sailors and firemen to dictate terms to the shipowners collapsed, the latter having, through their federation, compelled the men

to accept a ticket from them and to work in conformity with its conditions. After several weeks' struggle the strike leaders were repudiated by the men, and the strike ended in defeat.

The record of an eventful year ought not to be closed without a glance at the results of the decennial census, which showed that in April, England and Wales had a population of 26,001,018, being an increase of 3,026,572 as compared with the enumeration of 1881, while in Scotland the population had increased from 3,737,573 in 1881, to 4,025,647. The Irish census returns showed that the population had fallen from 8,191,257 in 1841 to 4,706,162 in 1891.

The year 1892 will be ever memorable as having been the one in which Mr Gladstone formed his fourth administration. But there are several events of minor, though still sufficiently momentous importance, to call for reference in this record, before touching upon that of the general election. First of all, however, a word as to the social and financial outlook. The hopes and wishes for a prosperous year that the lieges of these islands exchanged with one another in its opening days were in many instances dismally disappointed. For many the year brought with it poverty and distress. A death in the royal family meant also a blighted London season, and restricted social expenditure, a bad harvest and low prices signified ruin to the farmer, while the failure of many small undertakings, though they did not greatly affect the city, brought about more real misery among the thrifty than might have been caused by a great financial crisis. A recurrence of the influenza epidemic, and the troubles arising from the conflicts between capital and labour, we shared with other nations, but we enjoyed almost a complete immunity from the cholera scourge, which, rising in the east, in China it was supposed, spread devastatingly over Europe, converting Hamburg for months into a huge pest-house, and grimly realizing in the midst of our nineteenth-century civilization the dread visitations of the middle ages.

The year indeed was one of mourning and

of gloom. It was but a fortnight old when the nation was plunged into the deepest grief by the untimely death of the Duke of Clarence, whose betrothal to the Princess Victoria Mary of Teck had been announced but a few weeks before, and whose wedding was to have been one of the events of the spring. On the same day, and at almost the same hour, Cardinal Manning, who combined so intimately the diplomatic statesman with the rigid ascetic, passed away, deeply regretted by the labouring classes, whose friend he had always been, to be soon succeeded in the Roman Catholic archbishopric of Westminster by Dr Vaughan. Death continued busy during the remainder of the year, and amongst those whom he gathered in his garner we may mention Alfred Lord Tennyson, the foremost poet of the Victorian era, who died in October at Aldworth, and whose remains found a fitting resting-place beside those of Robert Browning in Westminster Abbey, also one of the greatest and most popular preachers of the period of which we are treating, Mr Spurgeon, whose death evoked expressions of the deepest sorrow from men of all religions and every shade of thought throughout the civilized world.

Parliament met as usual in February, but with Mr Balfour as leader of the House in place of the late Mr W. H. Smith. The principal work of the session, which dragged on till the end of June, was the production of a Local Government Bill for Ireland, which was read a second time on May 24, but was not attempted to be pushed farther, the passing of a Clergy Discipline Bill, and of a measure styled "to facilitate the creation of small agricultural holdings," which, from its own inherent defects, fell rather flat. Several measures came before the House as we may say rather to test opinion than in the expectation that they would be passed. Among these may be mentioned the Woman's Suffrage Bill, which was rejected on second reading by a narrow majority. A few days before Mr Gladstone had written a letter to Mr S. Smith, and issued it in pamphlet form, explaining his objections to the bill, and urging his followers to vote against it. Previously a Miners' Eight Hours Bill had been rejected

on second reading by a large majority, while a few days later (March 25) Mr Fenwick's motion for the payment of members was negatived

By the end of May it had become so evident that parliament was drawing to its close that Mr Gladstone, in anticipation of the impending dissolution, addressed a meeting of the Liberal and Radical Union at the Memorial Hall upon the programme to be adopted at the coming election. A fortnight later (June 13) Mr Balfour made a statement in the House announcing that the government had resolved to appeal to the country. Ten days later Mr Gladstone's election address to his constituents appeared, dealing almost exclusively with the Irish question, and on the 30th of June he opened his fourth electoral campaign in Midlothian by a speech lasting over an hour. Whilst all these utterances are matters of history so modern that it is needless to say anything further about them, it is permissible to quote the pathetic concluding words of his address —

"In this the sixtieth year of my political life," said the venerable statesman, "I necessarily feel that this must surely be the last general election at which I can expect to solicit your suffrages, and that now but a small and special share can belong to me in the work which I have been endeavouring to sketch out. It is thus an appropriate occasion to assure you that I am deeply grateful for the confidence which has been heretofore accorded me by an overwhelming majority of your number, and which I humbly trust I have not forfeited. And even now, closely circumscribed as is the space before me, I trust that if your minds have not changed concerning me, I may still, through the bounty of the Almighty, be permitted to render you for a while imperfect but devoted service."

The result of the general election, which ran its uneven course amid demonstrations of excitement hardly surpassed in degree since the days of the corn-laws, was a net Liberal gain in the administrative county of London alone of ten seats, while when the last poll had been returned from the far north, and the Greenock seat had been awarded to

Sir T. Sutherland, Lord Salisbury's majority had been converted into a minority of forty. The premier, however, resolved to meet parliament, which met on the 4th of August, when an amendment to the address, moved by Mr Asquith, to the effect that the government did not possess the confidence of the House and the country, was carried by exactly the numerical majority the whips had counted upon. The majority included the Parnellites, now reduced to a handful of nine, who voted for the expulsion of the Coercionists "without prejudice" to what they might decide to do when Mr Gladstone's Home Rule scheme should be submitted, and four Labour members.

Mr Gladstone in his fourth administration fell back for the most part upon his old and tried cabinet colleagues, his chief appointments being as follows: Lord Rosebery, foreign secretary, Mr Campbell-Bannerman, secretary of war, Earl Spencer, first lord of the admiralty, Mr Mundella, president of the board of trade, Earl Kimberley, lord-president of the council and secretary for India, the Marquis of Ripon, colonial secretary, Sir William Harcourt, chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Herschell, lord-chancellor, Mr John Morley, secretary for Ireland, Mr Asquith, home-secretary, Mr A. Acland, vice-president of the council, Mr Arnold Morley, postmaster-general, Mr Bryce, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and lastly, though not least, Mr H. H. Fowler, president of the local government board. Although nothing much could be said against these appointments individually, yet some criticisms were heard against office being confined to the "old gang," as it was expressed. But of all the circumstances connected with the formation of the cabinet, that which excited the most attention was the exclusion of Mr Labouchere, he attributing the fact to royal influence, while Mr. Gladstone took the sole responsibility thereof upon his own shoulders.

Mr Gladstone having formed his fourth administration, parliament was prorogued in order to give the combatants the rest they needed, and to allow the ministry the time

requisite for the preparation of the measures which they were under promise to submit to the new House, and, as all the estimates had been passed by arrangement before the dissolution, there was no absolute necessity to go on. Pending legislative action, the government found themselves able to effect several good and wholesome changes administratively. The chancellor of the exchequer gratified the county council, the first meeting of which took place in March, with Lord Rosebery as chairman, as well as the rate-payers, by conceding the annuity principle in the repayment of loans, and pleased Mr Tate and the public by giving a site at Millbank for the erection of a gallery for that gentleman's collection of pictures. Mr H. H. Fowler reduced the varying property qualifications required for guardians of the poor to a minimum of £5, which enables those to serve who best know the needs of the poor, and reissued the circular bringing under the notice of guardians and sanitary authorities the prevailing distress, and recommending them to arrange as far as possible for the execution of works on which unskilled labour might be employed. Mr Asquith, as home-secretary, removed a burning grievance by reopening under proper regulations Trafalgar Square for public meetings, issued an order under the Factory Act with a view to improving the lot of factory out-workers, and made additions to the schedule of dangerous and unwholesome trades. Mr John Morley appointed a small royal commission to investigate the case of the evicted tenants, under the presidency of Mr Justice Mathew, withdrew all the proclamations under the Coercion Act of 1887, restored the right of trial by jury, and revoked the proclamation declaring the National League to be a dangerous society, released the Gweedore prisoners, and was (towards the end of the year) able to show that, notwithstanding the evicting policy entered upon by many landowners after the change of government, the steady decrease of crime and outrage which had set in before he returned to Dublin Castle had continued unabated.

While thus speaking of legislative and

administrative work, it may not be out of place to devote a few lines to what we may term the parliament of London. It took the initial steps for the acquisition of more tramways, formulated a code of fair wages, adopted a scheme for the execution of authorized works without the intervention of a contractor, and proposed a programme of legislation for the ensuing session of parliament.

As usual, the year did not pass over without risings, wars, and perturbations, in or adjoining our extended empire. During the previous year we had had the troubles in Manipur, arising out of the attempt to arrest the Senaputti, or regent, a brother of the deposed Maharajah, resulting in the treacherous seizure and massacre of Mr Quinton, Mr Grimwood, and others, the retreat of the small garrison and escort when further defence had become impossible, the heroism of Mrs Grimwood, the bravery of Lieut Grant and his little band of 80 Ghoorkas, who withstood an attack of 4400 Manipuris with two guns on the fort of Thobal, which they were holding, repulsing them with heavy loss, the suppression of the rising, the arrest, trial, and execution of the Senaputti and Tongal General, also the exciting diplomatic passage of arms between our government and Portugal in relation to the boundaries which separate the dominions and "spheres of influence" of the two countries in Eastern Africa. To these troubles succeeded, in the far East, the suspicious movements of Russia in the Pamirs, which were considered to be too near the northern boundaries of India to be pleasant, the rising against the Ameer of Afghanistan, the fight for the succession which followed the death of the Mahtur of Chitral, the Black Mountain expedition, and the contests between the Chins and the British forces. Such were a few of the year's crop of perturbations in Asia. Africa also—where the lions continued to divide the spoil—contributed her quota to the history of the year. Mohammed Tewfik, khedive of Egypt, died in January, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Abbas Pasha, to whom, after much negotiation and a fruitless endeavour to modify the limits of Egyptian

territory by omitting the Sinai peninsula, the sultan sent the firman of investiture. From further south on the Dark Continent came earlier in the year serious news of trouble between the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries, but the despatches of Captains Lugard and Williams gave an account of the proceedings in Uganda widely differing from those which had previously reached England from opposite sources. The British East Africa Company proposing to withdraw to the coast, the Church Missionary Society waited upon Lord Rosebery, and pointed out the evils likely to ensue if this step were taken, whereupon the cabinet decided to "adhere to the acceptance by their predecessors" of the principle of evacuation, and in order to facilitate it with greater safety, to furnish the pecuniary contribution necessary to prolong the occupation for an extended period of three months, or until the end of next March, and to send Sir Gerald Portal as British commissioner to report on the actual state of affairs, and the best means of dealing with the country. While one great African association was thus contemplating withdrawal from a magnificent stretch of territory, Mr Cecil Rhodes, the "diamond king," and prime minister of the Cape, was discoursing to another of extended operations and lessened expenditure in the vast dominions wherein the British South Africa Company exercises influence, boldly urging even an overland telegraphic connection of Egypt with the Cape. Morocco was the scene of an exciting episode, the treaty negotiations between Sir Charles Euan-Smith and the Sultan ending in a violent rupture and the withdrawal of the British mission from Fez.

Among the other events of the year that had far-reaching social or financial bearings, mention should not be omitted of the International Monetary Conference at Brussels, at which Sir C. Rivers-Wilson, speaking on behalf of the British government, declared its faith in monometallism pure and simple, and that it would be unwilling to withdraw the half-sovereign from circulation except on provision of an advantageous alternative. Far more momentous in its results was the ap-

pointment of an Indian Currency Commission, with Lord Herschell as chairman, its report published in June, 1893, producing, in conjunction with the action of the two governments, something like a financial revolution. The recommendations of the report were to the effect that, in order to meet and check the constantly declining value of the rupee, the Indian mints should be closed to the public as regards the free coinage of silver, but that at the same time they should be used by the government for the coinage of silver in exchange for gold, at the rate of 1s 4d the rupee. A bill was at once passed by the Viceroy's Council in that sense. Its immediate effect in the London market was to send up the value of the rupee $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and to send down silver 4 per cent. The effect on the American market was nothing less than disastrous, compelling the United States legislature to review its policy in regard to silver. It is too early to arrive at a final judgment on the working of the new system, but it seemed at the time the least undesirable method of escaping from an almost hopeless deadlock.

It will be long before the failure of the Liberator Building Society with its affiliated banks and other concerns is forgotten, carrying, as it did, ruin to thousands of families. Seven millions sterling were said to have been invested in these undertakings, chiefly by thrifty working folk or persons of the poorer trading class. Hundreds had placed their whole in the keeping of the arch-scoundrels who combined prayer-meetings with finance, and when the crash came suicide and madness marked the effect upon many of the victims. Several of the men implicated in the fraudulent concerns, notably Hobbs, Wright, and Newman, were promptly brought to justice and sentenced to varying terms of penal servitude, but Jabez Balfour, the man chiefly concerned in these nefarious concerns, fled, taking refuge in Argentina, the only country in the world with which we had not at the time an extradition treaty. The lack being remedied, however, efforts were successfully made to bring him to well-deserved punishment.

One of the sights of the year was the

portentous May Day demonstration in Hyde Park, which brought together from three to five hundred thousand persons, in favour of a legal eight-hour working day. Another event of equal importance as regards labour interests was the adoption by the Trades' Congress at Glasgow of a resolution in favour of a general eight-hour bill, miners to be excepted, and any trade organization to be left the power by protesting to secure exemption. Early in the year between 300,000 and 400,000 miners in England, Wales, and Scotland left work in obedience to the call of the Miners' Federation, which urged a week or fortnight's "play" to exhaust the coal-owners' resources, and thus make a threatened reduction of wages unnecessary. At the end of a week it was decided to resume work, the effect desired having been attained. In November a dispute in the cotton trade came to a head, and some 50,000 operatives went out of work, rather than accept a reduction of 5 per cent in their wages. After upwards of 13,000,000 spindles had been idle for twenty weeks a compromise was arranged (March 15, 1893), whereby the men accepted a reduction of 7d in the pound (about 291 per cent) for six months certain, and both parties agreed to use an amicable method of settling matters in dispute in the future. Before the lock-out in the cotton industry was ended, the country saw business menaced by a strike affecting the shipping trade. The focus of this was Hull, and the question was not primarily one of wages, but related to the organization of labour. The contest, in fact, was between the "new unionism" and "free labour." After a period of preparation the quarrel broke out between the Dockers' Union and Messrs Wilson, the steamship owners, one of whom had been a founder of the union only a short time before. The beginning of the strike was somewhat trifling. Some sailors were in arrear with their subscription to the union; the union forbade their barges to be unloaded, Messrs Wilson tried to import non-union labour, a general strike began; it lasted from the latter part of February to the middle of May, leaving matters very much as they were, but having caused great suffering, and

having for the time seriously injured the trade of the port of Hull. Unfortunately, the struggle was marked by much bitterness and disorder on the part of the strikers, and several riots and incendiary fires took place during the course of it.

Another strike, still more serious, and of longer duration than the last, was destined to mark the labour annals of the year. It directly involved some hundreds of thousands of miners, and indirectly gave a most serious check to traffic and manufactures, and therefore to employment. Here the question was simply one of wages. The masters proposed to withdraw a considerable part of the advance in wages which had been granted in 1889, the men strenuously objected, and refused to work at any other than the old rates. The strike began on July 28, and rapidly spread over the districts controlled by the Miners' Federation, though Northumberland and Durham took no part in it. After a short period, marked by disorder and riot, the Welsh masters and their men came to terms, but all over the English Midlands the contest went on, not only week after week, but month after month. Though there was between the parties a contention as to the recent and actual price of coal, the men made no secret of the fact that they were in reality fighting for a new principle. They asked to have a minimum fixed below which wages could not go, in other words, they contended for the principle of "a living wage." The masters declined, and the struggle proceeded until the large funds of the union were exhausted, misery and semi-starvation prevailed in many of the coal districts, the women and children, of course, being the chief sufferers, yet the strikers held out. Fortunately the public, recognizing the justice of the demand of the miners, came to their aid with generous subscription, and so greatly ameliorated the sufferings of the workers and their families.

In the second week of October the mayors of six great industrial centres in the north of England held a conference with the representatives of masters and men, but it was without avail. The same result attended a conference held a few weeks later in London,

though the masters consented to propose a much smaller reduction than that which they had named at first. At last, after the strike had lasted nearly four months, the government saw their opportunity and intervened. Mr. Gladstone wrote a letter to the two federations representing the masters and the men, proposing that Lord Rosebery should preside at a conference, not as arbitrator or umpire, but as one who should "offer his good offices in order to assist the parties in arriving between themselves at a friendly settlement of the questions in dispute." The conference took place on the 17th of November, at the Foreign Office, and, after a sitting extending over four hours and a half, the two parties signed an agreement terminating the strike. The terms were that the men should resume work at the old rate of wages till February 1, that a board of conciliation should be formed of fourteen representatives on each side, that this board should meet on December 13, and endeavour to elect a chairman from outside, failing which they should ask the speaker of the House of Commons to nominate one. Thus ended one of the most momentous strikes of the latter third of the nineteenth century, having established, in the public conscience at least, the principle that there is a minimum wage below which it is impossible to expect a man to work.

But though the public mind may be said to have been concerned with strikes and lock-outs from the beginning to the end of the year, yet there were other and equally stirring events to occupy attention. Parliament sat nine and a half months out of the twelve, and though it got through an amount of labour that was almost herculean, it was rendered almost nugatory by the action of the House of Lords. A number of important bills which were introduced, and advanced a stage, had in the end to be withdrawn in order not to stop the way of necessary business or impede the progress of the Home Rule Bill. The latter was introduced by the prime minister on February 13, in a crammed and excited House, with a speech which can be described as nothing less than marvellous, considering the age of the speaker. It passed the first

reading on the 17th, and on the 22d of April was read a second time. The controversy dragged on through the summer, the opposition using every means in their power to delay and obstruct. But by the drastic application of the closure the bill passed through committee and was read a third time by a slightly reduced majority (34) on September 3—to pass instantly to its doom in the House of Lords, that body rejecting the measure after four nights' debate by 419 to 41—a majority of rather more than 10 to 1.

Such having been the fate of the bill, it is needless to take up space by describing its provisions, especially as it must still be in the minds of most people who took any interest in the matter. Suffice it to say that it was much on the lines of the first bill, with the exception that it provided for the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. It is equally unnecessary to do more than refer to the hot agitation which was kept up all over the country during the entire parliamentary session, especially by the Conservative party. Particular attention was paid to the rousing of Ulster, both Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour paid it a visit.

When the Home Rule Bill had been disposed of in the Commons the house adjourned until November, when the Employers' Liability Bill and the Local Government (England and Wales) Bill, better known as the Parish Councils Bill, were proceeded with. The first-named bill had been introduced by Mr. Asquith in February, and was read a second time on April 25, and was then referred to the standing committee on law. The government agreed to extend the provisions of the bill to workmen in the employment of the crown, though not to soldiers or sailors. On the resumed consideration of the bill as amended, in November, Mr. W. M. McLaren moved the insertion of a new clause enabling workmen to contract themselves out of the act if the employers had made contributions to an insurance fund which would provide compensation in case of death or accident. The proposed clause was rejected by 236 to 217. The bill, with some slight alterations, was then passed and sent up to the Lords, who

at once inserted a contracting-out clause, and thus, in the opinion of the majority of workmen, ruined the bill.

The other measure, for the passing of which the Commons had sat through part of the Christmas holidays and well on into January, the Local Government (England and Wales) Bill, received still less consideration at the hands of the hereditary legislators. This bill, which was introduced by Mr H H Fowler on March 21, was for the purpose of reforming the existing system of parish government by establishing in every parish of not less than 300 population (smaller parishes being grouped together) a parish council, to be elected annually within a month of April 15, by ballot, by the registered county council and parliamentary electors without plural voting. The council, it was provided by the bill, would appoint its own chairman, and would consist of not less than five nor more than fifteen members, the exact number being fixed by the county council, it would be entitled to meet in any schoolroom in receipt of the parliamentary grant, it would appoint the overseers and hold all parish property, and to it would be transferred the whole of the machinery of the allotment acts, together with the making of provision for lighting, watching, baths and wash-houses, burials, public libraries, &c. New powers were given to these councils with regard to the acquisition of land and buildings for public purposes, recreation grounds, water supply, the preservation of rights of way, and the holding of parochial property, and the right was granted them to petition the Local Government Board, whose order would be effectual without confirmation by parliament, for power to take compulsorily land for allotments or hiring. Where land was taken compulsorily there was to be no additional allowance by the arbitrators on that ground. Without the consent of the parish meeting or the district council (which would be the rural sanitary authority reconstituted) they would be unable to incur any loan or expense which involved an annual rate exceeding one penny in the pound.

In towns the bill converted the improvement commissioners and the local boards into

urban district councils. The bill further abolished plural voting and all qualifications and disqualifications on the ground of sex. In regard to boards of guardians, the bill proposed to do away with all *ex-officio* and nominated guardians and all qualifications for guardians, who would be elected by the same constituency as the parish council, by ballot, and without plural or proxy voting. The same principle and method for the election of guardians would prevail all over the country, including the metropolis, all highway authorities were abolished, and their powers transferred to the district council, whose chairman would become, by virtue of his office, a justice of the peace for the county.

The bill having been read a first time, its further consideration was adjourned until the reassembling of the House in the autumn (Nov 2), when Mr Fowler, in moving the second reading, announced certain modifications. After several days' discussion it was read a second time, the government being urged by the opposition to drop that part of the bill relating to the poor-law.

Not only in respect to political, but also as regards social and other matters, the year 1893 stands out in an exceptional light. It was a year of menace and danger, and in one respect, of catastrophe. On four or five occasions during the twelve months the direct relations between England and foreign powers passed through extremely important, if not highly critical, stages. In consequence of the action of the French in Siam, we seemed for a time in imminent peril of war with our nearest continental neighbours. Fortunately our cabinet did not lose its head, as some of the Paris Chauvinists did, and not a few of our English papers, and so Lord Rosebery was able to arrange matters amicably.

An old controversy with the United States, which had more than once been the cause of annoying complications, namely, the question as to the rights of seal-fishing in the Behring Sea, was fortunately settled by arbitration. The Baron de Courcel, Lord Hannen, Senator Morgan, and four other distinguished arbitrators formed the court, which sat from May to August in Paris. The case for Britain

was set forth by Sir Charles Russell and Sir Richard Webster, that of the United States by Mr Charles and Mr E J Phelps. The award, delivered on August 15, prescribed — (1) The total prohibition of sealing at all times within a zone of 60 geographical miles of the Pribyloff Islands, (2) the establishment of a close season for the fur seal from May to July on the high seas over a wide expanse of the Pacific and the Behning Sea, and (3) the creation of a system of licensing, under which authorized vessels only are to be permitted to engage in pelagic sealing. Neither England nor Canada, nor the United States were quite satisfied with the award, but perhaps that is the highest testimony in its favour. There is no doubt that it decidedly advanced the principle of arbitration as a means of settling international disputes.

Our spheres of influence and dominion in Africa were disturbed at nearly all points of the compass. In consequence of the action of the new Khedive of Egypt in appointing a retrograde Turk, Fakhri Pasha, to form a new ministry, very determined action had to be taken by Lord Cromer and the foreign secretary, but their action was effectual, and the crisis passed. Sir Gerald Portal's mission to Uganda, made necessary by the withdrawal of the British East Africa Company, was accomplished with success, and his settlement of the country was accepted alike by Protestants and Catholics, the jealousies and disputes between whom first brought on a critical state of affairs. Unfortunately, in South Africa difficulties with the natives were not so bloodlessly arranged. For a long time trouble had been brewing between the "young men" of the warlike Matabele and the white settlers in Mashonaland, and in the summer a Matabele raid upon the peace-loving Mashonas had to be forcibly repelled by the police of the Chartered Company. The result was that the company soon found itself at war with Lobengula, the chief of the Matabele. Reinforced by a column of Bechuanaland police, under Colonel Goidt-Adams, the company's force advanced in October upon Buluwayo, the capital of the Matabele. The country being difficult and almost unknown,

it was an anxious time for all concerned. The Matabele numbered at least 15,000 warriors, while the British forces did not exceed 800, moreover, the dreaded rainy season was coming on. But within a few weeks of the first advance the little force had defeated the natives in several sharp encounters and occupied Buluwayo, forcing Lobengula to take to flight. While in pursuit of him, however, a company under Captain Wilson was surrounded and cut to pieces. This was the only serious loss during the war, in most of the other engagements the Matabele alone leaving many dead upon the field. It has often been said, and it is no doubt true, that the course of empire must be onward: there is no turning back; but it should be added that the Radical press, led by Mr Labouchere, was very severe in its strictures upon the way in which this "little war" had been provoked, and the manner in which it was conducted.

But the event of 1893 which most shocked public feeling, and which cost a larger number of British lives than the whole of the engagements in South Africa, was the loss of the *Victoria*, one of the finest ships of the British navy, together with the admiral and the greater portion of the crew. The disaster is too recent and too well in the public memory to need any words of description here, beyond the bare mention of the fact that through someone's blunder a ship that was reported to have cost a million of money went to the bottom with the commander-in-chief of the squadron, twenty-two officers, and some three hundred and forty men.

We must not close the annals of 1893 without recording two events of the first importance connected with the royal family. Early in May the country was pleased, though not surprised, to learn of the engagement of the Duke of York to the Princess May. The princess had endeared herself to the British people by her conduct under the sad bereavement of the previous year, and the public satisfaction in the announcement of the marriage was as great as had been the sorrow felt at the news of that first bitter loss. The royal wedding took place on the 6th of July, in the chapel of St James's Palace, amid every

sign of rejoicing on the part of the enormous crowds of people that lined the streets of London, and with all the elements of pleasure and beauty that could be lent by one of the loveliest days of a summer such as England does not enjoy perhaps twice in a century. The other royal event was the death of the queen's brother-in-law, the Duke of Coburg, and the succession to the vacant throne of her second son, the Duke of Edinburgh.

The year 1894 will be for ever memorable in the annals of the Liberal party as being the one in which the foremost of Victorian statesmen severed his connection with the cabinet, and closed his brilliant and useful career so far as practical politics was concerned, although happily he was still spared to enjoy a dignified and not unfruitful retirement. It is generally supposed that the rejection of the Home Rule Bill by the House of Lords and the emasculation of the Employers' Liability Bill to such an extent that it was deemed advisable to drop it, thus bringing about, as he believed, a dead-lock in legislation, were largely instrumental in leading Mr Gladstone to the conclusion that the time had come for his relinquishment of office, the great constitutional question touching the veto of the Upper Chamber requiring for its settlement the strength and energy of a man in the prime rather than at the end of his career. If these considerations had their influence, as doubtless they had, there were other and still more cogent reasons tending to the same end, and it is more than probable that these were the determining cause of his setting the word "finis" to his parliamentary work when and as he did.

But before touching upon those matters, it will be necessary to fill into our record the series of events that led up to and brought about the closing act. After a brief adjournment over Christmas, Parliament reassembled early in February, when the Commons at once proceeded to consider the Employers' Liability Bill, and in consequence of the contracting-out clause inserted by the Upper House, it was deemed inexpedient to proceed any further with it, and it was withdrawn (February 20), to the no small annoyance, it

must be said, of a section of the Radical press and some labour associations. For instance, it is worthy of note, as marking the opinion of a large body of workers concerned, that the committee of the Trade Union Congress condemned the action of the Lords as the work of "irresponsible legislators, who have rendered insecure your lives and limbs when toiling from day to day to enrich them and the nation."

The Parish Councils Bill suffered at the hands of the peers in the same way as the Accidents Bill, although not to so crippling an extent. For some days the bill was shuttle-cocked between the two Houses, amendments being erased or reinserted with or without modification, until the Commons, wearying of the game, prudently decided that three-parts of a bill were better than no measure at all. There was a moment, however, when it seemed likely that the same course would be taken with it as with the Employers' Liability Bill. But an interval of two days for reflection and a cabinet meeting led to the decision (February 26) that it was best to accept two of the amendments to which the peers attached the most importance, one dealing with the compulsory purchase and hiring of land, the other referring to the appointment of trustees of parochial charities.

It was on March 1st that Mr Gladstone rose to deal with the Lords' amendments. He remarked that the usual course was to take the amendments *seriatim*, but on this occasion the government had found it necessary to arrive at a decision upon them as a whole. Two amendments had been made in regard to which the government strongly dissented from the House of Lords—so strongly indeed that they could in no circumstances be a party to a final arrangement for incorporating them in the law of the country beyond the reach of future alteration. The first thing that occurred to him and his colleagues was that the sending and resending and again resending of this particular bill between the two Houses was an operation which had continued long enough. They had therefore resolved to adopt a decisive course, and to accept the Lords' amendments under

protest, with the hope that on an early opportunity they might be reversed and effaced. The first amendment touched the question between a population of 200 and a population of 300 as a qualification for a parish council. In raising the number of the population the House of Lords had been ill-advised, but the second amendment was of a still more serious character. This House had frankly adopted the principle that the management of local authorities should be vested in the representatives of the parish community. To hand over to the charity commissioners the business of deciding whether the controlling influence in the management of these charities was to be given to the parish community would be to transfer to the commissioners a duty which it behoved Parliament, and Parliament alone, to deal with. Still the amendments were limited to particular portions of the measure, and did not interfere with the great principles of local government to which the bill would give effect. In these circumstances the government had arrived at the conclusion that it would not be well to wreck the whole work of the session. They had therefore reluctantly determined to withdraw their opposition to the Lords' amendments, but to withdraw it under protest, while asserting that they looked forward to an early reversal of the unfortunate decision which had been arrived at by the other House.

Having thus, in the briefest possible manner, disposed of the amendments, Mr Gladstone proceeded to address himself to the larger question of the general competence of the House of Peers.

The question (said he) is whether the judgment of the House of Lords is not merely to modify, but is to annihilate the whole work of the House of Commons—work which has been performed at an amount and sacrifice of time, labour and convenience totally unprecedented. Well, sir, we have not been anxious—I believe I speak for my colleagues, I know I speak my own convictions—we have not been desirous to precipitate or unduly to accentuate a crisis. We have been desirous to save something from the wreck of the session's work. We feel that this bill is a

bill of such value that upon the whole, great as we admit the objections to be to the acceptance of these amendments, the objections are still greater and weightier to a course which would lead to the rejection of the bill. We are compelled to accompany that acceptance with the sorrowful declaration that the differences, not of a temporary or casual nature merely, but differences of conviction, differences of prepossession, differences of mental habit and differences of fundamental tendency between the House of Lords and the House of Commons, appear to have reached a development in the present year such as to create a state of things of which we are compelled to say, that, in our judgment, it cannot continue. Sir, I do not wish to use hard words, which are easily employed and as easily retorted. It is a game that two can play at. But without using hard words, without presuming to judge of motives, without desiring or venturing to allege imputations, I have felt it a duty to state what appear to be indisputable facts. The issue which is raised between a deliberative assembly elected by the votes of more than 6,000,000 of people, and a deliberative assembly occupied by many men of virtue, by many men of talent, of course with considerable diversities and varieties, is a controversy which, when once raised, must go forward to an issue. The issue has been postponed, long postponed, I rejoice to say. It has been postponed in many cases to a considerable degree by that discretion, circumspection and reserve in the use of enormous privileges which the House of Lords on many occasions in my recollection, in the time of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen and other periods, have shown. But I am afraid, sir, that the epoch, the age of that reserve and circumspection may have gone by. I will not abandon all hope of it, but I must say of the present, I do not like to say that the situation is intolerable, because that is a hard and may seem a dictatorial word, but I think honourable gentlemen opposite must feel, as I feel, that in some way or other a solution will have to be found for this tremendous contrariety and incessant conflict upon matters of high principle and profound

importance between the representatives of the people and those who fill a nominated chamber. It is not with the House of Commons to pronounce a judgment on this subject. The House of Commons is itself a party in the case. I have no difficulty in pronouncing a judgment on behalf of the ministry in the issues that have been raised throughout this year between the two Houses. We take frankly, fully and finally the side of the House of Commons. The House of Commons could not be a final judge in its own case, and I am by no means anxious to precipitate proceedings of that kind, however they may be invited by an impatience most natural in the circumstances of the case. No doubt, sir, there is a higher authority than the House of Commons. It is the authority of the nation which must in the last resort decide. Happily, we know that we all of us are sufficiently trained in the habits of constitutional freedom to regard that issue as absolutely final upon one and upon all alike of every one of these subjects. The time when that judgment is to be invited and the circumstances under which it is to be invited, of course, constitute a question of the gravest character, and one which the executive government of the day can alone consider and decide. My duty terminates by calling the attention of the House to the fact, which it is really impossible to set aside, that in considering these amendments, limited as their scope may seem to some to be, we are considering a part, an essential and inseparable part of a question enormously large, a question which has become profoundly acute, which will demand a settlement and must receive at an early date that settlement from the highest authority.

After a reply to the venerable statesman by Mr. Balfour and some remarks from Lord Randolph Churchill—soon himself no longer to adorn that chamber with his high qualities—the peers' amendments with reference to the population limit and the charity trustees were agreed to without a division. The bill then went to the Lords and finally became law, and the prolonged session of 1893—after lasting thirteen months—was formally prorogued (March 3rd).

The importance of the act thus added to the statute-book can hardly be overestimated. It constituted a legitimate and long-needed extension of our national system of self-government, which had worked so well in the past, to our villages and rural districts. No such wide and far-reaching measure of reform had been passed since 1832. It is no exaggeration to say that it infused renewed life and vitality into thousands of English parishes, and made the agricultural labourer—in some respects the most pitiful figure in our modern industrial life—a citizen in his own parish, thus opening up to him possibilities of civic duty and civic improvement before undreamt of. If for nothing else Mr. Gladstone's last premiership will be remembered in days to come for this, its great and almost inestimable work for the emancipation and development of the English people.

With the passing of this act ended the great Liberal statesman's closing session, and the speech above quoted was in fact the last he made at the table of the House of Commons. Rumours of his approaching retirement had been current for some weeks. During his stay at Biarritz in the month of February a London journal announced the event as having been decided upon, but the report brought forth a contradiction, though in guarded terms, from the prime minister's private secretary. It was true, the letter said, that for many months past Mr. Gladstone's age and the condition of his sight and hearing had, in his judgment, made relief from public cares desirable, and that accordingly his term of office had been at any moment liable to interruption from these causes, in their nature permanent. However, being "ignorant of the course which events, important to the nation", might take during the remainder of the session, "he had not said or done anything which could, in any degree, restrain his absolute freedom and that of his colleagues with regard to the performance of arduous duties now lying, or likely to lie, before them."

Notwithstanding this cautiously-worded denial, and to some extent perhaps in consequence of it, the public mind became prepared

for Mr Gladstone's disappearance at no distant date from public life. The failure of his physical powers had become very marked towards the close of the session of 1893, after the strain of the Home Rule Bill had been taken off his shoulders. Whilst that measure was before the House he had felt constrained to put forth all the powers of his wonderful intellect and of his marvellous physique, in order to pilot it safely into port, but no sooner had that effort ceased than he delegated more and more of his duties as leader of the House to his colleagues.

Still, it was not definitely known until his return to London, even by the members of his cabinet, that his mind was made up. On the 17th of January a statement on the subject, which had appeared on the 4th of that month in the *New York Tribune*, was republished in London. It remarked that while the veteran statesman's general health and vitality were "little short of miraculous", yet "his hearing is no longer good. He does not always collect with entire accuracy what is said, and therefore does not always meet the points raised." The letter went on to say that there was a still graver matter, namely, the condition of his eyesight. Shortly after the premier left London for Biarritz, Dr Granger of Chester had been sent for and consulted in regard to the condition of his eyes. "He told Mr Gladstone," the writer proceeded, "not, I suppose, for the first time, that a cataract had entirely obliterated the sight of one eye, and that another cataract had begun to form on the other eye."

On the evening of the day on which this letter appeared in the London papers Mr Gladstone entertained the members of his cabinet, no other guest being present, and it has been generally understood that it was on this occasion that his fixed intention was first made known to his colleagues, although amongst those who were more or less in the political *entourage* of the premier it had for some weeks been known that he was earnestly considering the question¹. Nevertheless, up to the 28th of February cautious denial con-

tinued to be given to all statements in respect to his supposed purpose of resigning.

On that date, indeed, a statement made "on authority" declared that Mr Gladstone had "neither resigned nor taken any steps with a view to resignation." But the fact that Lord Rosebery had been suddenly called to Windsor on the 24th, caused most people to suspect that there was more than appeared behind all these denials. And yet when, on the following day (March 1), Gladstone, as we have seen, delivered his carefully-worded speech on the Parish Councils Bill and against the House of Lords, the occasion passed without a word or sign to indicate that it was in fact his last utterance from his place on the treasury bench.

Mr Lucy, who has given an interesting description of the scene, says, "While the House was crowded to its fullest capacity, it surely did not know what was happening." The air was full of rumours, but "the main effect of the speech was to discredit the supposition that resignation was imminent", although "that it had been decided upon and must take place at an early date was accepted as inevitable." Nor was his manner on that memorable occasion such as to mark one who was retiring from the fray, preparatory to putting off his armour for ever. "Looking on the upright figure, standing by the brass-bound box," says Mr Lucy, "watching the mobile countenance, the free gestures, noting the ardour with which the flag was waved, leading to a new battle-field, it was impossible to associate the thought of resignation with the premier's mood."

Yet, notwithstanding the absence of any indication of finality about the speech, it had a melancholy interest to not a few who heard it. Shortly after its delivery Mr Justin M'Carthy met John Morley in the lobby and asked him "if that was really the last speech of the old man?" "The very last," was Mr Morley's reply. History supplies but few similar instances of a man who had held such a foremost place before the world laying it down and going into retirement without a single word of warning or farewell.

It is not a little curious to note the differ-

¹ *The Story of Gladstone's Life*, by Justin M'Carthy



ARCHIBALD PHILIP PRIMROSE, K.G., K.T.
FIFTH EARL OF ROSEBERY

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIOTT & FRY

ent impressions this trumpetless exit made on different minds. Some of the statesman's opponents affected to think that it was not treating the House with sufficient respect, and perhaps resenting the quiet dignity and grandeur of such a close in the case of a man whom they liked to represent as "intoxicated with his own verbosity", they pretended that he had prepared an important statement, but refrained from making it at the express wish of "the highest authority". If such was the case—and one can hardly credit the statement—the effect it produced was entirely in keeping with Gladstone's unostentatious character. It is said of Wordsworth, that when asked why he had not written more love poetry, he replied that he could not trust himself to write in that vein, his feelings were too strong. In much the same way one can well imagine a man of Gladstone's strong emotional temperament shrinking from an ordeal like that of making a farewell speech before an assembly in which he had taken so prominent a part for well-nigh sixty years, and from which he had seen such a host of noble figures pass away one after another and melt into the great beyond. It was better and altogether more fitting that the greatest leader of the Victorian era should disappear, as was said at the time, "as silently as the sun itself when it sets behind the western hills".

The day following the delivery of his last speech, which practically closed the session, the great commoner's resignation was made public, the cause assigned for the act being the malady which had attacked both his eyes. On March 3rd he had an audience of the Queen, and gave up the seals of office. In taking this step it is understood that he recommended Her Majesty to make choice of Lord Rosebery as his successor. This recommendation was followed, and Rosebery at once accepted Her Majesty's offer of the premiership. But little change took place in the cabinet beyond the retirement of its venerable figure-head, Lord Rosebery's place as foreign secretary being taken by the Earl of Kimberley, while he was succeeded at the India Office by Mr Fowler. Thus the wish for the lead of a younger man, that had been

expressed by some of the more impatient of the Liberal press in response to Mr Gladstone's speech on the abandonment of the Employers' Liability Bill, had come to pass. A younger man had been advanced to the head of affairs, but it was soon perceived how little matters were mended—how, indeed, they went from bad to worse with the Liberal party, when the master-hand and the master-spirit which had guided its destinies so long were withdrawn.

All this, however, forms no part of this record. With the passing from the helm of the noblest inspiration in politics which his generation had known, disorder and something like chaos were sure to come for a time. Men had learned to lean perhaps too much on that giant strength, and had suffered in consequence. They had not exercised their own powers sufficiently to be able to stand alone, they were impatient of a weaker prop and guide, and though a worthier successor could not have been found than Lord Rosebery, yet he was not that "transcendent personality" on whom, in the opening sentences of his first speech as prime minister, he passed so eloquent a panegyric. One passage in particular of that utterance, with its happy historic allusions, and its noble imagery, is specially worthy of quotation. "Every one", said the noble lord, "can appreciate the greatness of Mr Gladstone's character and attainments, but there is one aspect of his career which makes his retirement especially pathetic and interesting—I mean the long reach over which his recollection passes. He heard the guns saluting Waterloo, he heard some of Mr Canning's greatest speeches, he heard the reform debate in 1831 in this house, and Lord Brougham's memorable speech. He was, over half a century ago, the right-hand man of Sir Robert Peel's famous government, and when to this coating of history is added his own transcendent personality, one cannot, it seems to me, help being reminded of some noble river that has gathered its colours from the various soils through which it has passed, but has preserved its identity unimpaired and gathered itself into one splendid volume before it rushes into the sea."

A successful operation for the removal of the cataract from his eyes was performed in the month of May, and during the summer, which was spent chiefly at Hawarden, Mr Gladstone got continuously better. Up to this time there had been hopes among his followers that on the restoration of his health, he would be able to resume his old position and his old mastery. That idea, however, was rudely repelled by the issue in July of what was practically a valedictory address to his constituents in Midlothian through the chairman of his election committee.

After some personal allusions to his health and other matters, Mr Gladstone proceeded in the following terms: "The three-score years [since the Reform Act] offer us the pictures of what the historian will recognize as a great legislative and administrative period—perhaps, on the whole, the greatest in our annals. It has been predominantly a period of emancipation. Another period has opened, and is still opening—a period possibly of yet greater moral dangers, certainly a great ordeal for those classes which are now becoming largely conscious of power, and never heretofore subjected to its deteriorating influences. Now is the time for the true friends of this country to remind the masses that they owe their present political elevation to no principles less broad and noble than these—the love of liberty, and of liberty for all, without distinction of class, creed, or country, and the resolute preference of the interests of the whole to any interest, be it what it may, of a narrower scope."

Further on he again referred to the question of the House of Lords: "I lament that the discrepancy of sentiment between the two Houses of Parliament has received within the last twelve months such a development as to raise the question between a chamber in the main responsible and a chamber totally irresponsible to the nation at large, and to raise it in such a form as will demand at no distant day a conclusive judgment from the constituencies of the country; and I am deeply convinced that until the just demands of Ireland have been satisfied, neither will the legislative wants of any portion of the United

Kingdom be adequately met, nor will the Empire attain the maximum of its union and its power, nor will British honour be effectually cleared of the deepest historic stain which ever has attached to it."

One can hardly overestimate the importance of the pronouncement which, made in the first place in the statesman's last speech, was here reiterated with enhanced deliberation and force at a time when tranquillity and calm had taken the place of the heat of parliamentary strife. Gladstone was never a man to speak wildly and at random, and in these his closing words to his party he speaks as one who, surveying the campaign from afar, perceives with the eye of a general who has fought and won a hundred fights where the next battle must rally and the next stronghold fall, if the march is still to go forward.

Earlier in the year Gladstone had spent a few weeks at Cannes, and in the month of June he, together with Mrs Gladstone and several members of their family, were among the guests whom Sir Donald Currie took for a cruise in one of his fine steamships to see the opening of the Baltic Canal. Although he had been in indifferent health just before the trip, he returned with something of his old look of robust health and strength. Eager as ever for information, the octogenarian took the opportunity of a run into Gothenburg to enter one of the public-houses and inform himself respecting the working of the far-famed system of municipalizing the liquor traffic, a pronouncement in favour of which the previous September had created great alarm in the camp of the supporters of local option.

On his return he found the country on the eve of a general election. It must have been somewhat strange to the old warrior to hear the cry of battle and the din of strife and yet stand aloof from the fray. He, however, did not seek re-election, his political fight was fought, and only the thrilling and burning horrors of the Armenian massacres and the unnamable infamy of the "royal brother" of Christian sovereigns seated on the throne at Constantinople availed to draw him from his

retirement. He delivered an impressive speech on this subject at Chester in August, and in the month of September in the following year (1896) he spoke again on the same question, with great force and fervour, at a town meeting in Liverpool.

It was eminently characteristic of the man that his latest, as his earliest, public utterances were in favour of oppressed and down-trodden nationalities. As in the first uprising and dawn of his career it was the horrors of Neapolitan prisons that awakened his sympathies and enlisted his chivalrous aid, so in the sunset of his days it was the "slaughtered saints" of Armenia that stirred his heart and rekindled his waning energies. His efforts on behalf of these oppressed people were recognized in January, 1897, by the unveiling of a stained-glass window in Hawarden Church in commemoration of the Armenian martyrs, and by the presentation to Mrs Gladstone of a portrait of his Holiness Mghiditch I, the supreme patriarch of the Armenians. Somewhat later (March, 1897) the patron of oppressed nationalities published a letter to the Duke of Westminster, pleading the cause of Crete and Greece as against Turkey, and in the fall of the same year a letter addressed to the Bishop of Rochester on the subject of the "Concert" of the Powers, and their effort to stop the massacres, "probably still unfinished", was read at a public meeting in St James's Hall, and produced an enormous effect. At the first mention of the statesman's name the audience rose to their feet and welcomed it with ringing cheers, and when the message had been read the long surges of applause that swept again and again through the great hall told what a powerful hold the veteran statesman still had upon the heart and conscience of the nation.

One must not omit to mention among the now rare public appearances of the wonderful old man the occasion of his travelling (June, 1896) from Hawarden to Aberystwith to assist at the opening of the newly established Welsh University, and to be the recipient of honours at the hand of the Prince of Wales, its first chancellor. All the way from their Welsh home to the university town he and Mrs

Gladstone met with the most enthusiastic signs of popularity and welcome.

With the few exceptions here recorded Mr. Gladstone's life was one entirely in accordance with the view early adopted by him, "that an old man should pass the last years of his life in the pursuit of something more solemn than party politics." When he withdrew from political life in 1875, he had said that his retirement was dictated to him by his personal views "as to the best method of spending the closing years of my life." The world was now permitted to see what to his mind was the most suitable method of employing the remainder of a life the best years of which had been spent in the most arduous public duties.

One would have thought that, after a career of such stress and tumult, an octogenarian might have chosen to spin off the last few turns of the reel in a tranquil *dolce far niente*, untroubled by toil, unruffled by earthly endeavour. Such, however, was not Gladstone's ideal. In his case the *far niente* was accompanied by an amount of work that would have given distinction to a man of more than ordinary ability in the very prime of his days. Never before surely did a statesman after retirement, at an almost unprecedented age, throw himself into literary labour as Gladstone did. He seemed to be still the incarnation of mental energy. Barely had he quitted the scene of his life's stormful career ere there issued from the press a work that would have been an achievement for many a lesser man.

This, the first-fruits of his relaxation from political toil, was a volume of translations of the *Odes of Horace*, and was published in November, 1894. Some of these renderings into English had appeared when Gladstone was still a young man, others had probably been translated in the intervals of leisure even from more strenuous labours, but a small residue were doubtless the aftermath of his release, when his condition is aptly illustrated by the second stanza of his rendering of "O navis"—

"Thy side, of rowers how forlorn?
Thine hull, with groaning yards, with rigging torn,
Can ill sustain
The fierce, and ever fiercer man."

The *Odes* were followed by a *Commentary on the Psalter* in 1895, while in 1896 there appeared a new edition of *Butler's Works*, arranged and annotated by him, together with a volume of *Studies Subsidiary to the Works of Bishop Butler*. In this work Gladstone shows such a mastery of his subject, and attacks it with such wholeness and sincerity, that one of his reviewers was led to exclaim that "to hear him reason in divinity was almost enough to make one wish that he had long ago been made a prelate"

The book, it must be confessed, shows many limitations, but chiefly in regard to the advances made in science during the author's lifetime. In it Gladstone deals with the main difficulties of the theological position, but even if we agree with the weight which he appears to attach to psychic phenomena, it must be admitted that he does not seem to have got much beyond the arguments advanced in the thirties. As regards eternal punishment, he acknowledges the reaction which has taken place against the harsh doctrine of St. Augustine, but leaves upon us the impression that he thinks it has gone, or is going too far. "When", he says, "this proposition carried with it the notions of inability to escape from sinfulness, and of adverse divine decrees, and when further damnation for original sin was extended to infants, and the heathen were excluded wholly from salvation, we had before us, in very truth a *horrible decretum*, and it may well be said that a theology so fashioned did impose burdens heavy for the human mind to bear. We are now, perhaps, suffering in part from the reaction which such a scheme might be calculated in the course of time to bring about"

Gladstone hardly notices the modifications that have been effected in current theological views through the acceptance of the doctrine of evolution. One would take it, indeed, that his thought had not advanced far beyond the period when the word "adaptation" was accepted as the great key-note of science as touching the animate world. And yet it is interesting to note that in the concluding words of the volume the writer recognizes that the alarms created by the successive

advances towards exact knowledge are groundless. "The man", he says, "who first propounded and brought home the idea that the system under which the world is governed is not ideally perfect spoke without doubt a formidable word. So the man who first propounded and brought home the idea that the text of the Holy Scriptures is not absolutely exempt from error, he too spoke a formidable word. A third case may be noted the first promulgation of the heliocentric system, and the revelation of a number of sister worlds, may have disturbed the faith of many minds, though hardly of any strong minds. Such disclosures can hardly fail to impart a shock at the outset, unless where minds are clothed in the compound panoply of faith and reason. But the terror of Copernicus, we may hope, has entirely passed away, and the kindred and more recent alarms should now, so far as believers are concerned, be on their road to extinction"

Perhaps, however, the most generally interesting chapters in the book are those having reference to the future life, in regard where to Gladstone did not fail to notice the scientific arguments in favour of immortality that may be based on psychic phenomena, to which attention has been more and more directed since Butler's time.

Taking it altogether the book is a remarkable production for a man bordering upon ninety years, and afforded at the time gratifying evidence of the fact that the writer's powers were as yet untouched by either the palsy or the discouragement of age, but appeared as vigorous in 1896 as when, nearly seventy years previously, he had first come before the world as an author.

About the same time as his work on Butler appeared an article from Mr. Gladstone's pen in the *Nineteenth Century* on "The True and False Conceptions of the Atonement"—an article which attracted much attention, and called forth some criticism, but which is chiefly interesting to us now as showing how deeply at this time the retired leader's mind was dwelling upon those profound mysteries attaching to and surrounding life, a man's attitude towards which tells so greatly upon his

personal character. As a contrast to this article, and as exhibiting a versatility of intellect that had not yet lost its brilliancy, we may mention his charming reminiscences of Sheridan, which were published in the same review.

The same marvellous freshness of intellect and vivacity of style are apparent in his *Personal Recollections of Arthur Hallam*, the friend of Tennyson, and the "only begetter" of his *In Memoriam*, which appeared in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph* in the first days of 1898. These interesting reminiscences have been referred to in the introduction to this work, and do not call for special mention here. But we cannot help turning with renewed admiration and heightened regard from the subject of this eulogy to the writer himself. He tells us of a youth of transcendent qualities who was called away from the strife ere his career was well begun, he shows us how this unique spirit, though swallowed up so soon in the everlasting peace, still left an influence for good to all time, and as we read we cannot but reflect that he too—apart from his strenuous battles in the arena of politics, apart from his various victories and defeats—will, by the might and pre-eminence of his character alone, when the things for which he fought shall have come to appear incidental and inferior, stand as an exemplar and inspiration to men yet unborn, to whom will be committed the battle for justice and right and the guardianship of the British name and the British cause in the calm forefront of Christian progress and advancing civilization.

These labours of the octogenarian's retirement afford us a pleasing glimpse into the occupations of his leisure, spent for the most part in his beautiful home at Hawarden, though occasionally diversified by visits to the south of France, or to one or other of our milder English watering-places, this being necessitated by the neuralgic trouble which afflicted his last years. He was always pleased, however, to get back to his beloved Welsh retreat, his home for sixty years. It was one of the delights of his family to note the look of quiet satisfaction with which, after a period of absence, he would once more

settle down to his books in his favourite corner of the library, the "Temple of Peace", as it was familiarly called.

It is perhaps worthy of note here that though the one-time premier was an exceptionally thorough reader, he got through a great deal of reading in a short time. This was perhaps due in part to the quickness with which he seized points of importance, and in part also to the retentiveness of his memory. It was his habit to mark passages that particularly struck him by means of a line in dots down the margin. This was especially the case as regards books he was studying, upon a fly-leaf of which he would further draw up a sort of summary of what had interested him, from which he could easily refresh his memory at any time.

During these later years Mr Gladstone enjoyed the society of his family as he had perhaps rarely been able to do during the period of his parliamentary career. As a near neighbour and frequent companion he had his son Stephen Gladstone, the rector of Hawarden, while Mrs Drew and his son-in-law, the Rev. Harry Drew, vicar of near-lying Buckleigh, were almost constant inmates of the Castle, along, of course, with their little daughter, Dorothy, who made the house bright with her childish presence, and even won her way into fame as the high favourite and frequent companion and playmate of the man whom every true British heart loved to honour. Nor must we forget to mention Miss Helen Gladstone, one of the vice-principals of Newnham College, Cambridge, who spent all the time that could be spared from her professional duties by the side of her parents, or her sister, Mrs Wickham, wife of the Dean of Lincoln.

Mr Henry Gladstone, the second living son, was also frequently at Hawarden, or in attendance upon Mr and Mrs Gladstone when abroad, and if Mr Herbert, the youngest and most distinguished of the sons, was less constant in his attendance on the aged couple it was because his parliamentary duties kept him more closely tied to London. Mrs William Gladstone, the widow of Mr W H Gladstone, who died in 1891, and her family, consisting of a son, William, who was heir to

the estate, and two daughters, were also more or less of the family circle, being residents in the parish and frequent visitors at the Castle

In this large family circle we are told that, though there was nothing like "hero worship", yet its venerable head was, in very truth, a hero in the eyes of all who were nearest and dearest to him, every member of the family being drawn to him by the strongest bonds of love and affection. This the people of these islands hardly needed telling in so far as concerned the great statesman's life-long companion, so conspicuous was the devotion of her to whom Sir Francis H. Doyle addressed his lines in "The Two Sister Brides" (Mrs. Gladstone and her younger sister being both married the same day at Hawarden church)—

"High hopes are thine, oh ' eldest flower,
Great duties to be greatly done,
To soothe, in many a toil-worn hour,
The noble heart which thou hast won"

It was in large measure due to the noble way in which Mrs Gladstone fulfilled those "great duties" to her husband that he was enabled to get through the amount of work which he accomplished

It would on the whole, perhaps, be difficult to find a more exemplary family in respect of unity and devotion one to another, and to the common duties of life, than the Gladstones. All seemed to be inspired by the same high principle as the statesman himself. What was his aim was theirs, what his work their work. The parish is so large that it is difficult for the clergy unaided to compass all its duties, hence much labour of a more or less public nature fell upon the different members of the family, especially the ladies, including, of course, the necessary supervision of Mrs Gladstone's Orphanage for Boys, and the Home for Ladies, which adjoins it. These various duties they attended to with something of the same unwearying diligence that characterized the old man—he upon whom his admiring followers were pleased to bestow the title "grand"

And, truly, apart from the partialities of those who are united in a common cause,

there is something peculiarly fitting in such a distinction, when applied to one of whom his most conspicuous opponent¹ could speak as "the most brilliant intellect that has been placed at the service of the state since parliamentary government began"

After the operation upon his eyes Mr Gladstone was obliged to give up the reading of lessons in church, which was so marked a feature of his earlier periods of rest at Hawarden, and which so many persons from all parts of the country would visit the Welsh village to hear. It had been the veteran statesman's habit, even after he had reached his fourscore years, to attend early service at the parish church, walking both ways across the park, a distance of about a mile. This he would do alone, refusing even to take so much as a cup of tea before starting. During the period of his final retirement, however, this habit had to be given up, and towards the end even his walk to church on Sundays must perforce be relinquished and the distance done by carriage. This was part of the "final lesson—the final trial", as he put it to a friend during his last illness.

No doubt something of that "final lesson" would also be enforced upon his mind by the passing away, one by one, of veterans who had borne with him the brunt of many a fight, although towards the end some of them did not find themselves always in line with their ancient leader and friend. Among these it will suffice to mention Charles Pelham Villiers, who held so foremost a place in the Corn-law agitation, and was for long years the "Father of the House of Commons", Sir James Stansfeld, staunchest of Radicals, and the friend of Mazzini, and George Dixon, noted for his lifelong championship of education, and of whom it was said, "He never sold the truth to serve the hour".

During these closing years Mr Gladstone carried out an intention which had long been maturing in his mind, that is, the dedication to the public of his extensive and valuable library, composed of books upon every branch

¹ Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords on the occasion of Mr Gladstone's retirement

of knowledge, but chiefly of works on theology and kindred subjects Dante, Aristotle, St Augustine, and Bishop Butler are said to have been the four writers whose influence on the great Victorian had been the most profound While in all of them he was deeply read, in one at least he became, as we have seen, an exceptional authority Works on all four form a strong point in his collection

But there was another book with which Mr Gladstone was more intimately and subtly conversant than with any of the above, and that was the Bible Of the collection of scriptures united under that title he had a knowledge that was truly wonderful Those who knew him the best, and were able to judge, affirm that it had never been surpassed and rarely equalled even by professional divines

For the housing of this collection of books he had an iron structure erected in the village, and to the home thus provided, which was given the name of St Demiol's Library, after the patron saint of the village, 20,000 of the 30,000 volumes composing his private library were transferred, and formally committed to the hands of trustees on the 1st of January, 1896

Considering the founder's life-long devotion to theological studies, it need perhaps hardly be said that St. Demiol's Library is composed very largely of works devoted to that department of thought and investigation, although general literature, including novels, is not by any means unrepresented For, notwithstanding his devotion to severe and even abstruse subjects, Gladstone was not averse to a reasonable use of works of fiction He loved to while away an hour or two in the evening with a novel But it must be good, or it had short shrift with this uncompromising hater of anything in this line less than excellent A great number of novels, as of other kinds of literature, were sent to him on publication, in the hope, of course, of securing a word of praise from him There was a periodical assize of the mass of contributions in this sort, in which Mrs Drew, the particular "staff and stay" of her parents in these latter days, lent a helping hand The best

books were laid on one side for perusal, others were reserved for further consideration, while a not inconsiderable residue speedily found their way into the fire

In fiction Sir Walter Scott was his favourite, his high-water mark, so to speak. Below him there was a medium tide to which writers must rise, or the "jail delivery" of their works was apt to become an *auto-de-fe*.

Like everything else that Gladstone did, his library scheme was thought out with consummate care It was to be "for the promotion of Divine learning in the sense put upon those words by the Church of England, with which Church the Settlor, believing that she will be always faithful to her trust, hereby provides that the foundation is to be always in connection" Ample power was given to the trustees to make the institution "move with the times", and this may go to the extent of dissolving it

Connected with the Library is an Hostel, in which students wishing to make use of the foundation may lodge at a reasonable rate, and, in exceptional cases of poverty, free of charge For not only did the founder give the library, but he also provided a liberal sum for maintenance and entertainment purposes.

Some few years prior to his lamented demise there was much talk in the papers of a suitable national memorial to the great Liberal statesman. Many ideas were suggested, including one for the provision of village libraries, but it would be difficult, one would think, to hit upon anything fitter for the purpose than the complete development of the scheme of which he here planted the nucleus. What could be more seemly than, without unnecessarily disturbing his trust, to convert St. Demiol's into a theological college, in affiliation with the University of Wales, as a perpetual remembrance of the illustrious statesman and scholar? One almost feels that, leaving to the trustees the latitude he did, he had some such hope in his mind

In his liberal provision for the maintenance of St Demiol's we see exemplified another of Gladstone's distinguishing principles—one which in these days of "multi-millionaire"

worship can hardly be too highly praised. Believing that no man has a right to die rich, he held "posthumous charity" in some contempt. It was easy enough, according to his thinking, to give away your belongings when you are dead and have no longer any use for them, but to him the ideal way was to bestow your property while you are still alive, and when you are able to see the good use others can make of it. Indeed, he went so far as to hold, with Mr Andrew Carnegie, that "the man who dies rich dies disgraced." In accordance with this view he divided his possessions amongst his children some years before his death, giving all the land he held in his own right to his eldest son, and to his other sons and daughters each his or her portion¹, content thereafter to regard himself not as the master of Hawarden, but simply as a lodger who was permitted to spend the evening of his days amid the surroundings to which he had for so many years been accustomed. Even the residue of the library kept at the Castle was not his, but formed a part of St Deiniol's, to be added thereto after his death.

There can be no doubt that this line of action was dictated to him by his reading of the Gospel ideal. In Tolstor's phrase, it was "simplifying" himself in preparation for the great transition. But this simplicity was always a leading trait in Mr Gladstone's character. His home life was ever distinguished by its extreme simplicity and regularity. He preferred the simplest of foods, and, indeed, would not touch rich or elaborate preparations of any kind. Nor was he less careful of his health in other ways, never using tobacco, and taking exercise daily long after tree-felling was a thing of the past. Even at the age of eighty-six he thought little of taking a walk of from four to six miles. He never permitted himself to be bothered with a valet, and, indeed, allowed servants to do as little for him as possible, preferring always, where feasible, to act upon the adage, that if you want a thing done well it is best to do it yourself.

To the fact that he did so the veteran statesman probably owed much of the success that attended his various administrations, and also the enormous amount of work he was enabled to get through. In short, the habit developed in him the power of taking pains, as well as the method which facilitated his doing so.

A striking instance of this quality of taking pains and attending to little things is recorded by Lord Tweedmouth. Speaking at Castle Douglas just after he had ceased to be whip to his party, the noble lord referred to the "undue credit" which had been given to him in the management of that office, saying that as a matter of fact he was but the hand of Mr Gladstone. "He it was", he continued, "who was ever ready to do a thousand little things which made matters go smoothly. As he once said to him (Lord Tweedmouth), 'One of the first duties of a prime minister is to be always ready to darn and to patch the holes that are made by the daily wear of the machine'. The world generally", continued Lord Tweedmouth, "had but little idea of Mr Gladstone's power of quietly doing all that darning and patching."

Of course this supreme power of attending to details would have been impossible but for the order which formed part of his natural endowment. This Mr Gladstone recognized, but he recognized also an almost still more important faculty in his mental equipment, namely, the power of concentration. To this, his special and peculiar gift, as he himself believed, he owed, more than to anything else, the great and signal talents which distinguished him from other people.

It is curious to note how conservative Mr Gladstone was to the last. Although so prolific a writer he would never have anything to do with the type-writer or shorthand. When out of office he never had a private secretary, all his correspondence being attended to either personally or by the members of his family, Mr Drew, his son-in-law, in later times devoting a portion of each morning to the task. It was doubtless the same conservative vein that caused him to abominate the telephone. Though towards the end

¹ "In the Evening of his Days."

one was put up between the Castle and the Rectory he would never use it. In these little peculiarities may we not have something of the nature of a key to his character? In feeling, on the emotional side of his nature, he was a conservative among conservatives, and was only liberal in so far as his intellect perceived the direction in which truth and right pointed, but his conviction when once formed was backed and enforced by the full weight of his moral and spiritual endowment.

A story was told in one of the obituaries at the time of his death which curiously illustrates this apparent paradox. On the occasion of one of his later visits to Oxford he dined with the Fellows of All Souls, when the talk fell on the Reform Bill and the period preceding it. To the amazement of his hosts, Gladstone praised the anti-Reform days and argued in their favour. But (he said) they had to go, though there was much to be said for them, and there was nothing for it but to build a complete and thorough-going substitute. That was the necessary work to which he, with others, had had to put his hand, and, in fact, to which he had given his life. How much light the incident throws upon Mr. Gladstone's career!

But that work, so far as he was concerned, was now finished. The last stone had been put to his part of the edifice; the remainder of the building-up must be done by other hands. Practically speaking, nothing was added to Gladstone's life-work after the fall of 1897, although when passing through London to Cannes in the November of that year, he mentioned to Mr. John Murray his intention of continuing the "Gleanings", the eighth volume whereof had been published in the preceding May. At the same time he referred to the fact that he was preparing a volume on "The Religions of Olympus", to which he devoted considerable attention after his retirement from Parliament. Possibly we may be permitted to see both these works.

It is not necessary to refer in any detail to the intense suffering of the last few months of his life. One could have wished that the end might have come more calmly, and with

perhaps something of Elijah's suddenness of transition, in his garden or among his books, as it had come but a few months before to Archbishop Benson while on a visit to Hawarden, accelerated by no organic disease and accompanied by no violent failure of the bodily powers. But that was not to be. Possibly the sufferer himself would not have desired it.

Up to the summer of 1897, perhaps even later, Mr. Gladstone, although not free from the infirmities of old age, was in the full enjoyment of life, and his marvellous intellect was unclouded to the last. But in the course of that year disquieting symptoms made their appearance, the chief being a slight obstruction in the nostril, pointing to an ordinary nasal catarrh. The summer months fled, and, as the catarrh would not yield to treatment, and as, moreover, the neuralgic pains, so called, from which he had suffered intermittently for some years past, began to trouble him again in September, now in one part of the head now in another, it was deemed advisable that he should try a warmer climate, Cannes being suggested.

There was still apparently no suspicion of anything more serious than an obstinate catarrh, and no one appears to have had the slightest doubt that the soft airs of the Mediterranean coast would remove it. But Cannes, alas! after the first few days, did not bring the relief so fervently hoped and prayed for by those to whom to see Mr. Gladstone suffering was far worse than suffering themselves. The neuralgic pains, indeed, grew worse, and as these were complicated with other distressing symptoms, suspicion arose as to the existence of the fatal malady. Three months thus went by, and then, in the middle of February the journey back to England was undertaken, Mr. Gladstone himself expressing a wish to see what the South of England would do for him. Bournemouth was chosen, and there the fatal disease was actually diagnosed by Dr. Habershon and Sir Thomas Smith. On the 18th of March the fact was established that the case had entered on a new phase. Recovery was pronounced hopeless. When Sir Thomas, in

answer to the aged statesman's direct question, told him the exact truth, Mr Gladstone gave thanks to God that the end was so nearly in sight.

His request now was that he might be permitted to end his days at Hawarden, and it was in consequence of this earnest wish that the hurried departure was made from that pleasant watering-place. The knowledge of this circumstance lends additional pathos to Mr Gladstone's farewell to Bournemouth, and to the blessing he invoked upon its people and "the land they loved", as he was on the point of departure.

After his return home, Mr Gladstone seemed to derive temporary benefit from the change of air and renewed associations with familiar scenes. He was able to stroll about the beautiful grounds of the Castle on sunny days, and to converse with his friends and family. This cheerful state of affairs, however, did not last long. The improvement in his health proved to be delusive. The malady—failure of the heart, accompanied by cancer in the antrum (*i.e.* the cavity of the upper jaw)—made steady progress, the patient lost strength almost daily, and his ability to withstand the strain was not increased by the necessity for administering drugs to lessen the anguish, which would otherwise have become unbearable in a very short time.

At last he was confined to the house, then to his room, and all England, the whole world indeed, watched his gradual passing away—the final passage into the silent unknown of as noble and high a spirit as ever wrought for his country or for humanity.

There is no need to dwell unduly upon the painful and yet ennobling scene, as, surrounded by the members of his family, his spirit detached itself from all earthly things, and concentrated all its force, all its attention, on things heavenly, often breaking into a low singing of the hymns that had been his favourites, sustaining him in many a time of darkness and struggle. Among these were Newman's "Lead, kindly light", his "Praise to the Holiest in the height", and that older and still more general favourite—one which has been a source of fortitude and hope to

generations of English-speaking men and women—"There is a fountain filled with blood"

Many were those who, as they watched the scene from near or far, thought of the noble lines written by Wordsworth when he learnt of the impending death of Fox, and equally appropriate to his great successor

"A Power is passing from the earth
To breathless Nature's dark abyss,
But when the Mighty pass away,
What is it more than this—

"That Man who is from God sent forth,
Doth yet again to God return?
Such ebb and flow must ever be,
Then wherefore should we mourn?"

Finally the time came—a day or two before death—when consciousness of outward things had well-nigh gone, when the sufferer had taken leave of his most intimate friends, John Morley and Lord Rosebery being among the last, and he gave but the faintest indications of knowing the members of his family. But this was towards the very close of the scene, when with hands clasped on his breast he could only whisper "Amen" to prayers that were being said, or murmur, almost inaudibly, "Heavenly Father." These, well-nigh the last words heard to issue from his lips, were uttered the day before the final deliverance of his spirit, which occurred at five o'clock on the morning of Ascension Day, May 19, 1898.

Such was the perfect panoply of the statesman's faith, such the impregnable trust he had in his Maker, that so soon as he became conscious that for him the long day had waned, and the night was at hand, he seemed even to welcome the approach of darkness. Thus he met his end with that peculiar and ineffable dignity and that dauntless courage which characterized every act and detail of his life.

It is well to recall these features of the "last scene of all", because in it we see the summing up, the test, as it were, of the whole, and nothing in the great Victorian's career—posterity will be saying it—nothing in the whole of that matchless career showed such absolute grandeur as its close. It is especially



MRS. GLADSTONE

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY H S MENDELSSOHN

GLADSTONE'S DEATH

an example to men in the calmer and often dim end of the vale of years Mr Morley, in an eloquent passage, has described how men starting the race of life in faith and fervour of soul seem at a certain period to reach a grand climacteric, from which they decline into the old age of thought The fire dies down, the youthful ideals grow faint, hospitality to ideas gives place to a cold and immovable fear of change Gladstone's career was in every respect the very antithesis of such a one He passed from a cool and temperate youth, as was well said at the time of his demise, to a fervid and vehement old age, every year as it went seeming to warm his blood and quicken his pulse It was as though, the nearer he came to the goal towards which his eye was ever turned, his hand ever stretched, the more deeply was he inspired, the more fully charged with that enthusiasm which is the life and soul of all high human endeavour Well may we exclaim—

“This is the Happy Warrior, this is he
That every man in arms should wish to be”

Thus passed away into the domain of history and of imagination one of the greatest and most conspicuous figures of the century, and in their grief and regret at his removal, his countrymen forgot for a day or two the troubles of the world and the darkness and gloom of the political horizon The Hispano-American war, the revolutionary troubles of Italy, West African vexations, and the interminable chapters of the Chinese imbroglio—these matters were relegated to the back pages of the daily press, while eulogy and praise of the deceased hero held the place of honour For a moment political differences could be laid aside, and all—with few exceptions—agree in the bestowal of unstinting esteem and admiration on one who, whatever his minor faults and failings, struck so many, in the words of an eminent French physician, who met him in Cannes in 1883, “as a proof of the theory of human perfectibility”

Perhaps no one else clothed their thought in just those words, but something of the same sort of idea appeared to be in many minds

Lord Salisbury, with a generosity towards his political opponent that was to be expected from his high character, spoke of him as “a man guided—whether under mistaken impressions or not—in all the steps he took, in all the efforts he made, by a high moral ideal What he sought was the attainment of great ideals, and whether they were based on sound convictions or not, they could have issued from nothing but the greatest and the purest moral aspirations, and he is honoured by his countrymen because, through so many years, across so many vicissitudes and conflicts, they recognized the one characteristic of his action which never left him He will leave behind him, especially to those who have followed with deep interest the history of the later years—I might almost say the later months of his life—the memory of a great Christian statesman Set up necessarily on high, the sight of his character, his motive, and his intentions would strike all the world, they will have left a deep and most salutary influence on the political thought and social thought of the generation in which he lived, and he will be long remembered, not so much for the causes in which he was engaged or the political projects which he favoured, but as a great example to which history hardly furnishes a parallel, of a great Christian man”

This striking eulogy was uttered by the Premier in moving his resolution in the House of Lords for a public funeral for the deceased statesman Some expressions from Lord Rosebery's speech on the same occasion have been given elsewhere, but one paragraph in his eloquent tribute is worthy of being set in a frame of gold, and hung where every young man may read and be impressed by it in the moments of serious and most earnest thought “There was no expression”, said his lordship, “so frequently on Mr Gladstone's lips as the word ‘manhood’ Speaking of anyone—I can appeal to his friends behind me—he would say, with an accent that no one who heard him could ever forget. ‘So-and-so had the manhood to do this, so-and-so had the manhood to do that’ And no one, I think, will, in the converse, ever forget the extremity of scorn which he could put into the negative

phrase 'So-and-so had not the manhood to say this, so-and-so had not the manhood to do that' It was obvious from all he said and all he did that the virile virtue of manhood, in which he comprehended courage, righteous daring, the disdain of odds against him—that virile virtue of manhood was perhaps the one which he put the highest"

Equally emphatic was Mr Balfour's high estimate of Mr Gladstone's services to the country and to coming men in another respect, that is, in respect to the lofty example of public conduct which he set in his parliamentary life "One service he did," said the leader of the House of Commons,—“in my opinion incalculable—which is altogether apart from the particular opinions, the particular views, or the particular lines of policy which Mr Gladstone may from time to time have adopted Sir, he added a dignity, and he added a weight to the deliberations of this House by his genius which I think it is impossible adequately to express It is not enough, in my opinion, for us to keep up simply a level, though it be a high level, of probity and of patriotism The mere virtue of civic honesty is not sufficient to preserve this Assembly from the fate which has overcome so many other Assemblies, the products of democratic forces More than this is required, more than this was given to us by Mr Gladstone Those who seek to raise in the public estimation the level of our proceedings will be the most ready to admit the infinite value of those services and realize how much the public prosperity is involved in the maintenance of the work of public life Perilously difficult must his contemporaries feel it to be to avoid the dangers—the opposite dangers—into which so many of them have fallen Sir, that is a view which, perhaps, would not occur to persons unfamiliar with our debates, or unwatchful of the course of contemporary thought, but to me it seems that it places the services of Mr Gladstone to this Assembly, which he loved so well, and of which he was so great a Member, in as clear a light and on as firm a basis as it is possible to place them"

These are noble words of approval, but

perhaps still nobler, as exhibiting something of the universal heart of the man, is the eulogy of Mr Dillon, spoken on the same occasion, when, after referring to Mr Gladstone as "the greatest Englishman of his time", he went on to say, "He loved his own people as much as any Englishman that ever lived But through communion with the hearts of his own people, he acquired that wider and greater gift—the power of understanding and sympathizing with other peoples He entered into their sorrows and felt for their oppressions With splendid courage he did not hesitate, even in the case of his much-loved England, to condemn her when he thought she was wronging others And in so doing he fearlessly faced odium and unpopularity amongst his own people which it must have been bitter for him to bear And so he became something far greater than a British statesman, and took a place amongst the great leaders of the human race"

These are all the views of politicians of different shades of thought We find a similar consensus of opinion obtaining amongst clergymen and ministers of the gospel The Archbishop of Canterbury, preaching at St Paul's on the Sunday following his death, said of the Liberal statesman, "He was so sympathetic that there was no oppression, no injustice, wherever it was practised, that did not touch his soul with burning indignation. If any were down-trodden, if anywhere on the world's surface injustice was prevailing, he was ready to spend and be spent in whatever was needed to remedy such wrongs If ever he made a mistake it was always such that the mistake could be traced to the deep sympathy which throughout his life permeated all his actions . . . Never did he utter anything which was not inspired by high moral principles Never did he act on any low or selfish ground He raised political life to a higher level"

Canon Wilberforce, preaching the same afternoon at Westminster Abbey, devoted nearly the whole of his sermon to a sketch of the character and career of the statesman who had in the Canon's words "made the century"; and in doing so he remarked that Mr Glad-

stone once concluded one of the most brilliant oratorical efforts made in the House of Commons by saying, "We have the hearts of the people' The trustful challenge was not accepted by the majority of his fellow-countrymen, but he spoke in unconscious prophecy, for he certainly has the hearts of the people to-day"

If possible, the estimate put upon Mr Gladstone by nonconformist divines was even higher than those of his own church The *Spectator*, in a by no means enthusiastic utterance, remarked that, "He was, in fact, that character once so rare, now so common, a High Church Puritan, and the British people, always Puritan at heart, believed in him in consequence" This was the reason why the nonconformists, spiritual heirs by direct descent of the Puritans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, always believed in and trusted him so implicitly They saw in him the ideal of their devoutest dreams and aims This view was well expressed by Dr Clifford, in Westbourne Park Chapel, the Sunday following the death "In his political life (said he) Mr Gladstone had compelled the world to gaze on a soul ever keeping far above the clay He was an apostle and prophet conscious of his divine calling He was the greatest soldier of the new type which fought to save lives and not to destroy them Conscience was always his guide, and, though he made mistakes and had his failings, he was true to himself above all things No wonder all the world admired this great saint and statesman People sometimes said the world was getting worse, but how could that be when in our age it had produced such a man? He would take a place with Alfred and Cromwell, Shakespeare and Milton, Lincoln and Garfield, foremost amongst those who sought not so much to save themselves but others He was certain that time would reveal Mr Gladstone to us as the greatest saint of the century"

Although the family would perhaps have preferred to have their honoured dead buried in their midst, yet they willingly acquiesced in the nation's wish for a public funeral, for a last resting-place for all that was mortal of

him in the national *Campo Santo*, Westminster Abbey. Many would have liked to see a funeral still more public than it was—something after the style suggested by Sir Wyke Bayliss, president of the Royal Society of British Artists, whose idea was that the coffin containing the dead hero should be conveyed to London by road, travelling night and day, with relays of horses every few miles, thus giving the opportunity to tens of thousands of his admirers to take part in the obseques, either by gathering to see the cortege pass, or perhaps accompanying it as an escort for a few miles on the way

But that was not to be The exigencies of time required that it should travel by rail in the dead of night and reach its place in Westminster Hall unseen almost by anybody However, before his remains were handed over to the authorities to lie in state so near to the scene of his many triumphs, a humbler but perhaps more beautiful lying in state took place at Hawarden, in the room which had been so closely identified with his home-life, and so much written and spoken about as the Temple of Peace, now surely the temple of his peace There he lay on an extemporized bier, with his scarlet doctoral robes about him, his noble face, spiritualized by suffering nobly borne, so calm and beautiful in the tender spring light, the thin hands clasped upon his breast in token that his work was done there he lay while the people of the village and neighbourhood, rich and poor, people who had known and looked up to him so long, entered and gazed and passed reverently out, "the rough labourer coming in with heavy boots and a stout cudgel in his hand, and going away with a tear trickling down his brown cheek; the bent old man holding his hat in his hands, and tottering up with infirm step, the little children, clinging to their mothers' garments, the lads and lasses, rosy-cheeked and solemn—they were all there to take a last farewell"

Nor were these all Many came long distances, especially from the north, to get a glimpse of the face of him of whom they had heard so much and by whom they had been so greatly benefited So all day long the

crowd surged in and out, silent and awe-struck, until the shades of evening fell, when the last group passed lingeringly away, casting a final farewell look at the white, still face, as though they would ask—

“In the life you know now,
Rendered white as snow now,
Do fresher glory-heights arise, and beckon higher—
higher?”

None who saw that lying in state will ever forget it, any more than will those who, on the Thursday and Friday following, witnessed the more imposing scene in Westminster Hall, where from early morning until the dusk of eve a never-ceasing multitude, thick as the leaves in Vallombrosa, filed past the coffin of the great democratic leader. It had been brought up to London during the night of Wednesday, and placed on a catafalque standing some six feet high, in the centre of the great historic Hall of William Rufus. At the head of the coffin stood a jewelled altar cross, presumably that of St. Stephen's chapel in the crypt, and at the four corners of the bier burnt tall tapers of unbleached wax. At the foot was the Harwarden pall of white silk embroidered with gold, bearing the words *Requiescat in pace*, which had been made for Archbishop Benson. This was the first object that caught the eye of those entering the hall from Palace Yard, to pay their tribute of reverence to an old man, broken with the storms of State, “come to lay his weary bones among ye”.

Nothing could well be simpler than this lying in state, except it were the simplicity of the act of reverence paid by the tens of thousands of persons who passed between the barriers erected on either side of the bier. There were no flowers, much less anything like trappings of woe, and if any visitor had expected even a semblance of pomp or ceremony, keen disappointment must have been the result. The public were doubtless prepared for this eloquent fidelity to Mr Gladstone's expressed wish for simplicity, though it is not unlikely that a large number had been misled into supposing that the face of the dead and the scarlet doctor's robes would be visible. But this could not be. Decay's

effacing fingers had rendered it impossible to expose the loved and worn face to the gaze of the people. Yet little as there was to be seen, the simple act of bowing the head to his remains satisfied the yearning of those who went to do honour to the great dead.

The procession began at six o'clock in the morning of Thursday, and did not cease until after eight at night, to be resumed again at six on Friday morning, when the same solemn and moving scene repeated itself. Hour after hour there was the same muffled tread, the same subdued murmur of voices. Never for a moment was there a cessation of the stream, hardly an incident to break the monotonous tramp-tramp of multitudinous feet, unless it were that now the black face of an African, the dark features of an Indian or other Eastern, or it may be some note of dress or colour that told of the width of British sway or the far-reaching breadth of the dead statesman's sympathy. The two last hours of this lying in state were devoted to delegates of Liberal associations, trade unions, co-operative, friendly, and other societies, all of which in some way owed debts of gratitude to Mr Gladstone. It is estimated that during the two days upwards of three hundred thousand persons passed through Westminster Hall, and amongst the number were included men and women of every class of society, from the humble workman often in his soiled habiliments, to the peer of the realm, from the pale-faced shop-girl who found her way thither in the penny 'bus, to the lady who drove up in her carriage and pair, in many instances the representatives of the two extremes of society walking up side by side to do their act of reverence. “Every hour”, says an account of the scene, “the throng of mourners changed its composition, but never the reverential demeanour that was its great characteristic. Rich and poor, gentle and simple, men and women, young and old, bore the same expression of softened sorrow as they passed into the Great Hall, that must from this moment be hallowed by memories of a nation's grief, and when they emerged from St Stephen's, all seemed to have been touched by an influence that

had something of sublimity in it. Soldiers, railway-porters, parsons, actors, hospital nurses, servants, and, indeed, representatives of nearly every class that goes to make up the complex life of London, was there."

In connection with these tokens of sympathy manifested by all classes, the *Daily News*, from which these words are taken, describes an incident of the great obsequies which deserves to live upon the page of history, as showing to how deep a stratum of society the deceased statesman's name and influence had penetrated, and how they had stirred the fountains of sorrow or of hope even of the residuum. "When the solemn procession", says the writer, "was passing through the vaulted subway bearing the dead statesman's body towards Westminster Hall, amid a stillness and silence so profound that the throb of vibrating air could be felt as the clang of notes from Big Ben died away, some dimly-defined figures on the far side of Palace Yard were seen to be standing with heads uncovered. With a few exceptions, they were homeless wanderers who have neither beds to lie upon nor roof to shelter them. From seats under plane-trees beside the river, or from the dark arches of neighbouring yards, they had come to see the last of a great Englishman. From the depths of their own adversity they had risen for that moment at least superior to the bitterness of such cynicism as misfortune breeds, and were ready to join in the national tribute to a noble man's memory. When they had done this, the men shuffled away to eke out such rest as they could get on bare boards or harder stone for what remained of the night. Nobody who saw that demonstration by waifs and strays can be likely to forget the simple pathos of it."

On the morrow, Saturday, occurred the last act of all in this solemn pageant of mourning and burial, the mortal remains of the great statesman being then conveyed to the nearly-lying Abbey of Westminster, and there interred amidst the manifestations of universal sympathy and regard. The procession, composed of Lords and Commons, Ministers, Bishops, State functionaries, and others, was

marshalled in Westminster Hall, whence the body was escorted through Palace Yard to the Abbey, witnessed by tens of thousands of spectators, who had congregated along the line of route and thronged every point of the houses commanding a view of the scene. Lord Pembroke, representing Her Majesty the Queen, walked in front of the coffin, preceded by the Duke of Connaught, the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Christian, and the representatives of foreign sovereigns. The Prince of Wales and Lord Salisbury were at the head of the group of pall-bearers, which included also the Duke of York, Lord Rosebery, Lord Kimberley, Sir William Harcourt, Lord Rendel, the Duke of Rutland, Mr J A Balfour, and Mr Armitstead. A brief prayer was said by the Bishop of London before the coffin was removed from Westminster Hall, after which the procession started on its short journey. Directly behind the shell containing the mortal remains came four groups—all deeply interesting. The first was that of the deceased statesman's immediate relatives and close personal friends. In front was the Rev. Stephen Gladstone as chief mourner. Then came Mr Henry and Mr Herbert Gladstone, while between them walked the eldest grandson, Master William Glyn Charles Gladstone, the legal head of the family. Following them were Dean Wickham, the Rev H Drew, Mr. Robert H Lyttelton, Mr Alfred Lyttelton, the sons of Mr Stephen Gladstone and Dean Wickham, and other relatives. After these came the former private secretaries, and then, finally, the deceased statesman's physicians, Dr Dobbie, Dr Bliss, and Dr Habershon, followed by groups of Hawarden servants, tenants, and villagers.

Meanwhile the Abbey had filled with those who were privileged to attend the funeral. These included not only persons of distinction and position in almost every department of life, but representations of all classes of society. The Princess of Wales and the Duchess of York had taken their places with the rest to do honour to the greatest of commoners. Just before the arrival of the procession, Mrs Gladstone, leaning heavily for support on the arm of Colonel Neville Lyttelton, a

nephew and godson of Mr Gladstone's, joined the other members of her family near the sacarium, amid the dying echoes of the three splendid "Equali" for trombones by Beethoven, with which the solemn rites began

At this moment, just before the arrival of the procession with the coffin, the scene was an extremely impressive one. No parade of sombre draperies was made, no futile display of mourning frippery. There was simply a deep unfathomable note of human feeling, of human sympathy, which for a few minutes united all hearts. This it was, together with the prevailing sombreness of dress, so well in keeping with the Abbey's normal aspect of severe and stately beauty, that gave the note of solemnity and awe which permeated the vast interior.

Soon after Mrs Gladstone had taken her place the well-known march from Beethoven's "Eroica" symphony, played on the organ alone, and punctuated as it were by the tolling bell, announced that the coffin was on its way from Westminster Hall. This was followed by two funeral marches, one by the same composer, the other by Schubert, both played with thrilling effect upon the grand organ, supported by the orchestra. But no sooner had the head of the procession reached the west door than the clash of cymbals and the triumphant blare of trumpets was stilled, giving place to the opening sentences of the burial service chanted to Croft's simple harmonies. Slowly to the subdued music the procession advanced up the long aisle to the Sanctuary, where stood the bier, illumined by the dim light of candles. As the coffin was laid on this temporary support the choir commenced to sing the psalm, "Lord, thou hast been our refuge", to the music of Purcell, the organ and the instruments of brass seeming to speak out with special emphasis in the verse, "The days of our age are three-score years and ten, and though men come to four-score years, yet is their strength then but labour and sorrow, and soon passeth it away and we are gone".

The scene in the choir, sacarium, and transept at this moment, when, the nineteenth psalm being finished, Dean Bradley, in a trem-

bling voice, began to read the latter part of the great chapter in Corinthians, with its sublime kernel thought, was profoundly impressive, the family of the deceased, the pathetic figure of Mrs Gladstone in the centre, standing with bowed heads near the coffin, while the words of the great Apostle knocked at the door of every heart, "Flesh and blood cannot enter the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption". The words seemed almost harsh in their insistence—so designed, no doubt, to fix the attention of the mourners and break their sorrow, but followed by, "Behold, I show you a mystery, we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump", and ending in the great pæan of Christian hope, "Death is swallowed up in victory", they were triumphant in their reassurance.

When the Lesson had been concluded, music once more spoke a language that went straight to the heart, aisles and nave and transepts reverberating to the strains of "Rock of Ages", taken up as it seemed by every tongue, but all subdued to a whisper in that final verse with its picture of life's closing scene—

"While I draw this fleeting breath,
While mine eyelids close in death,
When I rise to worlds unknown,
See Thee on Thy judgment throne,
Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee."

—words which had so often trembled on the lips and stirred the heart of the great-souled leader, now no more, during those later days at Hawarden. Then, while the body was being carried to the grave which had been prepared for it in the north transept, opposite the monument of his arch-adversary Beaconsfield, and surrounded by the Chathams, the Pitts, the Cannings, and others of that great company, the choir sung that other favourite of the deceased—

"Praise to the Highest in the height"

The group that now gathered round the grave was a very striking one, and included some of the foremost personages of the day, many of them exhibiting signs of deep emotion,

among the most noteworthy being the Prince of Wales, the Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, Mr Balfour, the Duke of Devonshire, Mr Chamberlain, the Lord Chief-Justice, and, most plaintive figure of all, Mrs Gladstone, leaning on the arms of two of her sons

The Dean recited with manifest emotion the solemn sentences which the Church has prescribed for these last offices, "Man that is born of woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery", amid a hush that made people hear the beating of their own hearts. The words of "committal to the ground" having been said, and the coffin lowered into the pit, the glorious anthem, "I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, from henceforth blessed are the dead which die in the Lord", arose and seemed to dispel, as with a divine breath, the dread sentence, "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust". As the last chord of this triumphant pæan died away, the united voice of the congregation followed the Dean's in prayer. Then, after the collect, read by the Archbishop, there came—to Handel's music—the anthem from Ecclesiasticus, "Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore"

Never before, perhaps, was music sung with finer effect or under conditions more fitted to impress the imagination and stir the emotions. The stately harmonies of the organ, joined to the sonorous roll of drums, the piercing note of the trumpet, and the clash of cymbals, seemed to raise the words to an elevation of religious passion and hope that showed its influence on many a streaming countenance. Finally, after Stainer's sevenfold "Amen", the grand old cathedral echoed to Dr Watts's jubilant—

"O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come",

sung in unison by the immense congregation to Croft's beautiful music, the effect produced by the evident feeling of the assembled multitude being as solemn and at the same time as thrilling as anything during the whole service.

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When the last rites had been performed, the last lingering look cast into the grave, and while the organ and the orchestra filled the echoing spaces with the Dead March from Saul, a most pathetic scene took place. The carriers of the pall, lead by the Prince of Wales, moved slowly past the tomb, taking an impressive leave of all that was mortal of the great statesman. When his Royal Highness came to where Mrs Gladstone, who after a final tearful look into the grave, had resumed her seat, he took the hand of the bereaved wife, and speaking words of comfort, raised it gently to his lips. Lord Salisbury, obviously deeply moved, followed the Prince's touching example. Mr Balfour, Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, the other pall-bearers, and finally the Duke of York, all approached the drooping and pathetic figure, surrounded by her children and grandchildren, and in the same tender manner showed their devotion and respect. Few were the eyes that beheld this touching scene unbedewed with tears.

All was now over. The mourners slowly passed out of the transept and towards the western door, followed after a brief interval by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and all those who had stood around the grave, Schubert's "Marche Solennelle" meanwhile filling the echoing spaces with its notes of mingled wailing and triumph. In a few minutes all that vast multitude of participants—for they cannot be called mere spectators, so deeply had all been moved—had passed into the street, and the remains of him they had assembled to honour and to mourn were left alone with the memorials of the silent dead who had wrought so much and so bravely for the Empire and its people, whereof that great fane is, as it were, the central nave and immortal home.

More imposing rites, more magnificent funeral pageants, may have been witnessed during the present generation, but none certainly so impressively simple and beautiful as the ceremony just concluded. Those who were responsible for the arrangements had consulted alike the wishes of the dead statesman's family, implicitly following his own,

and their own sense of fitness, by refraining from any exhibition of funereal pomp, or that gloomily splendid upholstery of woe which it is customary to use when "kings and counsellors of the earth" are borne to their last resting-place. Here was no room for draped pennons and arms reversed, no need for swords and lances swathed in dismal crape, nor was there any call for "the quiet sadness of the dim May morning" to be broken by the ordered tramp of marching feet or the clank of steel on stone and pavement. It was felt, and rightly, that this was no occasion for military parade and show. For he who had gone to his rest, though "ever a fighter", was no soldier, he had fought, as few men fight, for great causes, and always in the forefront of the battle, but his methods had ever been the methods of peace. His ideal was not the ideal of the soldier, with clanking arms and sound of heavy heel, symbol of tyrannies and oppression, but the plain English gentleman, high of soul and gentle of manner, who looks neither to titles nor escutcheons to give him a fictitious elevation over his fellows, and would scorn to live upon an unjust exaction of their toil.

Thus he went to his rest, this grave, grand figure, plainly and simply as he lived, recognized as the first and greatest among his countrymen, yet with little in the way of outward distinction and dignity to mark his unique and unchallenged pre-eminence.

The imagination must have been dull indeed that required any garish accessory to enable it to realize the historic character of the moment when the dead hero's coffin was slowly borne along with its noble escort of princes, peers, and statesmen. The annals of the famous Abbey present gorgeous ceremonials enough connected with the laying away of kings and counsellors and warriors, but nothing through the dim ages have the gray walls seen that was more moving, more tragic in a sense, than this bearing to the grave of William Ewart Gladstone. It was like the passing of an epoch rather than a mere man—an epoch of which he was the central figure, one might almost say the symbol, so much did he embody in his rich and gracious

personality the qualities and features of the age that has gone. But while he was this, may we not also say that he prefigures to us the age on whose threshold we stand, with its larger humanity, its nobler manhood, and its more assured faith that the "actual life comes next"—that life in which the "heavenly period" will "perfect the earthen", as we read in that fitting poem of Browning's, wherein he depicts the carrying to the grave and the heroic struggles of one whose soul we feel to have been just such another as Gladstone's—

"Our low life was the level's and the night's,
His for the morning"

With the closing scene in the Abbey of Westminster we have before us the completed record of one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, of the country's heroes. It is a full, a wonderful record—one which none with heart or soul can look upon without profit or inspiration.

We are as yet unable to enter with enough detachment into the ins and outs of that career. "We are too near him", as Lord Rosebery said in the House of Lords on the morrow of his decease, "to do more than note the vast space that he filled in the world, the great influence that he exercised, his constant contact with all the great features of his time. But the sense of proportion must necessarily be absent, and it must be left for a later time, and even perhaps for a later generation, accurately to appraise and appreciate that."

Still there are one or two things which it may be fitting to note in connection with this so remarkable life. One is the astonishing growth of his brain to a late period of life. It used to be noticed when he was a young man that he had a comparatively small head. But when he was about forty he found that his hats were getting gradually smaller, till at last he could not wear them. On complaining to his hatter, the latter said that his hats could not have altered, since they were made from the measure taken of his head ten years before. The measure was produced, and it was found that Mr Gladstone's head had outgrown it.

"This story", says an old friend,¹ "he told me after the Midlothian campaign of 1880, when he was again obliged to have his head measured for a new hat. Happening to mention this fact to Sir William Turner, the eminent professor of anatomy in the University of Edinburgh, 'That is most extraordinary,' he said, 'for it means that Mr Gladstone's brain is still growing. As a rule the brain stops growing about fifty, and from sixty to seventy it is more likely to decrease than to increase. See how the fine large head of—(naming a distinguished member of Parliament)—has shrunk. That indicates a shrinking of the brain'"

It was undoubtedly this constant growth of brain, long after the normal period, that gave Gladstone his perennial youthfulness, and that increasing and expanding power which was the surprise of all who knew him, of all who followed his career, so different was it from the promise of his earlier manhood, when none would have suspected the overflowing sympathy and depth of enthusiasm that afterwards characterized his labours. The circumstance is an interesting one in connection with this abounding personality, but it is doubly so in view of the cause of such a phenomenon—if we could put the finger upon it. Was there any connection between that continued growth and Gladstone's extreme simplicity of life and general abstemiousness, especially abstemiousness from tobacco, which for long has been held to stunt physical development. In America there has of late years been a movement against the use of tobacco in some of the colleges and universities, on the ground—supported by eminent medical authority—that it causes, or has a tendency to occasion, atrophy of the moral sense, that is, a deadening of those parts of the brain which are the instruments of moral consciousness.

Whatever may have been the cause—and the hint in any case is of the utmost importance—there was something at work in Gladstone's mental and spiritual constitution which gave him an ever-broadening intellec-

tual and, as it would seem, an ever-deepening moral consciousness, which made it impossible for him not to sympathize with struggling causes and devote himself thereto heart and soul, if that were in any way practicable. Indeed sometimes, it must be confessed, he did not look quite enough at the feasibility of the thing. Was not even Lord Rosebery reminding us the other day that there was never a cause so forlorn and hopeless but Gladstone would take it up, and fight for it with all the force of an imperious intellect, a tireless body, and a dauntless enthusiastic nature?

Many there were who scoffed, many who were moved to paroxysms of wrath at the spectacle. It was beyond their comprehension, because they were cast in a different mould, and could not rise out of the dull mechanisms of self and self-interest, as the object of their hate could and did. It was this forgetfulness of self which stirred in men during the painful days of his passing those deep emotions that were beyond the excitation of mere political warfare. Powers of oratory account for much, dexterity in debate for much, just as weight of experience, and genialty and charm of nature account for a great deal of his influence. But we must look to something beyond these things if we would understand how it was that all England, indeed so large a portion of the civilized world, came to regard the Victorian statesman with such reverence, with such boundless devotion. And analyse that something as we may, as posterity will, the verdict must ever be that the great secret of his influence lay in his indomitable faith in justice and right—a faith so profound and so conspicuous that it lifted him high above the sordid and commonplace, the trivial and unworthy, so universally mixed up with public life, and caused a foreign editor to exclaim on the morrow of his death, "How pitiful those political lives appear whose ruling motive is self-interest, who have done nought for right and justice, for liberty, for the oppressed and weak, and who will never know the glory of the sunset beauty of that statesman's death, who was both a Christian and a Liberal,

¹ Writing in the *Daily Chronicle*, May 20, 1898

and whom an entire nation follows to the tomb!"¹

Hardly a nobler word was said by his own countrymen than that and if Gladstone could so impress this stranger, what ought he not to be to us of his own race and country? It has been said by some, speaking of him and his life and work, that we shall never see his like again. But to say so is to be weak, and to ignore what we may justly call the spiritual vitality of the race, for all growth is at the core spiritual. If that fail, go from more to less, instead of from less to more, then there is not much hope for the coming of others like him, but if, on the other hand, the underlying

kernel of all true growth be in us, we may entertain both a living hope and a sturdy faith that we shall see, not only in this land, but elsewhere, men of a similar high and generous calibre rise up amongst us. For after all, the human mind does not willingly live content with the bad and base, but on the whole reaches onward and upward to the better, and there is never a soul that cleaves a nobler way but others will be found ready to enter in and pursue boldly and with conviction whither he led. And so it certainly will be in the case of Gladstone, while "the nation lives that produced him", and has the heart to understand and appreciate how rich it is "in his life, and rich above all in his animating and inspiring example."

¹ *Le Sour*

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